TREATMENT ALTERNATIVES AND DIVERSION (TAD) PROGRAM 2019-2023

Participant Summary, Post-Program Recidivism, and Cost-Benefit Analysis

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

FIGURES

Acknowledgements

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This report fulfills the statutory requirements of the Wisconsin Department of Justice under Wis. Stat. §165.95.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Treatment Alternatives and Diversion (TAD) program was established by 2005 Wisconsin Act 25 to support efforts to provide treatment and diversion programming to non-violent adult justice involved individuals for whom substance abuse was a contributing factor in their criminal activity. The TAD grant, administered by the Wisconsin Department of Justice (WI DOJ) Bureau of Justice Programs and evaluated by the Bureau of Justice Information and Analysis, provides funds to local jurisdictions to offer justice involved individuals the opportunity to enter diversion programs or treatment courts. Participation in TAD-funded programs typically involves connection to treatment for substance use disorders, mental health services, cognitive behavioral health services, case management services, and other risk reduction services as an alternative to incarceration.

As of 2023, the TAD program overseen by the WI DOJ has provided $9,688,900 annually to 56 counties and three tribes (see Appendix A) in Wisconsin to support 90 treatment courts and diversion programs. TAD-funded treatment courts and diversion programs aim to address the increasing need for substance use and mental health treatment within the justice population through evidence-based program alternatives to traditional justice processes and incarceration.

The TAD program continues to be cost-effective to the criminal justice system in Wisconsin, primarily through reduced incarceration costs for participants averting jail or prison through successful program participation. For every $1 spent on TAD programs, the state is estimated to save anywhere from $5.15 - $5.92 for treatment court programs and $8.18 - $9.12 for diversion programs.

This report provides an overview of the TAD program between 2019 and 2023 in fulfillment of requirements outlined in Wis. Stat. §165.95(5p)(b), and includes analysis on:

- Program participation, including individuals who were referred, admitted, and discharged from TAD-funded programs throughout Wisconsin between 2019-2023
- Recidivism at the point of arrest, charge, and conviction at a minimum of one-year post-program and up to five years post-program is also provided, along with recidivism for two different comparison groups
- Cost-benefit estimate illustrating how much the criminal justice system saves for every $1 spent in TAD funding from 2019-2023

PANDEMIC IMPACTS

This report includes a qualitative analysis of changes to program operations described by sites. The changes sites had to make to adjust to pandemic conditions create a unique, but challenging task for evaluation. Due to the changes affecting program operations during this time period, this evaluation cannot be compared to previous nor future evaluations. Yet, the

results of this evaluation still provide a unique and important understanding of the TAD-funded programs, their operations, and their outcomes.

The COVID-19 pandemic created challenges for programs that required adapting operations to continue serving participants. A primary adjustment programs made was turning to virtual services, such as virtual treatment services, court hearings, and client meetings. Some sites described changes that led to fewer referrals and admissions due to changes in jail, law enforcement, and court procedures. The type and frequency of drug testing that was possible during the pandemic shifted, often requiring programs to use less effective testing approaches or testing that required long wait times. Combined with the lack of access to treatment providers and community resources who were temporarily shut down or operating with a reduced capacity, these changes potentially led to increased relapse and recidivism compared to pre-pandemic years.

PARTICIPANT SUMMARY

Treatment Courts. A total of 6,169 referrals to treatment courts were made between 2019-2023, and about 17% of the referrals declined to participate. Of the 5,136 remaining referrals, 47.7% were eligible for the program they were referred to and 52% were not eligible to participate in the program. Common ineligibility reasons included risk levels that were not appropriate for the program and residency requirements. Some of the ineligible participants may not have been truly ineligible for the program but may not have been able to participate due to program capacity limits, pandemic impacts on the programs, or other external factors.

A total of 2,492 admissions to treatment court occurred between 2019-2023. In the 2019 to 2020 program year, there was a 23% decrease in admissions compared to prior years, likely due to the pandemic. Admissions have since increased, returning to near pre-pandemic levels. As of early 2025, about 48% of the 2019-2023 program admittees had graduated, and about 34% had been terminated. The remaining admitted participants were either still active in the program, administratively discharged (e.g., due to moving, medical/mental health issues, or death), inactive (e.g., due to absconding, admittance to residential treatment, etc.), transferred to another program, voluntarily withdrew from the program after admission, or were awaiting discharge (i.e., were finishing the final phase of the programs, or had been discharged and complete discharge data were not yet available). About 62% of individuals admitted were assessed as high risk and about 68% were high need based on criminogenic risk and need assessments – a population appropriate for treatment court programs. Most (85%) were in the program due to a non-violent felony offense.

The annual number of treatment court discharges decreased over the evaluation period, from 651 discharges in 2019 to 568 discharges in 2023. This is likely the result of the decrease in admissions in the greater portion of the 2020 program year, as there were fewer individuals participating in the program in general (and thus fewer to be discharged). The individuals who were discharged in 2019 and 2020 were likely admitted pre-pandemic (prior to any decreases

in admissions). About 57% of the discharges were graduations, which is an increase from 49% in the 2014-2018 evaluation.

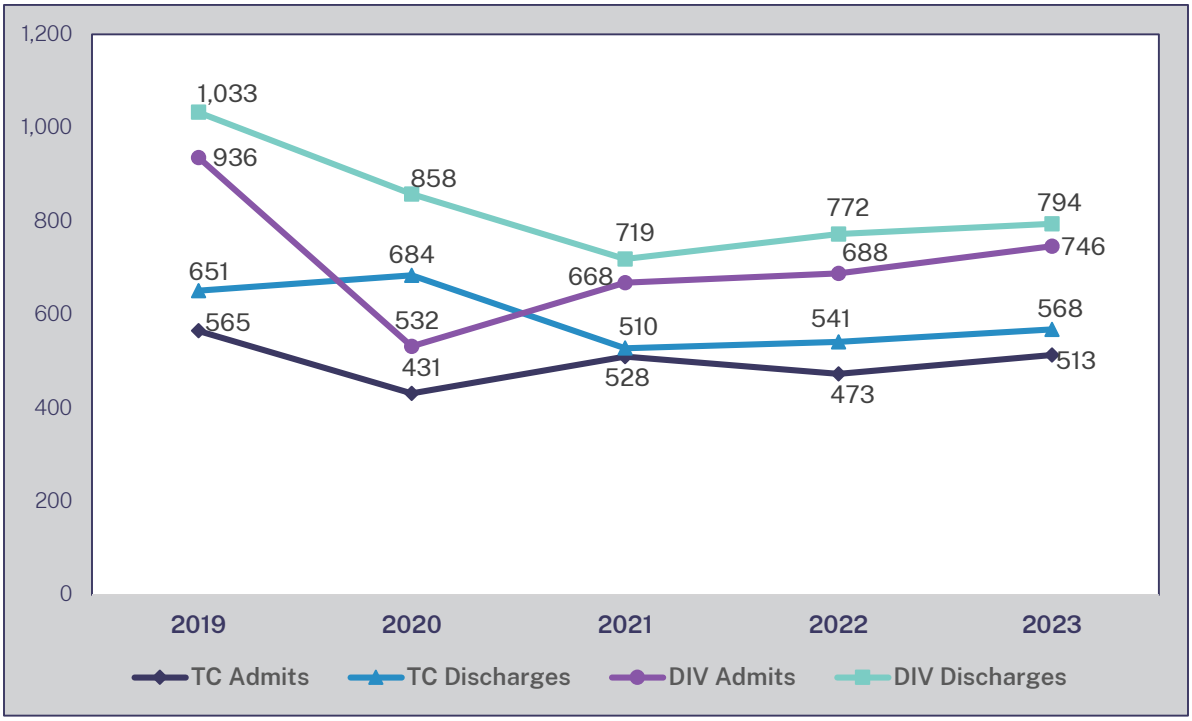
Treatment court program participants were asked to voluntarily provide anonymous feedback via an annual procedural fairness survey. Each year, participants reported on their perceptions of how they were treated by the judge, the case manager, the probation officer, the treatment provider, and the staff of the court. Participants indicated their agreement with positively worded questions (e.g., my probation officer treats me fairly) on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (7), with a Neither Agree or Disagree (4) option. The average scores for each year and each of the five dimensions were between 6.14 and 6.41 (out of a possible 7), indicating generally positive perceptions.

Diversion Programs. About 11.5% of the 10,236 referrals to a diversion program during 2019-2023 declined to participate. Of the 9,054 who did not decline, 40.2% were eligible and 59.7% were not eligible. Similar to treatment court programs, the referred individual's risk level being either too high (14%) or too low (41%) for the specific diversion program was a common reason for ineligibility.

Diversion program admissions also dropped in 2020, likely due to the pandemic, a decrease of 43% from 2019 (N = 936) to 2020 (N = 532). In 2023, the total number of admissions (N = 746) remain roughly 20% lower compared to 2019. Of the 3,570 admissions to diversion programs between 2019 and 2023, roughly 67% of admissions resulted in a graduation and about 22% of admissions led to a termination as of January 21, 2025.

Much like treatment court programs, diversion program discharges declined during this evaluation period. There was a 23% decrease from 2019 compared to 2023, with the lowest number of discharges in 2021 (N = 719). Of the 4,176 total discharges from diversion programs, 73% of discharges were graduations, an increase of about 10% since the 2014-2018 evaluation period.

Figure 1: Treatment Court (TC) and Diversion Program (DIV) Admissions and Discharges by Year



RECIDIVISM ANALYSIS

Post-program recidivism was measured starting at a one-year follow-up period and ending at a five-year follow-up period. Recidivism was counted as a new offense resulting in arrest, charge, and/or conviction (measured separately) with an offense date after the discharge date. Events were also captured per offense category and subcategory (based on the post-program offense) based on an offense categorization schema.

Recidivism was also split by all discharges for treatment courts and diversion programs, and then by only those who graduated and those who were terminated. Treatment court program participants generally had higher recidivism rates compared to diversion program participants. For both types of programs, those who graduated showed a lower recidivism rate for arrests, charges, and convictions compared to those who were terminated.

Figure 2: Treatment Court Three Year Recidivism

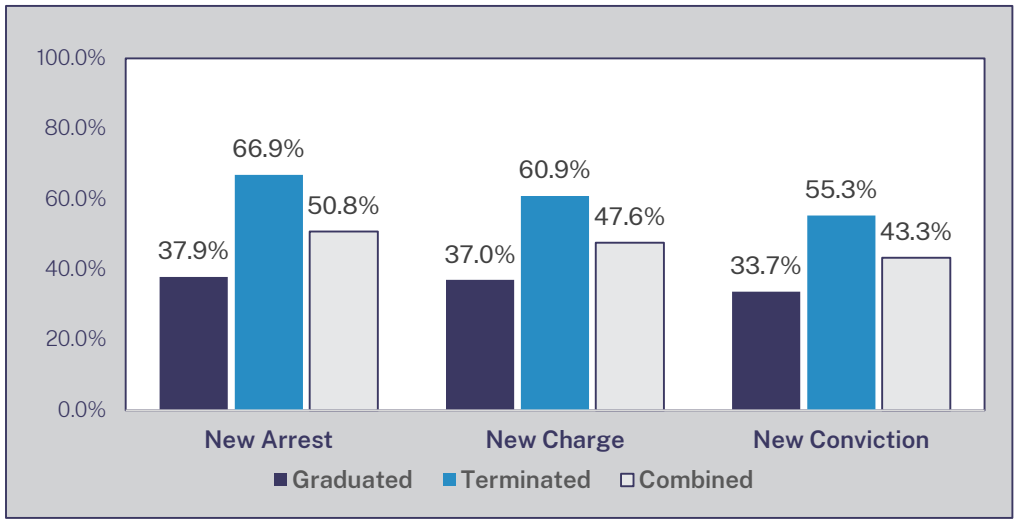
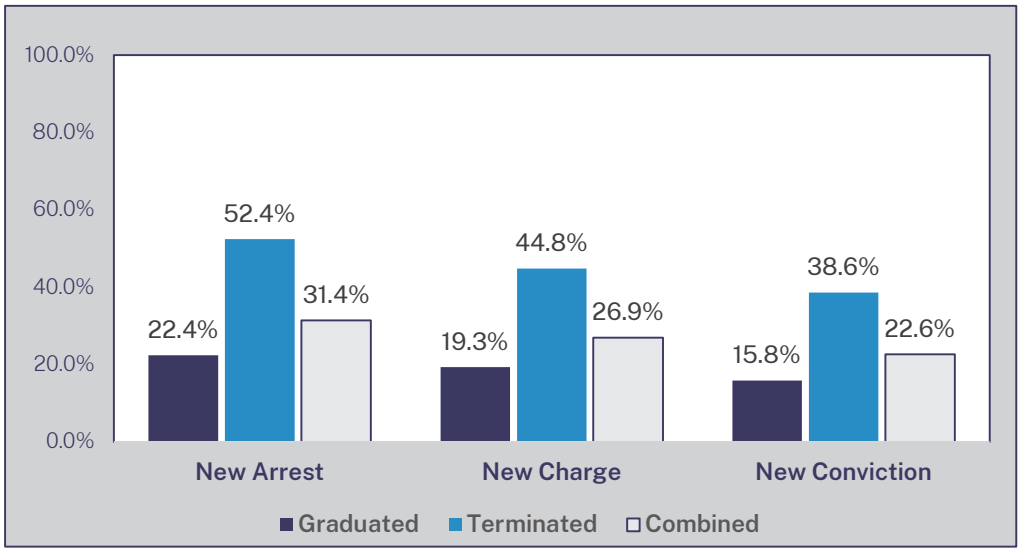


Figure 3: Diversion Program Three Year Recidivism



COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

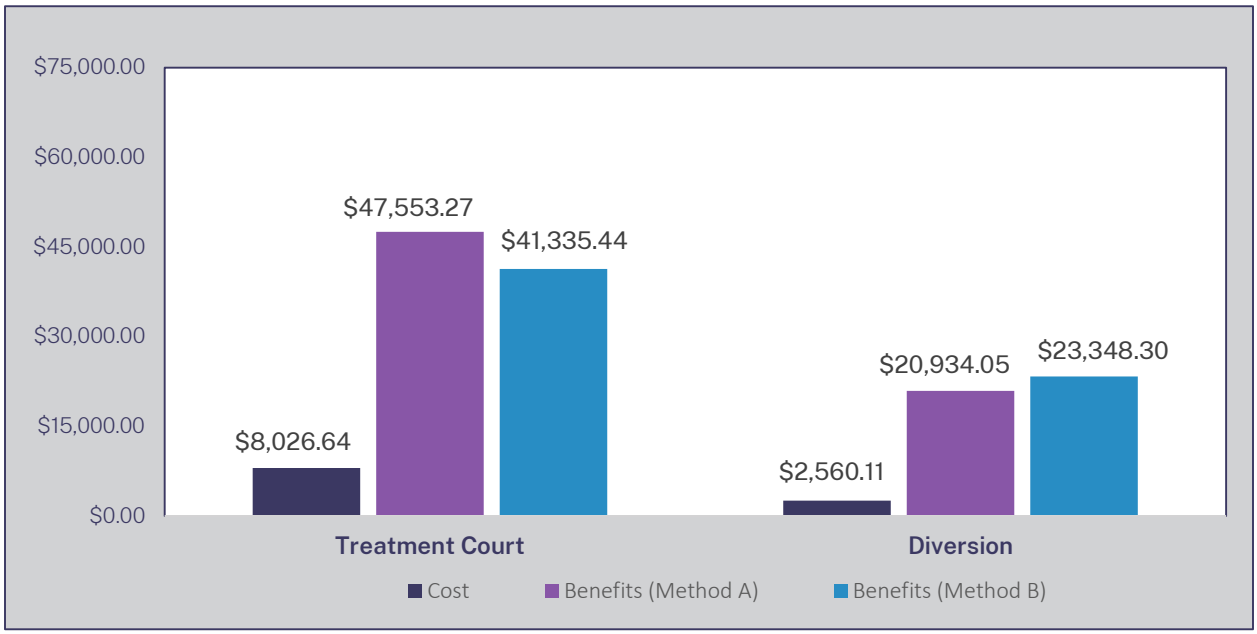
A cost-benefit analysis was measured by estimating the cost per discharge (e.g. TAD funding spent) and comparing it to estimations of averted incarceration costs and averted crime costs. The analysis aims to answer: "For every $1 in TAD funding spent, how much does the criminal justice system save?"

Costs per discharge were calculated by adding program awards together to create one treatment court cost and one diversion program cost and subtracting the turnback funding from 2019-2023. Estimated fees collected from participants were also subtracted from the costs, before dividing the total cost per program type by the number of discharges per

program type. Averted incarceration costs were estimated using sentencing data obtained from the Consolidated Court Automation Programs (CCAP) and establishing the median sentences (in days) of convictions for cases with the same most common statutes as those for TAD graduates and applying that to an estimated number of graduates who likely averted incarceration. The number of averted days was then multiplied by the daily cost of jail or prison and divided by the total number of graduates. Finally, the difference in recidivism between the TAD discharges and two different comparison groups was used to calculate averted marginal crime costs, based on the type of offense and how much the marginal cost to arrest, prosecute, and incarcerate for that offense was.

Based on two different comparison groups, for every $1 spent in TAD funding on treatment courts, between $5.15 and $5.92 is saved. For diversion programs, between $8.18-$9.12 is saved for every $1 spent.

Figure 4: Total Estimated Cost and Benefits Per Discharge 2019-2023



UPDATES TO EVALUATION SINCE 2020

New Data Sources. This report includes information about referrals to treatment court and diversion programs. This referral data had not previously been systematically collected for TAD programs prior to 2018, and as such were not included in the prior 2014-2018 evaluation. With the launch of CORE (Comprehensive Outcome, Research Evaluation) Reporting System in 2017, programs began reporting referral data for all individuals referred to their program (rather than only individuals who were admitted to the program). This is the first evaluation for which referral data were available for the entire evaluation period. This information helps to understand the number of individuals who are identified by staff within the criminal justice system as potential participants for a treatment court or diversion program but were not admitted for a variety of reasons. This data can help provide context as to the characteristics

of individuals who receive referrals for programs, identify misunderstandings among judicial and court staff regarding who may be eligible for treatment court and diversion programs, and illuminate areas for enhancement and expansion of the programs (e.g., ensuring that all individuals who could be eligible for the TAD programs are indeed referred to the programs, understanding whether disparities exist in who is and is not referred and eligible for the programs). While this type of analysis is beyond the scope of the current evaluation, understanding these complexities is an important area for future work.

Procedural fairness data was also collected and presented for the first time during this evaluation period and is included in the report. This data highlights the experiences of the participants in the TAD programs and their perceptions of whether they felt the programs were fair and beneficial. Additionally, the procedural fairness data incorporates important areas for future program improvements suggested by participants, aiming to increase program effectiveness and participant engagement in the programs.

Comparison Groups. The comparison groups used for the recidivism methodology has been revamped since the previous evaluation. In the previous evaluation, one comparison group was used for both treatment courts and diversion programs made up of non-violent arrestees found in the criminal history database arrested in counties with a TAD program. Rather than using one comparison group, four different groups – two for treatment courts and two for diversion programs – were created using two different methodologies. These different methods may achieve a closer comparison (albeit not without limitations) with which to compare the TAD discharge groups.

To create these comparison groups, the WI DOJ utilized a newly created research data warehouse to help link data across different systems and find identification information for those individuals entered into the CORE Reporting System in cases where it was missing. This resulted in a larger percentage of discharges being included in the recidivism analysis.

PROGRAM AND PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW

This section presents an overview of TAD referrals, admissions, and discharges, including characteristics of participants, description of offenses leading to program referral, and participant eligibility from 2019-2023. This section also includes procedural fairness data collected from treatment court program participants and a qualitative analysis of the changes TAD programs made to adjust programming due to the pandemic.

TAD PROGRAM EXPANSION

In 2007, funding for the TAD program began with approximately $700,000 in initial funding, originally allocated to six programs serving seven counties. Since then, legislation has increased funding to the TAD program, and a five-year competitive cycle began in 2012; the most recent of these five-year cycles began in 2022. As of calendar year 2023, the TAD program had increased to $9,688,900 annually. Since this expansion, TAD-funded programs expanded to 56 counties[1] and three tribes in Wisconsin, encompassing 90 treatment court and diversion programs.

Wis. Stat. §165.95(7m) requires the WI DOJ to make grant funding available competitively every five years. Given the rapid expansion of the TAD program, particularly since 2013, the WI DOJ has provided multiple competitive grant opportunities. Due to the expansion of TAD and the increase in funding over the last decade, both new sites and new programs within existing sites have been added at various times throughout the current evaluation period. While multiple grant opportunities resulted in many more sites participating in TAD programs, they also created challenges in aligning program timelines for the purposes of evaluation (e.g. knowing precisely which program is funded by what amount in what year within the same site). For example, some sites received funding for different programs that began in different years, and some sites' funding was not continual throughout the evaluation period.

CENTRAL COMPONENTS OF TAD PROGRAMS

Prior to 2019, 74 programs in 50 counties[2] and two tribes were TAD funded. By the end of 2023 there were a total of 90 programs in 58 counties[3] and three tribes funded by TAD. During this time, many of the sites had more than one program funded, including a variety of treatment courts and diversion programs. The structure of the TAD program provides counties and tribes with flexibility in the design and implementation of various programs, within the parameters of the statute.

Programs that are funded through the TAD program must meet specified requirements as outlined in Wis. Stat. §165.95(3), which include:

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[1] These 56 county awards served 58 counties, as two awards went to multi-county consortiums.

[2] These 50 counties are under 47 funding awards, as three awards went to multi-county consortiums.

[3] These 58 counties are under 56 funding awards, as two awards went to multi-county consortiums.

1. Follow evidence-based practices in substance use and mental health treatment as determined by the Department of Health Services;
2. Be designed for individuals who use alcohol or drugs and have a criminal charge or conviction related to their use of alcohol or drugs;
3. Use graduated sanctions and incentives to promote successful substance abuse treatment;
4. Do not prohibit participation if an individual is undergoing medication assisted treatment (MAT);
5. Focus on promoting public safety, reducing recidivism, reducing jail and prison populations, and meeting the comprehensive needs of the participants;
6. Restrict participation if an individual meets the definition of a "violent offender" as outlined in Wis. Stat. §165.95(1)(bg); and
7. Be developed and overseen by a multi-disciplinary team with representation both inside and outside of the criminal justice system.

In some counties and tribes, the focus of TAD program implementation has been on establishing programs for individuals who have high criminogenic risk and need levels, which are often addressed through high intensity programs such as drug or other specialty treatment court. Treatment courts are typically specialty court dockets with enhanced supervision, treatment, drug testing, and use of incentives and sanctions with the goal of increasing the likelihood of sobriety and reduced recidivism among participants. The treatment courts are typically post-charge and are often post-adjudication programs and are usually a minimum of 12 months in length. These programs can include more traditional Adult Drug Courts or related programs such as Operating While Intoxicated (OWI) Courts, Veterans Courts, Mental Health Courts, Tribal Healing to Wellness Courts, or Hybrid Courts that incorporate into one court separate programming for drug and alcohol-related offenses, typically following the Adult Drug Court model. The Adult Drug Court model[4] provides an overall framework and set of standards for the core components of a drug court[5].

In other TAD programs, the focus has been on diverting individuals earlier in the process, often in the form of a Pre-Charge or Post-Charge Diversion program. Individuals are typically referred to these programs after arrest but are then given an alternative to the formal prosecution process either before or after formal charges are filed with the court, depending on the program design. The individual then enters into a diversion or deferred prosecution agreement which outlines specific program requirements for successful completion such as case management, treatment, not committing new crimes, community service, or other

[4] For additional information and definitions for various program types funded under TAD, see the *State of Wisconsin Criminal Justice Coordinating Council – Treatment Alternatives and Diversion Program Report 2020.*

[5] Both state and national standards have been developed for drug courts. See the Wisconsin Treatment Court Standards and the Adult Drug Court Best Practice Standards Volume 1, Edition 2 from All Rise (formerly National Association of Drug Court Professionals).

ancillary services or requirements. These programs are more likely to focus on individuals with low to moderate criminogenic risk, although the specific risk and need level accepted in the program should be outlined in the eligibility criteria for the specific program design. These programs can vary in structure but fundamentally are designed to divert individuals outside of the traditional criminal justice process to provide the opportunity for treatment, case management, and other programming with the intent to reduce recidivism in part by addressing underlying risk and need factors. Successful completion of these programs can result in a reduction or dismissal of criminal charges, or not having charges formally filed through the court.[6]

Some of the counties and tribes have developed specialized programs to meet particular local needs. Examples include programs specifically intended to work only with participants with a substance use disorder related to opioids, or a treatment court designed to work with participants with multiple OWI offenses. By design, the variation in program types provides a level of flexibility to the counties and tribes to design programs that meet local needs. However, this has led to variances in the program components, costs, operation, and structure. This causes complexities, for the purposes of evaluation, in grouping and summarizing these programs due to the level of variation that exists. Even grouping the programs by treatment courts versus diversion programs masks the vast nuances within these programs. It is beyond the scope of this evaluation to understand the unique variations among programs and whether specific program types (e.g., OWI Court, Veterans Court) have differing outcomes.

To help address the variation across programs, there has been a collaborative and focused effort between the State Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC), the WI DOJ, the Wisconsin Director of State Courts Office, the Wisconsin Association of Treatment Court Professionals, and multiple national, state, and local partners to set baseline expectations for program components and structure. This has led to the development and/or update of standards and performance measures and the delivery of trainings under the broad categories of treatment courts and diversion programs. The original Wisconsin Treatment Court Standards were finalized in 2014 to provide overall guidance and structure for treatment courts. The Wisconsin Statewide Drug and Hybrid Court Performance Measures (Cheesman, Broscious, & Kleiman, 2016) were developed and finalized in 2016 to establish key measures related to the performance of drug courts in Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Treatment Court Standards were revised in 2018 (Wisconsin Association of Treatment Court Professionals, 2018) and incorporated some of the guidance provided in the National Association of Drug Court Professionals (NADCP) Adult Drug Court Best Practice Standards Volume I and II (Marlowe & Fox, 2018), which have more recently been updated and revised in the All Rise Adult Treatment Court Best Practice Standards (2025); the WI DOJ and State Courts staff are providing trainings on these revisions statewide throughout 2025.

[6] See the Wisconsin Diversion Program Standards to view statewide standards developed for diversion programs.

Trainings on both the treatment court standards and drug and hybrid treatment court standards were delivered in multiple locations across the state during 2019 through 2023.

To expand the Drug and Hybrid Court Performance Measures (Cheesman, Broscious, & Kleiman, 2016) in 2022 the National Center for State Courts, in conjunction with state and local stakeholders, developed additional performance measures for three specialty courts, including a Mental Health Track (Genthon et al., 2022), the Wisconsin Statewide OWI Treatment Court Performance Measures (Genthon et al., 2022) and the Wisconsin Statewide Veterans Treatment Court Performance Measures (Genthon, Bailey, Boyce, Wylie, & Vandenberg Van Zee, 2022).

In addition to the WI Treatment Court Standards, Wisconsin diversion standards and performance measures were also developed under the CJCC's Evidence-Based Decision-Making Initiative. The purpose of the standards and performance measures are to provide a cohesive framework for diversion programs in Wisconsin and develop expectations for the structure and functioning of Wisconsin diversion programs. The diversion standards were finalized and approved by the CJCC (Wisconsin Evidence-Based Decision Making Initiative, 2021, and the drafted diversion performance measures were reviewed and finalized by the CJCC's TAD Subcommittee in 2024. Trainings on the draft diversion standards were delivered at multiple locations across the state in fall 2018. TAD program staff have developed additional trainings based on the finalized versions of the diversion standards and performance measures and are currently implementing regional training sessions across the state.

The Wisconsin standards for both treatment courts and diversion programs are now being utilized as part of technical assistance being provided to these programs by the WI DOJ under the TAD program and in collaboration with the Evidence-Based Program Manager through the Director of State Courts Office. Feedback is provided to programs during site visits, grant reviews, and other communications, in part based on the standards. These standards should also help to form the basis of future process evaluations that look to assess the fidelity of various treatment courts and diversion programs. Much of the work on the standards, performance measures, and associated trainings were supported by multiple federal grants, primarily through the US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance. Each of these efforts was intended to help provide the foundation for consistency and program fidelity by providing guidance to counties or tribes looking to implement these programs locally.

DATA SOURCES

This section of the report contains participant-level data retrieved from the CORE Reporting System. This dataset includes participants who were admitted to and/or discharged from a TAD-funded program between 2019 and 2023, based on admission and discharge data program staff entered into the CORE Reporting System. The dataset also includes information about individuals who were referred to programs but may not have been admitted for to

various reasons (e.g., found ineligible to participate, declined participation). Upon admission, sites indicate what kind of funding is used for each individual participant. The admissions and discharge sections of this report only include individuals indicated as being TAD-funded. Referred individuals, who are not admitted, do not have a funding indication in the CORE Reporting System, and all are included.

CORE has been available statewide to TAD programs since 2017 for the purpose of providing a consistent data collection repository for Wisconsin TAD-funded and non-funded programs. Prior to the launch of the CORE Reporting System, Microsoft Access databases were developed and utilized for program data tracking and management by the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute (UWPHI). The Microsoft Access databases were utilized for many years prior to CORE being implemented. Based on program feedback that utilizing the Microsoft Access databases were time-intensive for staff, the CORE Reporting System was built as their data management successor, existing as a secure, web-based application for use by treatment courts and diversion programs statewide. For the current evaluation, some participant records were started in Microsoft Access databases prior to CORE's availability and then later imported into CORE by the WI DOJ for all TAD data to be in one system.

Procedural Fairness data were collected through a survey of TAD treatment court program participants regarding their experiences of the programs and areas for program improvement. This survey was created by the National Center for State Courts (Cheesman, F. L., Broscious, C. E., & Kleiman, M., 2016)[7] and has been collected since 2019, by the WI DOJ. Each year, current participants in the Treatment Court programs are invited to participate in the survey in November or December. The BJIA oversees the administration of the survey through Qualtrics, though paper copies of the survey are also available for participants. Staff at the TAD programs assist with distributing the survey to their current participants, including collection of any paper copies of survey responses. However, survey responses are kept confidential from the programs and only select BJIA staff have access to individual-level responses. Aggregate information and de-identified responses containing feedback and/or praise are shared back with sites within six months of survey distribution. A copy of the Procedural Fairness Survey is available in Appendix E.

Between 2020 and 2022, participants were asked additional questions pertaining to their program's operations during the COVID-19 pandemic. Participants were asked specifically about attending virtual program meetings with all members of court and program staff, and their satisfaction with these meetings. Questions were also asked about any in-person meetings participants may have attended, and how comfortable they were doing so. Finally, participants were asked their preference of attending virtually or in-person. COVID-19 specific

7 https://cjcc.doj.wi.gov/sites/default/files/files/WI%20Drug%20and%20Hybrid%20Court%20Performance%20Measures.pdf

questions responses were shared with program staff to better inform their operations as the pandemic was navigated.

Administrative data collected by the BJP was utilized for the pandemic impacts section of the report. This information included program design tables that sites submitted after the pandemic began that outlined changes the programs made to various processes and procedures as needed to adjust to the pandemic context.

METHODOLOGY

Data is entered by program staff into the CORE Reporting system on a routine basis. Throughout 2024, staff within the BJIA and the BJP asked sites to carefully review their referral, admission, and discharge numbers to ensure accuracy, with a special emphasis on any participants who were in "pending discharge" status.

In addition, the BJIA worked with the WI DOJ's Bureau of Computing Services (BCS) to import all old data from the Microsoft Access database files into CORE. This was finished towards the end of 2024 and resulted in some duplicates (e.g. the same person was entered into Access but then also entered into CORE). BJIA worked with sites to identify those duplicates and remove the version of the participant record that was the least complete.

The information presented is what was in the CORE Reporting System as of January 2025 and any additional changes programs may have made to data since then is not captured in this report. The admissions are pulled from the CORE Report System datasets based on admission dates between 2019-2023, and the discharges are those with a discharge date between 2019-2023. The referral section, which includes a comparison of those referred but not admitted to those referred and admitted, are based on the referral date being between 2019-2023. These different sets mostly overlap, but there are differences. For example, the number of people who were in the admission cohort and graduated and the number of people in the discharge cohort who graduated are two different numbers. Likewise, the number of admitted in the referral section is not exactly the same as the number of admissions in the admission section, due to the difference in date selection.

PANDEMIC IMPACTS ON PROGRAMS

The COVID-19 pandemic led to significant program changes across the Treatment Alternatives and Diversion (TAD) program sites. In fall of 2020, the BJP collected information from the TAD programs regarding how the COVID-19 pandemic had impacted their participants, operations, and performance, including current operations descriptions, anticipated funding usage changes, and actual or expected data and outcome impacts. Of the 81 TAD-funded in fall of 2020, 64 different programs completed the forms. Following a quality review, the WI DOJ manually coded the site's responses into specific categories and derived their count and frequencies across sites. This section describes a selection of the themes that emerged as most salient for the programs and that are most relevant to the current evaluation. Appendix

B contains tables that summarize the codes, themes, and frequencies, including the themes and codes not described in-depth here.

The *Virtual and Non-Contact Program Changes* theme encompassed the most frequently reported adjustments by program staff. Like other types of programs and governmental processes, the vast majority of the TAD sites reported having to utilize virtual options for most, if not all, aspects of the programs in order to continue to serve participants. Virtual changes ranged from screenings and assessments to treatment services, court hearings, and treatment team meetings. The codes within this theme capture this necessary shift to remote and socially distanced practices for the programs. Nearly all (87.5%) of program sites reported virtual treatment services, and 81.3% cited virtual court hearings, illustrating a widespread reliance on remote platforms to maintain continuity of treatment delivery and court operations. Additionally, more than half (54.7%) of the programs reported using non-contact client meetings, such as relying on video, email, or phone contacts or finding outside/socially distanced spaces to meet with clients. Programs also reported using virtual and non-contact protocols specifically so that participants could continue progressing in the programs. Despite the site's efforts to provide evidence-based services and, in some cases, increased supportive services (7.8%), maintaining a comparable level of effectiveness proved difficult, as illustrated by one site's experience:

> *This is based solely on observation and participant input — the lack of face-to-face accountability, whether it be from a supervisory role such as coordinator contact or probation supervision, or peer support such as therapy groups or recovery groups, or even from our judge in court, has been detrimental to the program as a whole and has led to a higher relapse rate within our participant pool. (Hybrid (Drug & OWI) Court))*

As sites adapted program operations, they reported changes in referral and admission processes. With program operations mainly shifting to virtual formats, many sites faced barriers to receiving referrals beyond their control. Specifically, 10.9% of sites reported challenges establishing initial contact with clients due to changes in jail, law enforcement, or court procedures. For the participant referrals program sites received, over half (51.6%) of sites reported they implemented virtual or non-contact assessments to continue participant screening. Despite the challenges, these measures enabled clients to access and benefit from program services. Similarly, virtual auxiliary services, including nontreatment-related activities such as supportive groups, peer support, and use of community-based services, were noted in roughly a third (35.9%) of reports, suggesting that some (but not the majority) of programs were able to find alternatives to in-person supportive activities to continue to provide to clients outside of standard treatment services. Overwhelmingly, program sites demonstrated creativity and adaptability in maintaining program requirements, exemplified by one site's implementation of a testing solution, reporting that:

> *[After] breathalyzer testing ceased, and we developed 'drive-thru testing.' UAs were switched to oral swabs. Participants remained in their vehicles and pulled into the back parking lot, where an employee came outside. Using social distancing (by sliding a cart*

with the testing swab, much like COVID drive-thru testing is conducted), participants completed the drug test with employees who wore protective gear including, masks, face shields, and gloves. Drug testing reporting times were extended by one hour for 6 months to allow for the potential longer process, but participants quickly and easily adjusted. Drug testing remains under this procedure, but we are discussing moving testing back indoors with protective measures in place. (Drug Court)

The reported adjustments in program operations signify how sites coped with a broader system-wide shift to virtual solutions to minimize disruptions. However, multiple sites reported that participants or staff did not always prefer these virtual solutions, with many noting that meetings seemed less effective and that some participants were more reluctant to engage in the virtual settings. Furthermore, many sites noted that these virtual changes were not implemented immediately; instead, it took weeks to months to access virtual platforms, obtain security clearances and licenses, ensure participants could access the technology, and develop their protocols. Outside of using non-contact methods for participant meetings, this period represents when participants were likely left with little to no opportunities to engage in the programs or receive program support. Unfortunately, data regarding how much support participants received as sites transitioned and how long they could not engage in programming is unknown. Existing research demonstrates that continuity of care (consistent and ongoing care, treatment, and support services) promotes participant success, whereas disruptions to care continuity hinder it (Carey et al., 2012). Therefore, the reporting suggests that this gap in service delivery as programs transitioned to virtual likely contributed to worse outcomes for participants overall.

A second area of disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic involved maintaining evidence-based best practices in programs. Programs faced notable challenges regarding implementing evidence-based practices they typically utilize to promote participant success. These experiences fell within the theme *Unable to Use What Works*. For example, many programs stated that they had to change, limit, or altogether suspend participant substance use testing, with 45.3% of programs stating they had severely limited or no access to testing and over half of the reports (54.7%) described having to rely on alternatives to urinary analysis testing (the "gold" standard for testing in treatment and diversion programs). Of the programs that described using alternative testing, sweat patches were the most common alternative. However, multiple sites also noted the limitations of sweat patches, including longer result turnaround times, limited substances tested for with the patches, and less accurate results. Due to these changes in testing, it is likely that both rates of participants' true return to use cannot be captured (since use was not able to be identified as reliably with testing) and that participants may have struggled to remain substance-free or reduce use frequency without the accountability of regular testing. As described by one site, "Our limited access to testing means that participants are not regularly being tested for alcohol, and they are aware that the sweat patches do not detect alcohol. Without this monitoring, several participants have recidivated (Hybrid (Drug & OWI) Court)." Indeed, roughly a third (32.8%) of sites reported a perceived increased return to use and relapses, which supports this possibility. Additionally,

21.9% of program sites reported partially or entirely suspending standardized sanctions, and over a quarter (29.7%) reported being unable to use their standard incentives for participants and having to rely on non-contact or virtual options (e.g., virtual gift cards, sending a certificate via mail rather than presenting it to them in person). As sanctions and incentives are intended to be a key driver of participant program compliance and behavior change, limiting evidence-based sanctions and incentives could drastically affect participant success and program graduation. Taken together, these illustrate the difficulties programs experienced maintaining and adhering to evidence-based protocols and, in many cases, having to revert to using fewer effective practices or practices whose effectiveness was unknown.

The pandemic impacted operations of community programs and services that many of the treatment court and diversion programs rely on for treatment and supplemental services for participants. The theme of *External Impacts on Programs* highlights extensive system-wide disruptions that affected program site operations. Notably, nearly 2 in 5 programs (40.6%) reported limited or no access to treatment services, often because community treatment facilities closed temporarily or restricted capacity by social-distancing guidelines. These closures and restricted capacity often created long wait-times for participants to initiate or resume treatment. Again, this disruption to their care, for many during a time of high stress and vulnerability, may have contributed to participant adverse outcomes including increased relapses. Further, many programs also experienced reduced referrals (25%), often resulting from changes to how law enforcement and courts were operating, such as modified arrest procedures, fewer or delayed court hearings, efforts to reduce jail populations, and altered pre-trial detention practices. These changes impacted the programs typical approach to receiving referrals, such as screening individuals during jail booking – since fewer individuals were booked into jail during the pandemic, fewer individuals were screened for program eligibility. Access to community resources also proved challenging, as a handful of programs (12.5%) reported difficulties connecting participants to essential supports, such as housing or employment services. One site described a related concern involving housing stressors and the external implications for participant risk to relapse, reporting:

> *COVID has amplified the stresses of participants related to housing needs. Needing to house participants in hotels has increased triggers, as participants have used and partied in the same place where they are now being housed. Additional triggers/stressors are decreased employment opportunities, lack of in-person meetings and treatment services, and food scarcity. Case Managers have worked very hard to help participants overcome these triggers/stressors and continue to make progress in the program (Hybrid (Drug & OWI) Court))*

These challenges emphasize the interconnectedness between criminal justice programs and broader community systems, adding complexity and barriers to TAD sites' ability to deliver comprehensive services in the pandemic's rapidly evolving circumstances. Lastly, many programs reported that they had to ultimately stop or suspend some or all aspects of their programs at some point during the onset of the COVID pandemic. These closures are captured

in the *Suspended Programs* theme and includes sites reporting either partially or entirely suspending core program activities. For example, sites reported a suspension of receiving new participant referrals (15.6%) and screening and assessments of new participants (6.3%), often due to impacts or changes to programs' supervision or treatment provider capacity, external policy changes, or evolving law enforcement procedures. While reported only by a small number of sites (3.1%), some sites reported suspending referrals to residential treatment, most often because those programs were not admitting new patients due to capacity restraints. Together, this suggests that many individuals who may have been eligible to participate in the programs could not access the programs, and those who were referred and screened were not able to start accessing treatment, delaying treatment intervention for participants. Additionally, due to suspended aspects, programs reported that participants progression through the programs were dramatically extended. For example, 17.2% of sites reported postponing participant court hearings, 3.1% delayed termination hearings, and 20.3% delayed graduations, potentially lengthening program timelines and eroding participant motivation.

Some sites (17.2%) reported that participants could not progress through their programs due to court backlog and delays as courts prioritized progressing certain cases over others. While for some individuals these extended program timelines didn't interfere with the services they received, other sites reported that because participants were not able to complete important program milestones (e.g., phase completion hearings) they were not receiving the level of care that was best tailored to their needs (e.g., receiving incentives for progressing, reduced court hearings or supervision contacts). However, because a couple of sites were suspending termination hearings (due to court delays and backlog), some participants were offered additional opportunities to succeed in the program compared to pre-pandemic and were thus able to successfully graduate where they otherwise would have been discharged from the program.

Overall, the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted multiple aspects of the TAD programs, ranging from relying on virtual and non-contact methods, barriers to using evidence-based practices, reductions in participant admissions, and halting key program operations. The TAD sites displayed resilience as they navigated these challenges and selected responses that best fit with the needs of their participants and program within the limits of the pandemic. Importantly, information regarding whether some of these changes persisted for the programs, and for how long, is currently unknown. The results of the current evaluation period should be interpreted with caution. Any evaluation of results during this timeframe must be understood within the context of COVID-19 pandemic impacts on the program as they may not be comparable to how the programs operate today.

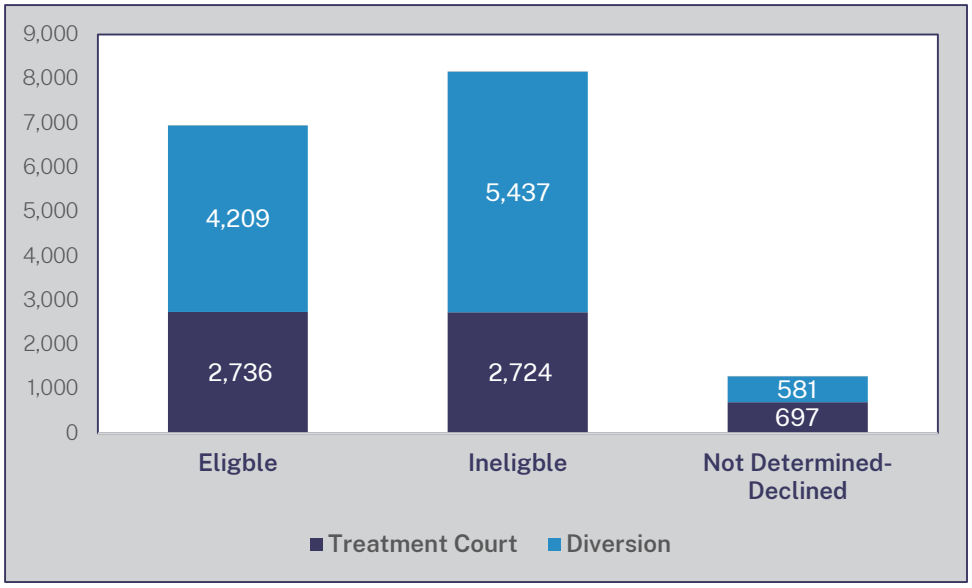
ELIGIBILITY, ADMISSION, AND DISCHARGE OVERVIEW

A total of 16,405 referrals were made to TAD-funded programs between 2019 and 2023. Of the referrals, 62% were to diversion programs and 38% were to treatment courts. At the time of this report, 21 referrals were still in "Under Review" status, and therefore do not have eligibility determinations. They are removed from the data displayed. In addition, 1,278 (7.8%)

people have no eligibility determination due to declining program participation prior to determining their eligibility. Almost half (49.8%) of people referred were found ineligible.

Eligibility criteria for TAD-funded programs can vary between programs based on program standards. However, in general, for a participant to receive TAD funding within a program they may not have a current or prior violent/weapon offense on their criminal record. Of the 16,405 individuals referred to TAD-funded programs between 2019 and 2023, approximately 13.5% (2,215) declined to participate. Some individuals were found eligible or ineligible then declined participation. These individuals are still displayed in their corresponding eligibility category below.

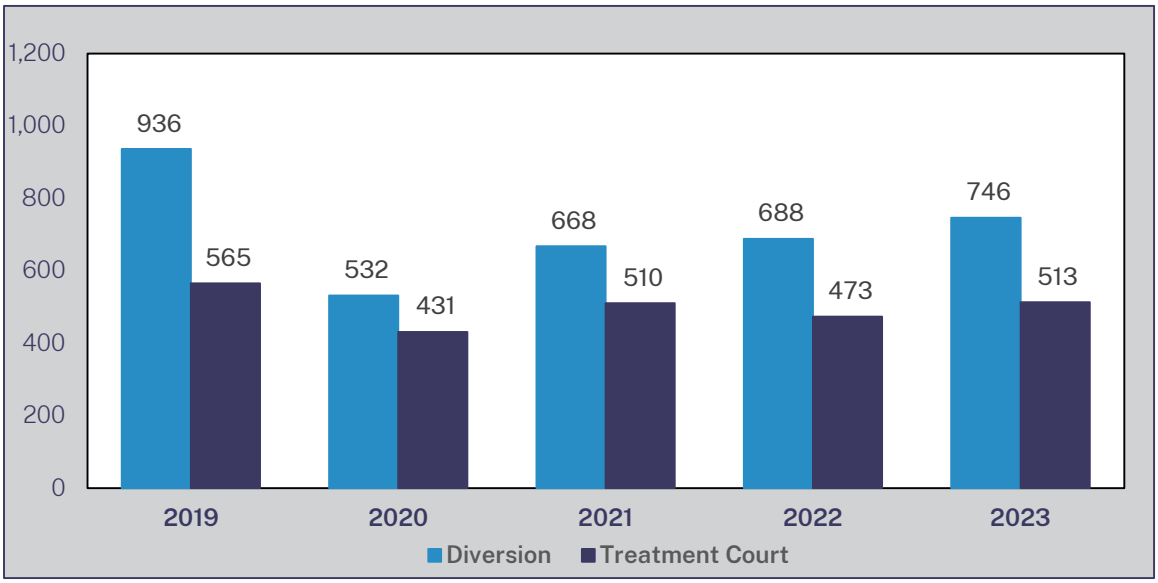
Figure 5: TAD Eligibility by Determination 2019-2023



Programs reported 6,062 admissions between 2019 and 2023. About 59% of the admissions were admissions to diversion programs, and 41% were admissions to treatment courts.

As shown in Figure 6, the number of admissions for both treatment courts and diversion programs decreased in 2020, during the start of the COVID-19 epidemic, and increased the next year. Admissions remained relatively stable since 2021.

Figure 6: Admissions by Program Type 2019-2023 by Year



A total of 7,148 discharges were reported between 2019-2023 for both treatment courts and diversion programs. Overall, two thirds of participants graduated (66%) compared to roughly one third (27.5%) who were terminated from the programs. Participants can be terminated for a variety of reasons, including program non-compliance, new charges being filed, probation revocation, etc. Other discharges, such as administrative discharges (e.g., death, moved), voluntary withdrawals, and transfers account for 6.5% of the total discharges. A higher proportion of participants were terminated from treatment courts (34.8%) compared to diversion program participants (22.3%). The completion rates were higher for both program types compared to the 2014-2018 evaluation. Most diversion program participants successfully completed their programs (72.7%) compared to 63.4% from 2018-2023. A higher percentage of treatment court participants also successfully completed their programs during this evaluation period (56.6%) compared to the last evaluation period (48.6%).

Figure 7: TAD Discharges by Type for Diversion and Treatment Court Participants 2019-2023

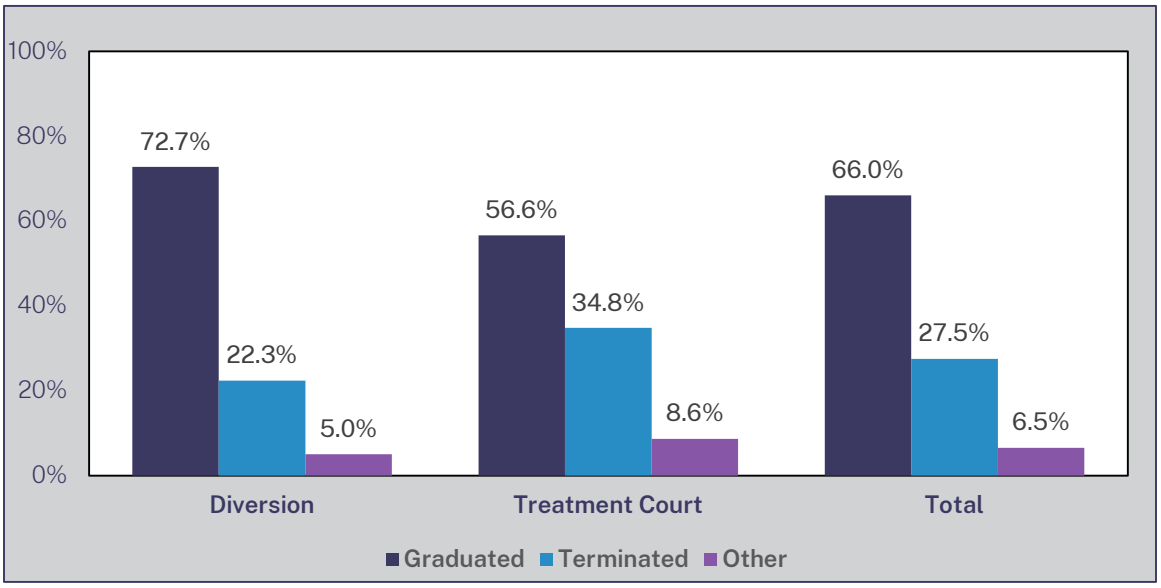


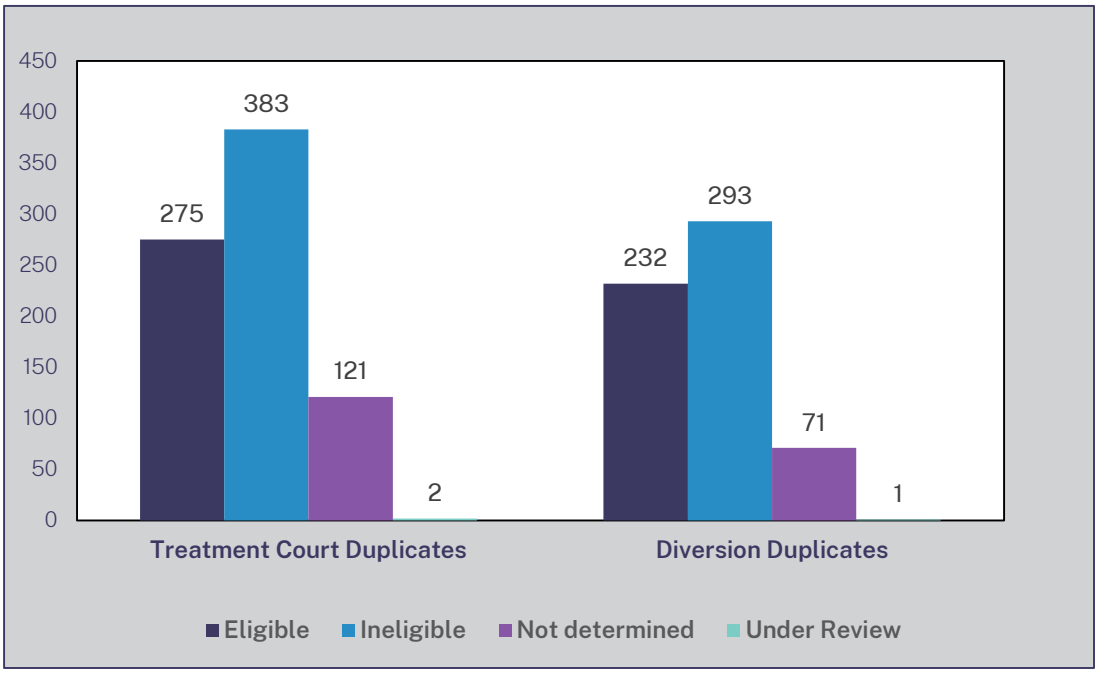
Table 1: TAD Discharges by Program Type 2019-2023

	Total		Diversion		Treatment Court	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Discharges	7,148	100.0%	4,176	58.4%	2,972	41.6%

MULTIPLE REFERRALS AND ADMISSIONS

In total, 8.4% of all referrals made to TAD-funded treatment courts and diversion programs from 2019 to 2023 were "duplicates," which are referrals for the same person (matched on first name, last name, and date of birth) for different referral events. There were 15,027 unique individuals referred, with 1,378 duplicate referrals identified. Of the duplicates, 49% (676) were found ineligible to participate in their referred program(s) and 36.8% (507) were found eligible, with the remainder either not determined or in progress.

Figure 8: Eligibility of Duplicate Referrals



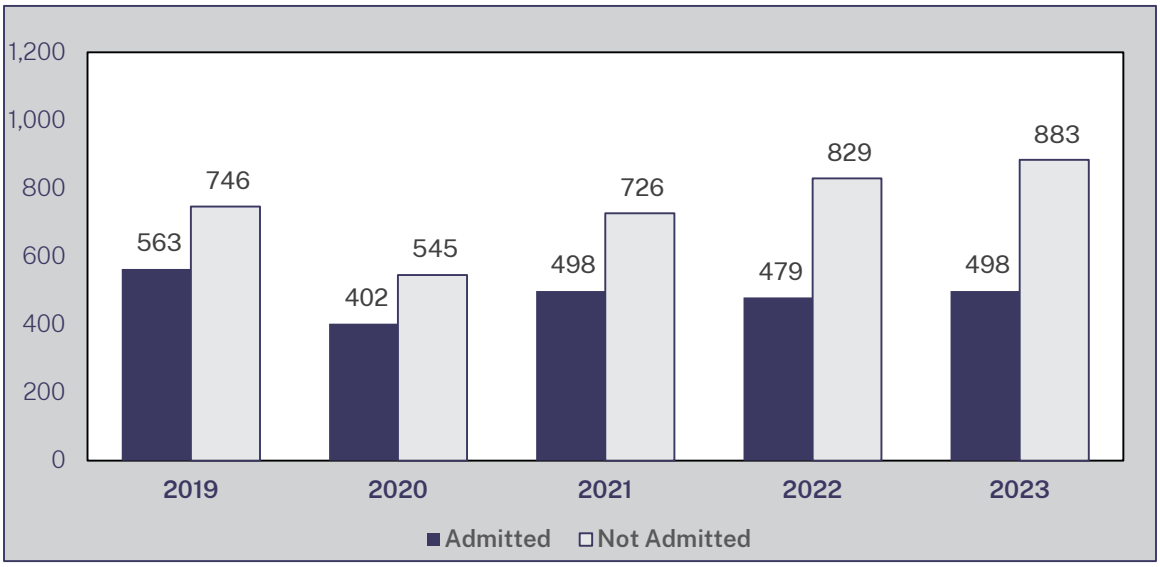
Of those found eligible, 424 (83.6%) were admitted to programs; 235 people were admitted to a treatment court program and 189 people were admitted to a diversion program. Although the duplicate referrals that led to admissions do not account for a large percentage of all admissions, this illustrates that the cohorts discussed throughout this report may contain the same individual more than once. In some rare situations, the same person may be admitted to two different programs at the same time.

TREATMENT COURT REFERRALS, ADMISSIONS, AND DISCHARGES

TREATMENT COURT REFERRALS AND ELIGIBILITY

As shown in Figure 9, the total number of treatment court referrals from 2019-2023 increased back to 2019 numbers after a decrease in 2020 (likely due to the pandemic). Of the 6,169 referrals to treatment courts, only 2,440 (39.6%) were eventually admitted to a program.

Figure 9: Treatment Court Referrals: Total Referrals by Referral Year



As shown in Table 2, the overall demographics of treatment court referrals indicate the majority were male (65.2%), White (82.4%), and between the ages of 26 and 35 (42.7%).

Table 2: Treatment Court Referrals: Demographic Summary of Referrals

	Total		Admitted		Not Admitted	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Age						
Average Age	35		34		36	
Under 18	8	0.1%	5	0.2%	3	0.1%
18-25	818	13.3%	361	14.8%	457	12.3%
26-35	2,637	42.7%	1,105	45.3%	1,532	41.1%
36-45	1,777	28.8%	665	27.3%	1,112	29.8%
45-55	603	9.8%	200	8.2%	403	10.8%
56+	318	5.2%	101	4.1%	217	5.8%
Unknown	8	0.1%	3	0.1%	5	0.1%
Sex						
Male	4,019	65.2%	1,475	60.5%	2,544	68.3%
Female	2,147	34.8%	965	39.5%	1,182	31.7%
Race						
White	5,082	82.4%	2,124	87.0%	2,958	79.3%
African American/Black	440	7.1%	111	4.5%	329	8.8%

American Indian/Alaskan Native	415	6.7%	147	6.0%	268	7.2%
Asian	50	0.8%	10	0.4%	40	1.1%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	4	0.1%	2	0.1%	2	0.1%
Other	81	1.3%	32	1.3%	49	1.3%
Unknown	97	1.6%	14	0.6%	83	2.2%
Ethnicity						
Hispanic/Latino	218	3.5%	97	4.0%	121	3.2%
Not Hispanic/Latino	4,748	77.0%	2,100	86.1%	2,648	71.0%
Unknown	1,203	19.5%	243	10.0%	960	25.7%

N=6,169

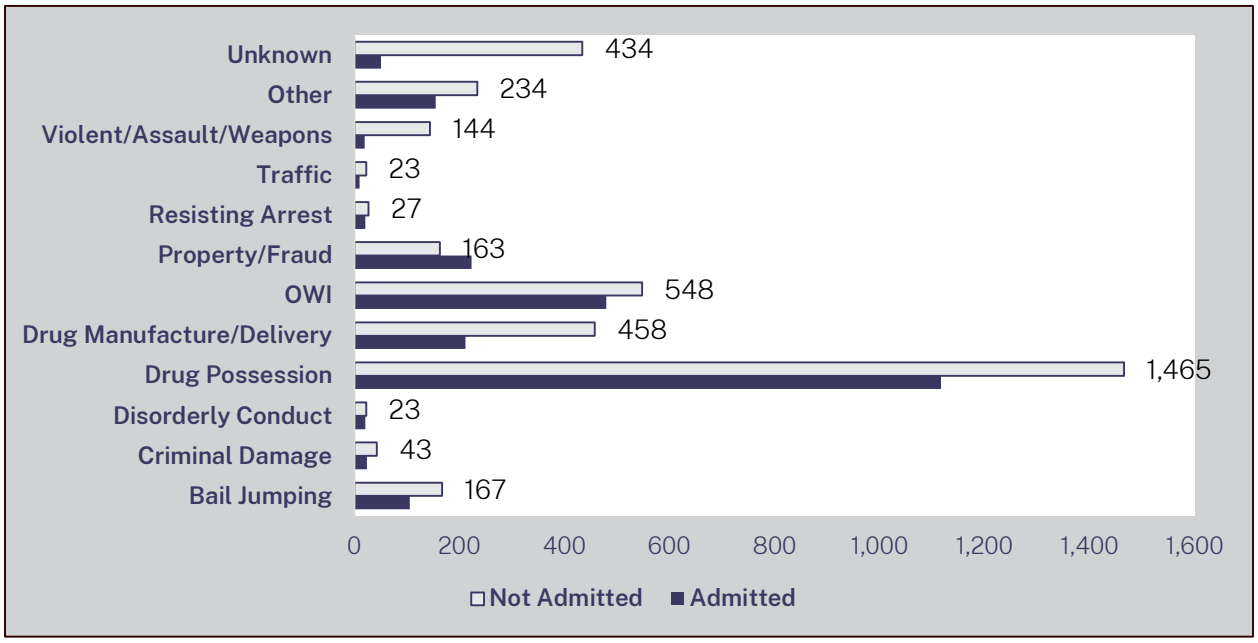
Many referrals have "unknown" risk and need levels, largely due to many referrals not being eligible or declining participation before risk and need assessments are completed. Of those known, most are high risk (38.8%) and high need (42.1%). Most referrals (83.2%) were listed with their primary offense as a felony, with the main offense being drug possession (41.9%) followed by OWI (16.7%).

Table 3: Treatment Court Referrals: Background Summary of Referrals

	Total		Admitted		Not Admitted	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Risk Level						
High	2,391	38.8%	1,600	65.6%	791	21.2%
Medium	664	10.8%	375	15.4%	289	7.8%
Low	383	6.2%	139	5.7%	244	6.5%
Unknown	2,731	44.3%	326	13.4%	2,405	64.5%
Need Level						
High	2,599	42.1%	1,741	71.4%	858	23.0%
Medium	498	8.1%	264	10.8%	234	6.3%
Low	276	4.5%	79	3.2%	197	5.3%
Unknown	2,796	45.3%	356	14.6%	2,440	65.4%
Offense Severity						
Felony	5,135	83.2%	2,094	85.8%	3,041	81.6%
Misdemeanor	339	5.5%	160	6.6%	179	4.8%
Criminal Traffic	330	5.3%	158	6.5%	172	4.6%
Other	15	0.2%	2	0.1%	13	0.3%
Unknown	350	5.7%	26	1.1%	324	8.7%

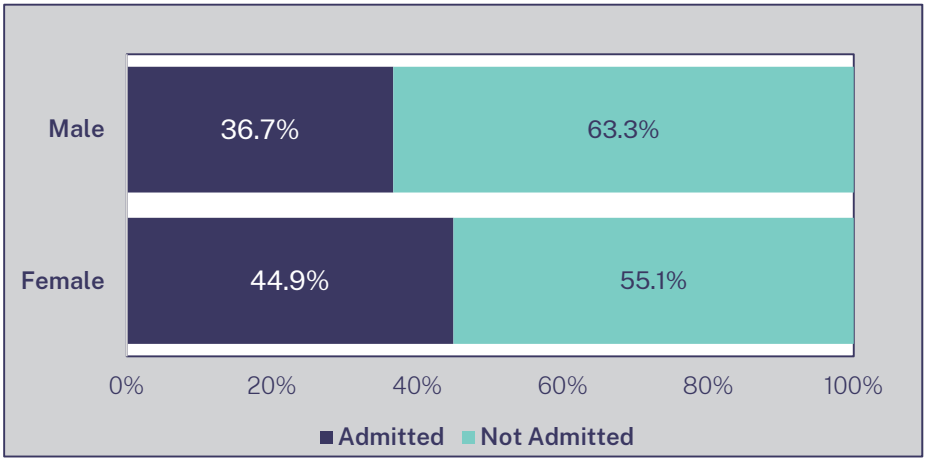
N=6,169

Figure 10: Treatment Court Referrals: Referrals by Referral Offense Type



For treatment courts, 36.7% of men referred were admitted and 44.9% of women referred were admitted to a program. Several factors may determine if an individual will be admitted to a program, such as willingness to participate, prior criminal history, and risk and need scores. Treatment court eligibility is explored further in the next section.

Figure 11: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Sex



About 41.8% of referrals who were identified as White were admitted to treatment court, while only 25.2% of African American/Black referrals, 35.4% of American Indian referrals, and 20% of Asian referrals were admitted. In addition, 57.8% of individuals referred for a property offense were admitted, the most out of any offense type (Figure 14).

Figure 12: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Race

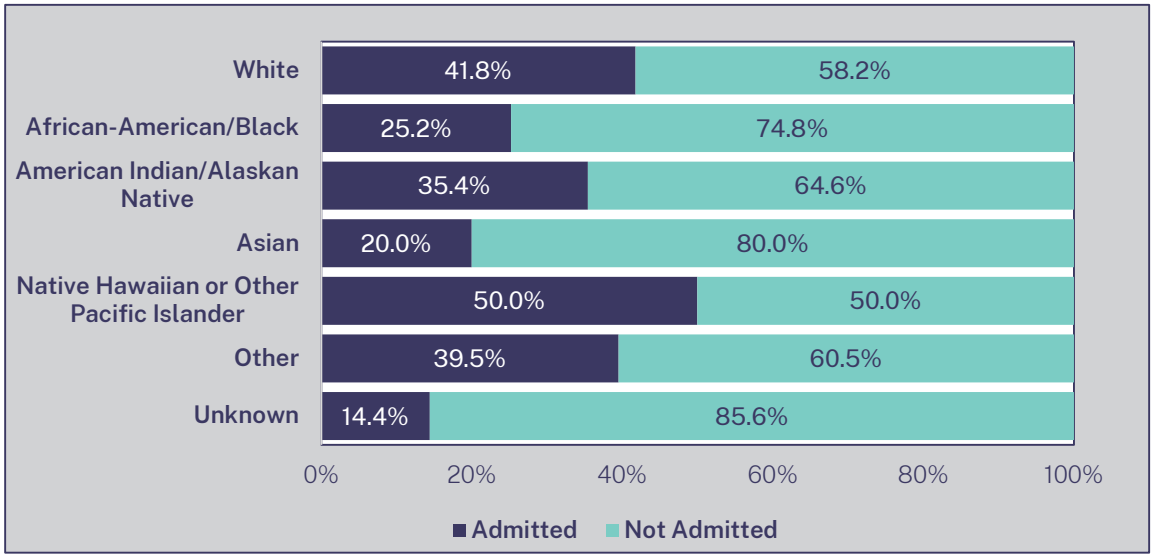


Figure 13: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Offense Severity

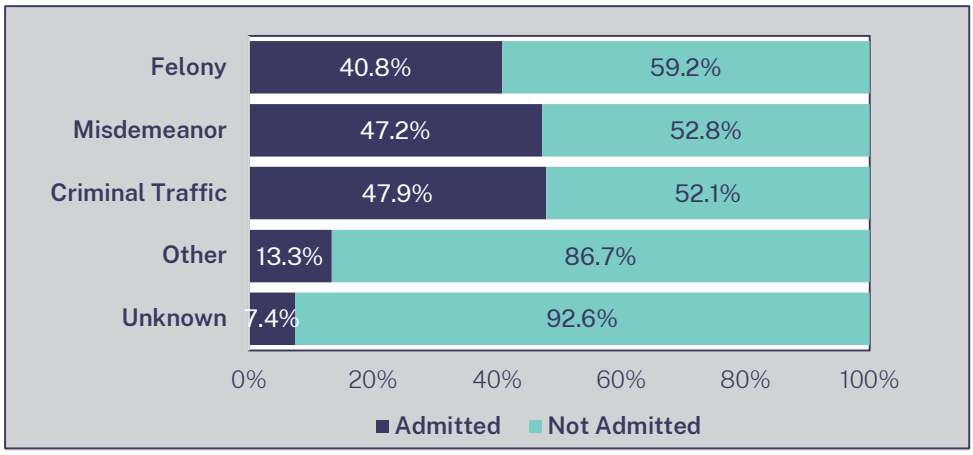
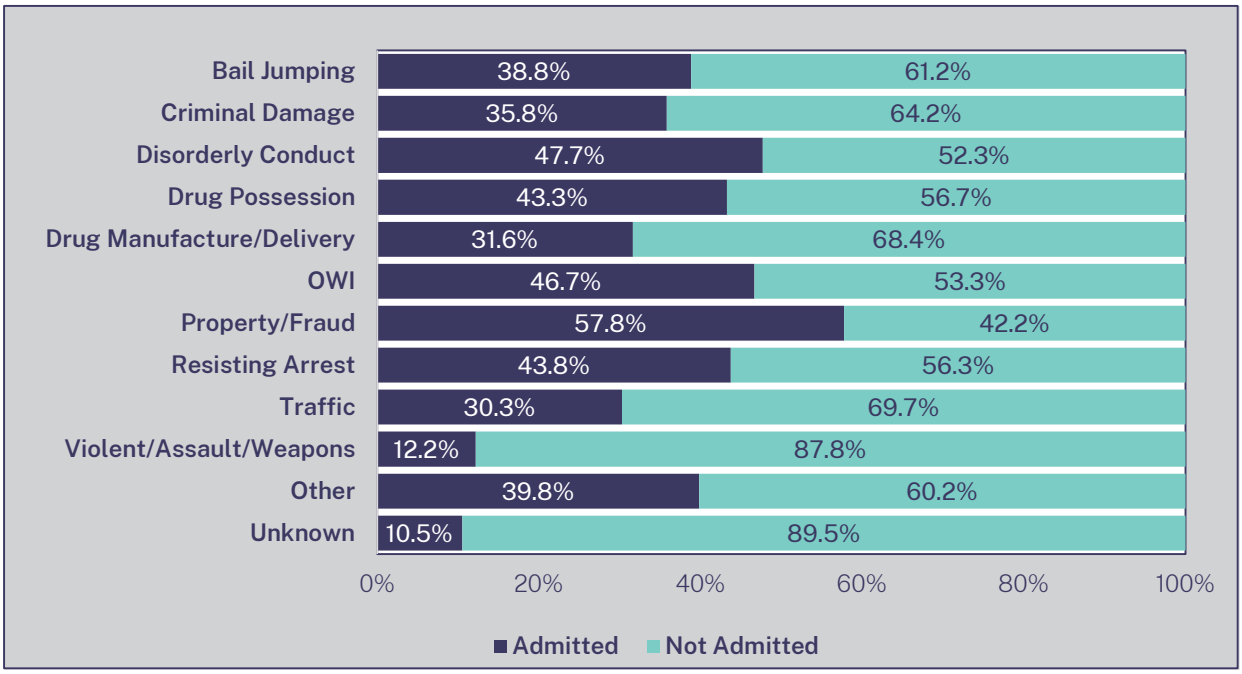


Figure 14: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Offense Type



TREATMENT COURT ELIGIBILITY SUMMARY

A total of 6,169 referrals were made to TAD-funded treatment courts between 2019-2023, with approximately 16.7% declining participation. Twelve referrals are still under review for eligibility and are removed from the figures below. Figures 15 and 16 below show a breakdown of the sex and race of referred individuals. 697 (11.3%) total people are listed as no determination due to them declining to participate before eligibility was determined. However, another 284 (10.4%) in the eligible category and 52 (1.9%) in the ineligible category also ended up declining to participate.

Figure 15: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Eligible by Sex

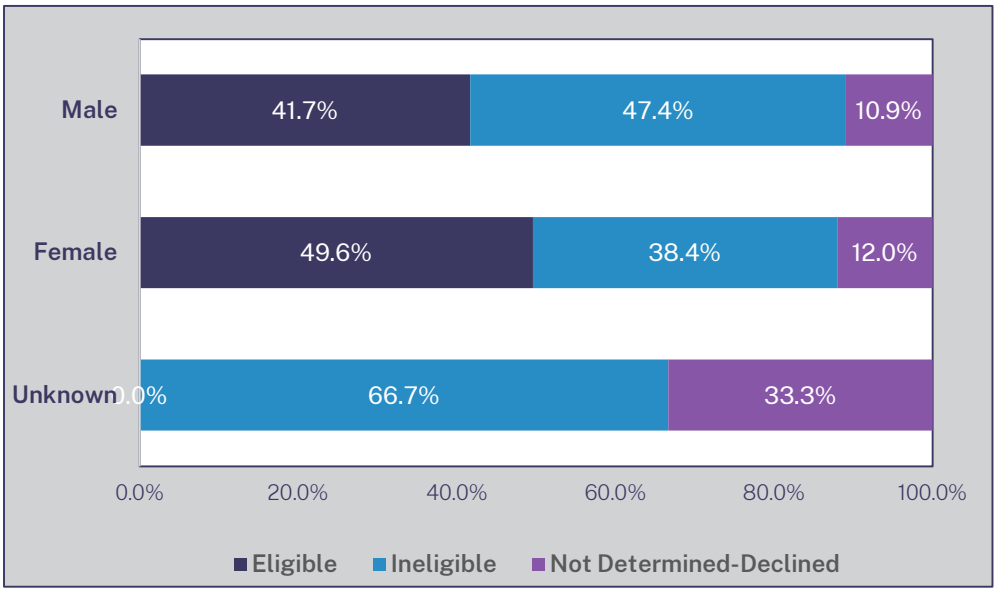
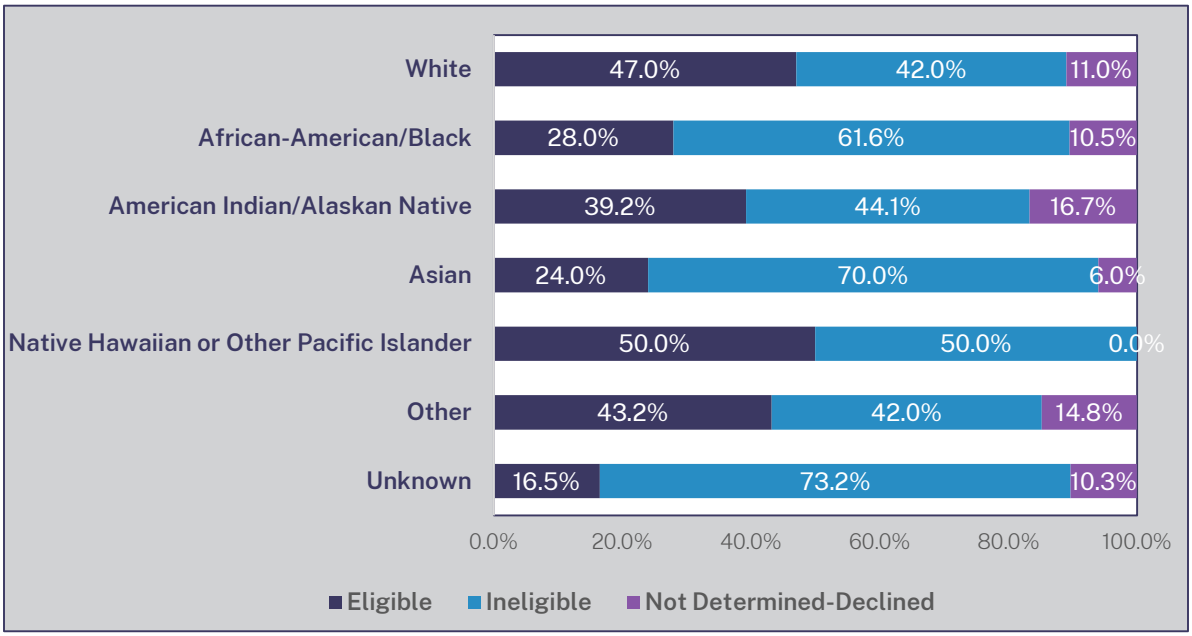


Figure 16: Treatment Court Referrals: Percent Referrals Eligible by Race



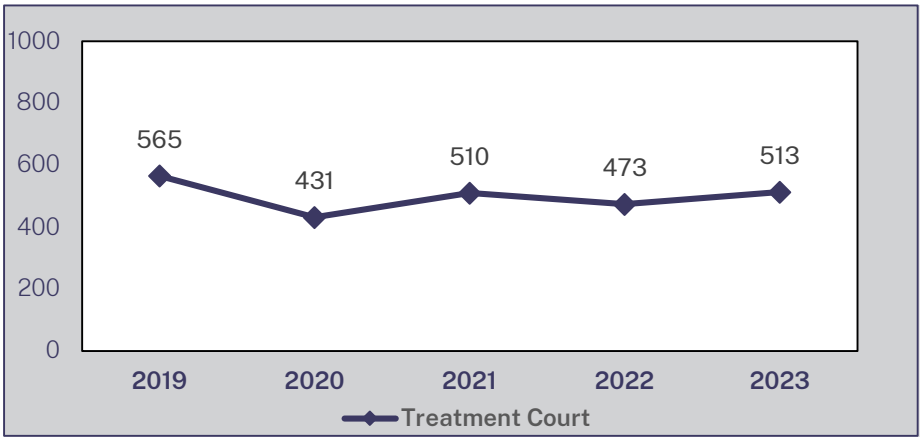
A person could be found ineligible for participation in a TAD program for multiple reasons, and sites select all reasons within the CORE Reporting System. For example, a person might be ineligible for a prior weapon offense and having a risk level too high for the program they were referred to. As such, counts for reasons for ineligibility exceed the total number of referrals found ineligible.

Although "Other" is the most common reason for ineligibility for treatment court programs, this category could be anything that is not covered by another available reason for sites to select. This reason also captures referrals that could not be reached by the site, absconded, or could not participate due to program capacity. As such, those with "Other" should be viewed as a combination of reasons the person is not in the program, but not all of them make the person truly ineligible for the program. Treatment courts largely found referrals ineligible due to risk level discrepancies, either too low risk (16.4%) or too high risk (8.15%) – together, these two categories represent almost a quarter of all ineligible reasons. Following risk level, 12.15% were not eligible due to not meeting residency requirements and having a current or prior violent or weapon offense impacted 10.65% of referrals' eligibility. In total, current or prior excluding offenses (which vary program to program and person to person) comprise just over 20% of all reasons for ineligibility in treatment courts. Appendix D shows a table of the frequencies of reasons for ineligibility for treatment court referrals.

TREATMENT COURT ADMISSIONS SUMMARY

The total number of treatment court admissions from 2019-2023 decreased by 23% from 2019 to 2020 (likely due to the pandemic) and has increased since 2020 to nearly pre-pandemic levels.

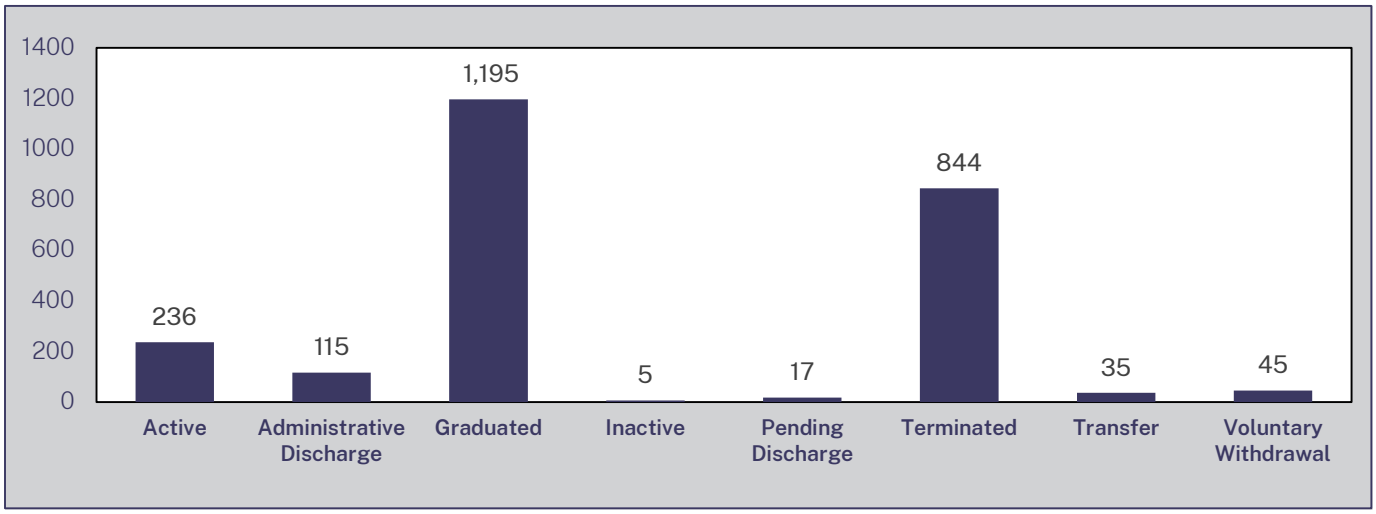
Figure 17: Treatment Court Admissions: Total Admissions by Admission Year



N=2,492

As shown in Figure 18, most admissions have graduated or were terminated from treatment court, with 236 (9.5%) still listed as active in a program.

Figure 18: Treatment Court Admissions: Total Admissions by Program Status



N=2,492

The majority (71.9%) had a high school diploma or less at the point of admission. More than half (60.4%) of participants were not employed at the time of their program admissions, with 24.8% employed full-time. The highest percent of participants (35.2%) were reported to be living with relatives or friends at the time of admission, and 28.7% were living independently. These characteristics are similar to the characteristics of participants in the 2014-2018 evaluation.

Most of the participants (61.9%) had a high risk score and most also had a high needs score (68.1%), as is expected of the treatment court population. Methamphetamines (30.9%) and alcohol (23.4%) were listed as the primary drug of choice for participants, followed by heroin (22.2%). This is a change from the last evaluation, where opioids/opiates (non-heroin) and alcohol were the highest. Most (85.3%) participants were listed with their primary offense being a felony and the offense being drug possession (44.7%). This differs from the previous evaluation where most (36.2%) had a drug manufacture/delivery charge, followed by OWI.

Figure 19: Treatment Court Admissions: Admissions by Drug of Choice

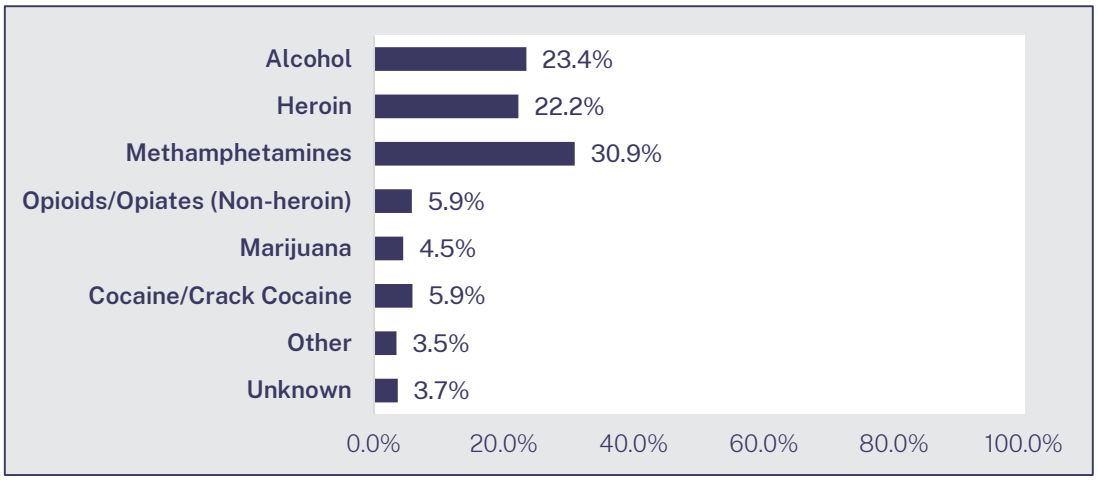


Figure 20: Treatment Court Admissions: Admissions by Risk Level

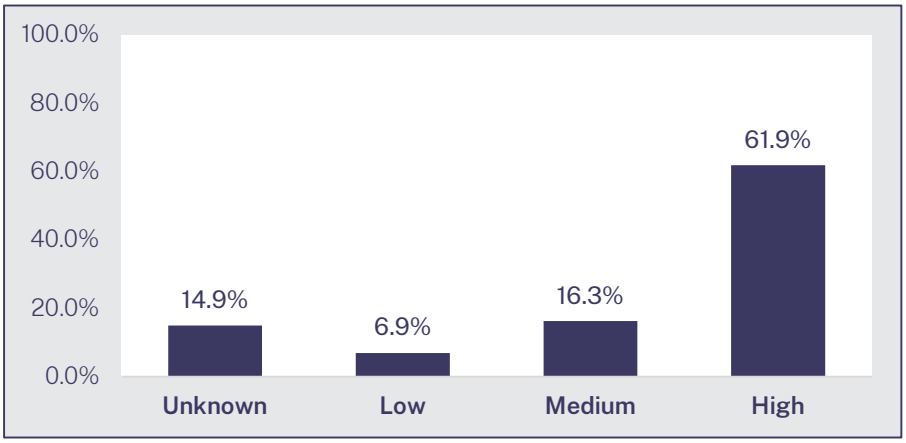
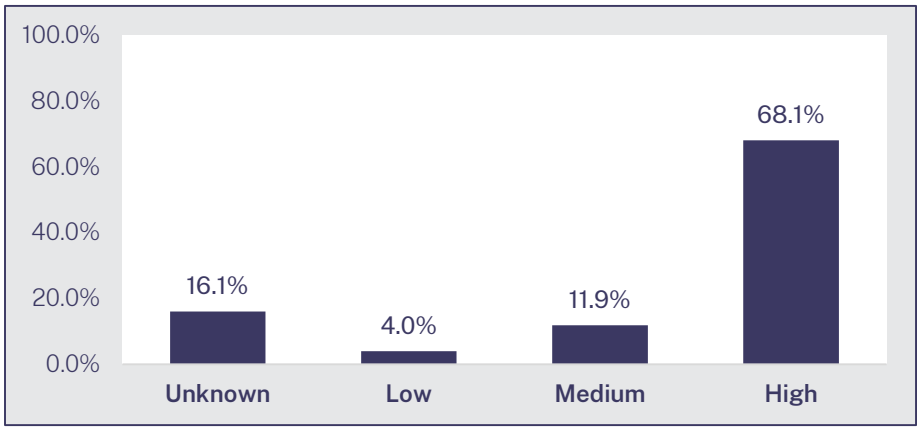


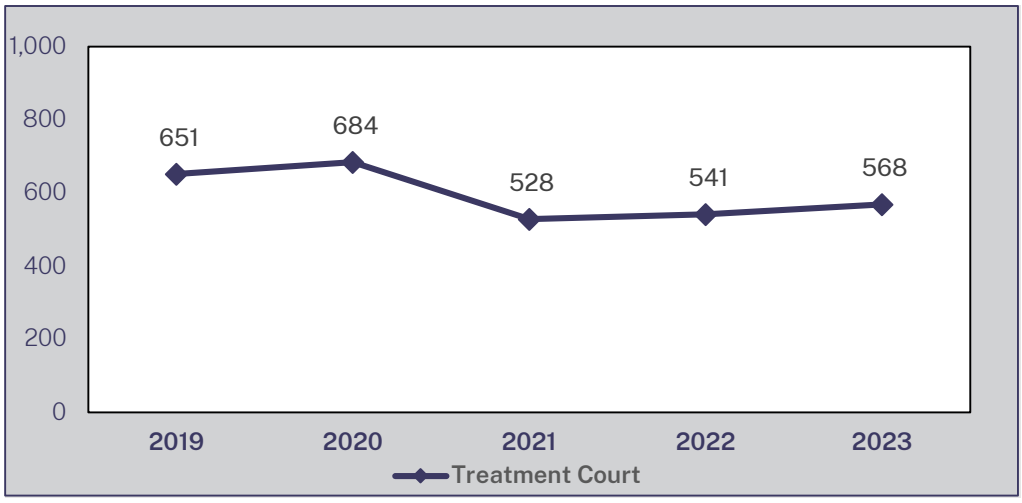
Figure 21: Treatment Court Admissions: Admissions by Need Level



TREATMENT COURT DISCHARGES SUMMARY

The total number of treatment court discharges from 2019-2023 decreased overall as shown in Figure 22. Given the length of treatment court programs, the decrease in discharges in 2021 coincides with the decrease in admissions in 2020, in alignment with the beginning of the pandemic.

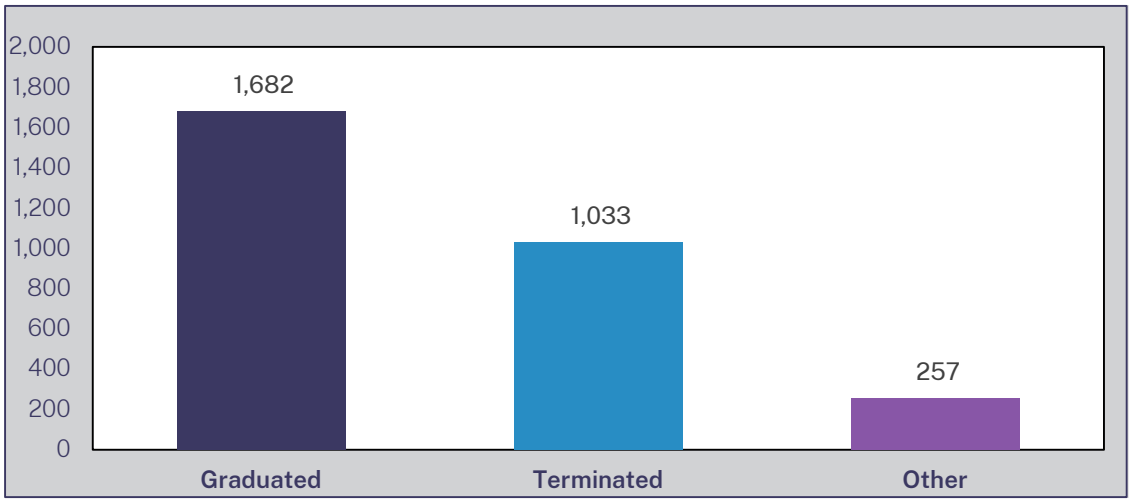
Figure 22: Treatment Court Discharges: Total Discharges by Year



N=2,972

The majority (56.6%) of participants graduated from treatment court programs between 2019-2023, which is an increase from the 2014-2018 evaluation when 48.6% of participants graduated. About a third (34.8%) were terminated and 8.6% were discharged for other reasons.

Figure 23: Treatment Court Discharges: Total Discharges by Type



Most participants discharged from treatment courts between 2019-2023 were White (87%), male (62.2%), and between the ages of 26 and 35 (44.4%). Of male discharges 58.2% graduated, and of female discharges, 53.9% graduated. For race, 58.7% of White discharges graduated, 43.8% of African American/Black discharges graduated, and 39% of discharges who were American Indian graduated. Graduates also tended to be older than those terminated.

Figure 24: Treatment Court Discharges: Discharges by Sex

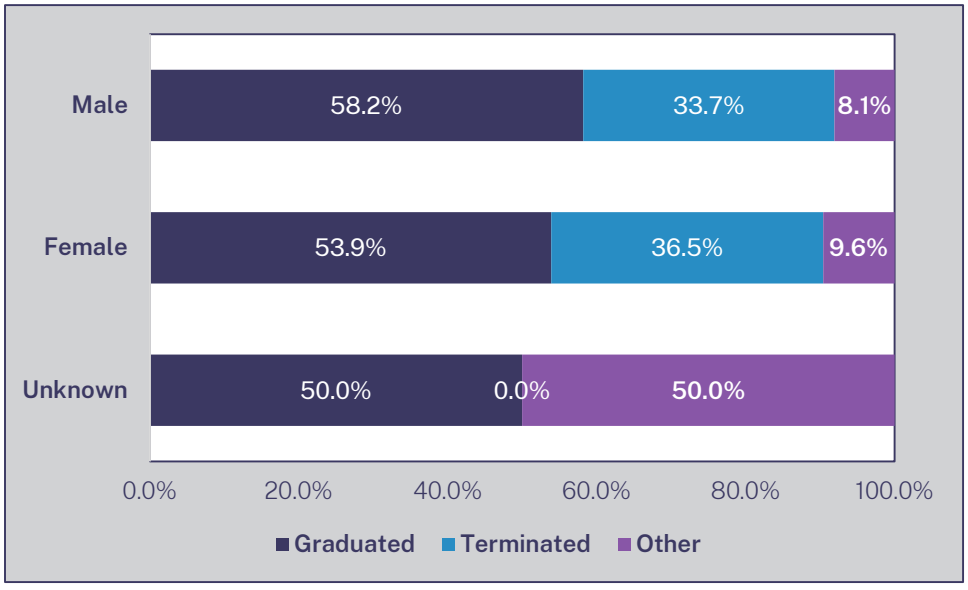
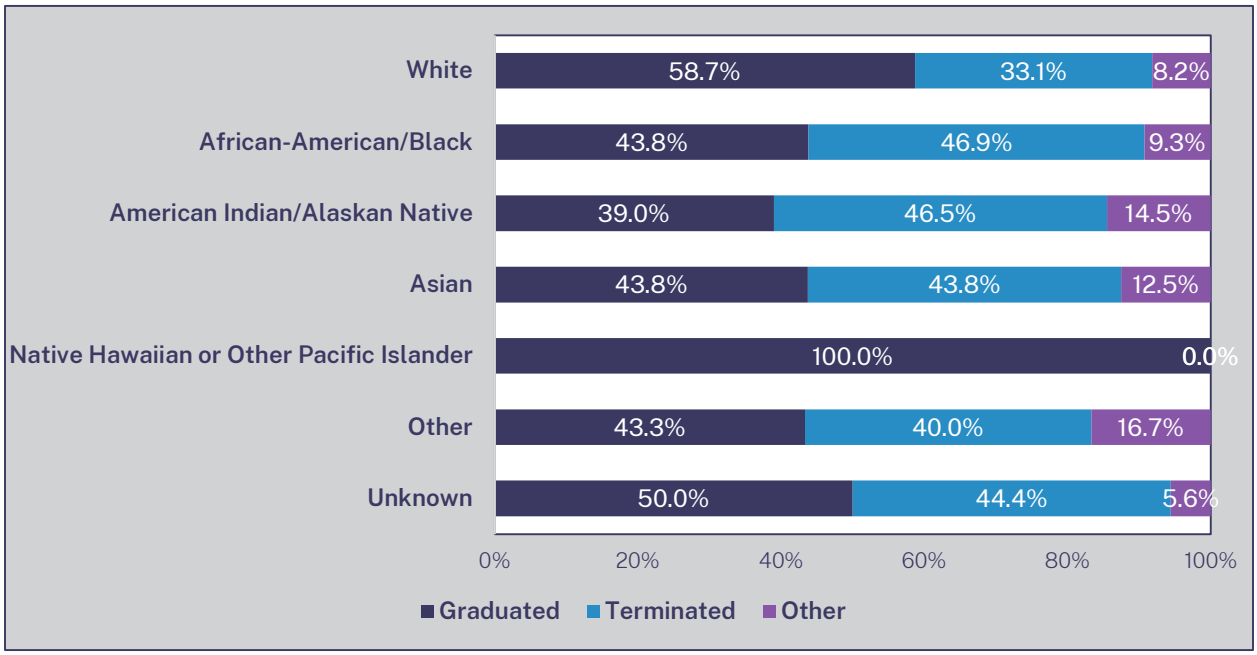


Figure 25: Treatment Court Discharges: Discharges by Race



The personal characteristics of participants discharged from TAD treatment court programs between 2019-2023 indicate most had a high school education or less (66.1%). This was higher for those who were terminated (71.5%) than those who graduated (61.9%). There was greater contrast in employment status at time of discharge, with 66.3% of discharges who graduated employed full-time while 10.7% were employed full-time for those who were terminated.

Looking at the background summary of those discharged from treatment courts during this period, the majority were reported as having high criminogenic risk (58.3%) and high need scores (64.3%). Higher risk and need participants were more likely to be terminated, with 60.9% terminated compared to 56.7% who graduated with high risk.

Alcohol, methamphetamine, and heroin were the most common primary drugs for discharged participants, however, this differed by discharge type. Alcohol was the most common primary drug amongst graduates, whereas meth was more common amongst those terminated. This differs from the last evaluation period where opiates/opioids (non-heroin) were the most common drug of choice amongst those terminated.

Table 4: Treatment Court Discharges: Background Summary of Discharges by Type of Discharge

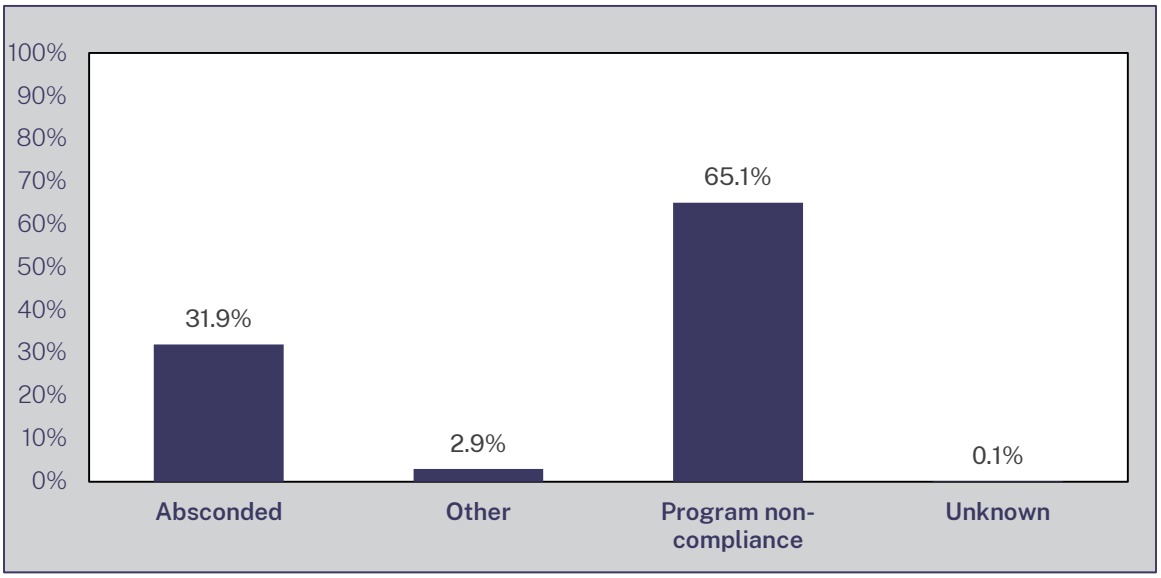
	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Risk Level								
High	1,732	58.3%	953	56.7%	629	60.9%	150	58.4%
Medium	500	16.8%	303	18.0%	159	15.4%	38	14.8%
Low	254	8.5%	193	11.5%	43	4.2%	18	7.0%

Unknown	486	16.4%	233	13.9%	202	19.6%	51	19.8%
Need Level								
High	1,912	64.3%	1071	63.7%	673	65.2%	168	65.4%
Medium	387	13.0%	243	14.4%	113	10.9%	31	12.1%
Low	138	4.6%	107	6.4%	26	2.5%	5	1.9%
Unknown	535	18.0%	261	15.5%	221	21.4%	53	20.6%
Drug of Choice								
Alcohol	772	26.0%	565	33.6%	151	14.6%	56	21.8%
Heroin	713	24.0%	393	23.4%	262	25.4%	58	22.6%
Methamphetamines	758	25.5%	364	21.6%	330	31.9%	64	24.9%
Opioids/Opiates (Non-heroin)	176	5.9%	88	5.2%	70	6.8%	18	7.0%
Marijuana	132	4.4%	66	3.9%	53	5.1%	13	5.1%
Cocaine/Crack Cocaine	161	5.4%	62	3.7%	78	7.6%	21	8.2%
Other	144	4.8%	89	5.3%	47	4.5%	8	3.1%
Unknown	116	3.9%	55	3.3%	42	4.1%	19	7.4%
Offense Type								
Bail Jumping	98	3.3%	45	2.7%	48	4.6%	5	1.9%
Criminal Damage	31	1.0%	13	0.8%	15	1.5%	3	1.2%
Disorderly Conduct	43	1.4%	29	1.7%	12	1.2%	2	0.8%
Drug Possession	1,174	39.5%	583	34.7%	476	46.1%	115	44.7%
Drug Manufacture/Delivery	256	8.6%	153	9.1%	87	8.4%	16	6.2%
OWI	657	22.1%	509	30.3%	104	10.1%	44	17.1%
Property/Fraud	277	9.3%	112	6.7%	130	12.6%	35	13.6%
Resisting Arrest	20	0.7%	7	0.4%	11	1.1%	2	0.8%
Traffic	14	0.5%	10	0.6%	3	0.3%	1	0.4%
Violent/Assault/Weapons	55	1.9%	32	1.9%	16	1.5%	7	2.7%
Other	251	8.4%	137	8.1%	91	8.8%	23	8.9%
Unknown	96	3.2%	52	3.1%	40	3.9%	4	1.6%
Offense Severity								
Felony	2,436	82.0%	1332	79.2%	904	87.5%	200	77.8%
Misdemeanor	262	8.8%	152	9.0%	75	7.3%	35	13.6%
Criminal Traffic	208	7.0%	160	9.5%	29	2.8%	19	7.4%
Other	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Unknown	64	2.2%	37	2.2%	24	2.3%	3	1.2%

N=2,972
Based on primary charge at time of admission

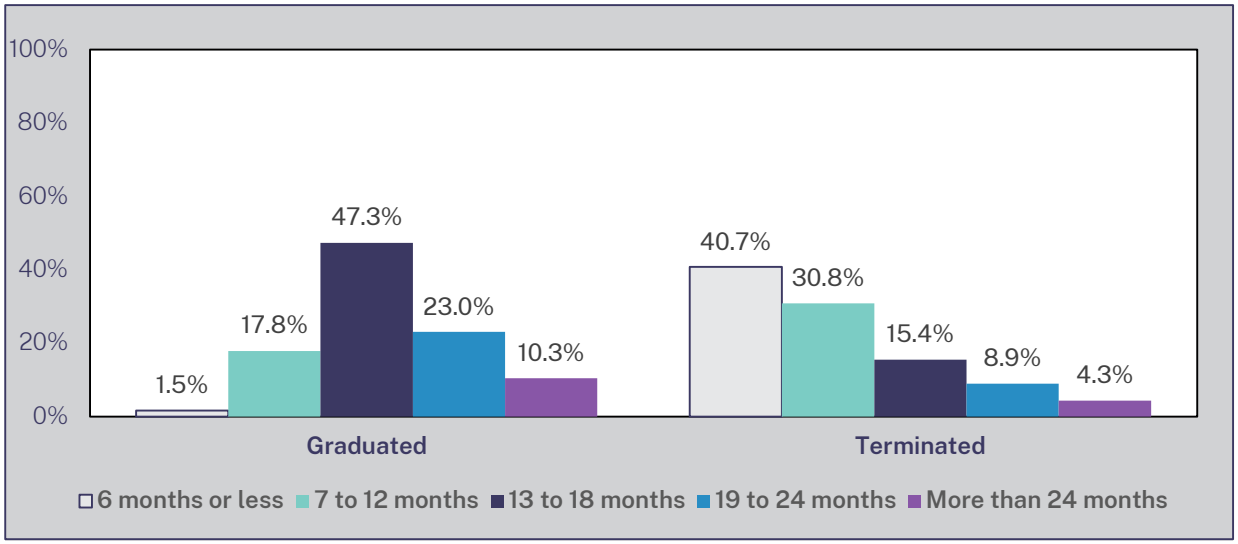
The primary reason for termination was for program non-compliance (65.1%). Program non-compliance can include a variety of behaviors from a new arrest or incarceration to missed court appearances and an assortment of other non-compliance reasons depending on specific program requirements.

Figure 26: Treatment Court Discharges: Termination Reason



As shown in Figure 27, of those who graduated, the majority spent more than a year in a treatment court program with 47.3% spending between 13 and 18 months. Of those who were terminated, the highest percent were terminated within six months (40.7%), with an additional 31% between seven months to a year.

Figure 27: Treatment Court Discharges: Length of Time in Program by Discharge Type



PROCEDURAL FAIRNESS SURVEY RESULTS

For the five-year span of 2019-2023, in all five areas of contact asked about in the survey, scores on average met or exceeded 6 (*Agree*), showing a positive perception of the TAD-

funded treatment courts. Both the average scores and the total number of survey respondents decreased in the years of 2020 and 2021, possibly due to the COVID-19 pandemic and its various impacts on program attendance and operations.

Table 5: Procedural Fairness Scores

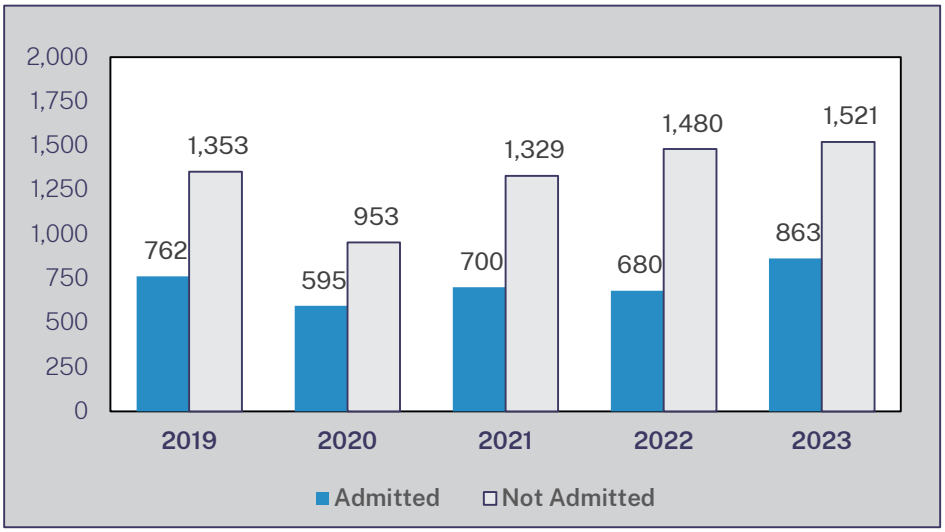
Area of Contact	2019 Average	2020 Average	2021 Average	2022 Average	2023 Average	Five-Year Average
Judge	6.22 *(n = 582)*	6.13 *(n = 325)*	6.12 *(n = 265)*	6.33 *(n = 358)*	6.24 *(n = 366)*	**6.21**
Case Manager	6.46 *(n = 577)*	6.40 *(n = 324)*	6.32 *(n = 266)*	6.44 *(n = 357)*	6.41 *(n = 363)*	**6.41**
Probation Officer	6.43 *(n = 540)*	6.28 *(n = 307)*	6.29 *(n = 253)*	6.29 *(n = 335)*	6.47 *(n = 345)*	**6.35**
Treatment Provider	6.49 *(n = 578)*	6.28 *(n = 322)*	6.27 *(n = 265)*	6.41 *(n = 355)*	6.40 *(n = 365)*	**6.37**
Staff of Court	6.15 *(n = 578)*	6.08 *(n = 318)*	6.03 *(n = 264)*	6.24 *(n = 358)*	6.22 *(n = 366)*	**6.14**
Total Average	**6.35**	**6.23**	**6.21**	**6.34**	**6.35**	**6.30**

DIVERSION PROGRAM PARTICIPANT REFERRAL, ELIGIBILITY, ADMISSION, AND DISCHARGE OVERVIEW

DIVERSION PROGRAM REFERRALS AND ELIGIBILITY

As shown in Figure 28, the total number of diversion program referrals from 2019-2023 increased steadily after a decrease in 2020 (likely due to the pandemic). Of the 10,236 referrals to diversion programs, only 3,600 (35.2%) were eventually admitted to a program.

Figure 28: Diversion Program Referrals: Total Referrals by Referral Year



As shown in Table 6, the overall demographics of diversion program referrals indicate the majority were male (63.8%), White (58.9%), and between the ages of 18 and 25 (33.5%).

Table 6: Diversion Program Referrals: Demographic Summary of Referrals

	Total		Admitted		Not Admitted	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Age						
Average Age	31		32		31	
Under 18	380	3.7%	98	2.7%	282	4.2%
18-25	3,434	33.5%	1,111	30.9%	2,323	35.0%
26-35	3,206	31.3%	1,122	31.2%	2,084	31.4%
36-45	1,809	17.7%	723	20.1%	1,086	16.4%
46-55	870	8.5%	342	9.5%	528	8.0%
56+	516	5.0%	189	5.3%	327	4.9%
Unknown	21	0.2%	15	0.4%	6	0.1%
Sex						
Male	6,511	63.8%	2,230	62.2%	4,281	64.6%
Female	3,702	36.2%	1,354	37.8%	2,348	35.4%
Race						
White	6,034	58.9%	2,853	79.3%	3,181	47.9%
African American/Black	3,377	33.0%	398	11.1%	2,979	44.9%
American Indian/Alaskan Native	313	3.1%	143	4.0%	170	2.6%
Asian	147	1.4%	67	1.9%	80	1.2%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	3	0.0%	3	0.1%	0	0.0%
Other	115	1.1%	71	2.0%	44	0.7%
Unknown	247	2.4%	65	1.8%	182	2.7%
Ethnicity						
Hispanic/Latino	896	8.8%	242	6.7%	654	9.9%
Not Hispanic/Latino	8,081	78.9%	3,123	86.8%	4,958	74.7%
Unknown	1,259	12.3%	235	6.5%	1,024	15.4%

N=10,236

Most referrals to diversion programs have an unknown risk and need score (Table 7); this is likely due to referrals being determined ineligible before they reach the full risk/need assessment. Of those known, most are medium risk (22.4%) and medium need (28.4%). Many referrals (44.4%) were listed with their primary offense as a misdemeanor, with the main offense being drug possession followed by OWI, though most did not have their offense listed.

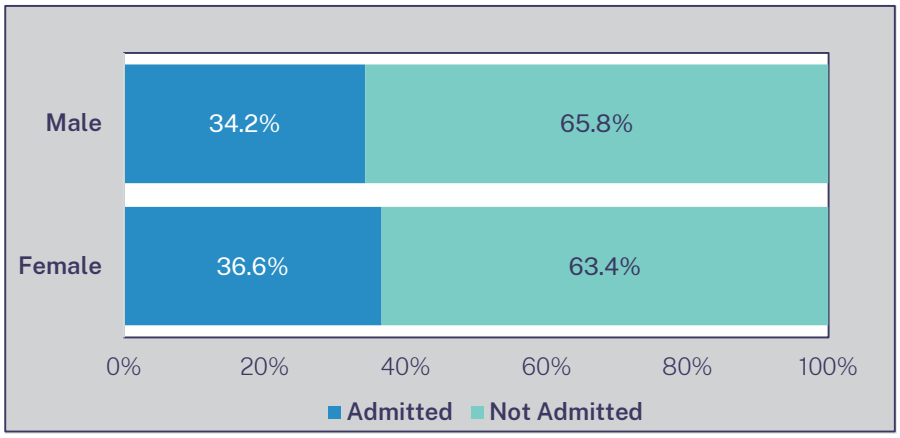
Table 7: Diversion Program Referrals: Background Summary of Referrals

	Total		Admitted		Not Admitted	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Risk Level						
High	556	5.4%	228	6.3%	328	4.9%
Medium	2,293	22.4%	985	27.4%	1,308	19.7%
Low	1,801	17.6%	1,246	34.6%	555	8.4%
Unknown	5,586	54.6%	1,141	31.7%	4,445	67.0%
Need Level						
High	464	4.5%	341	9.5%	123	1.9%
Medium	2,906	28.4%	1,070	29.7%	1,836	27.7%
Low	777	7.6%	647	18.0%	130	2.0%
Unknown	6,089	59.5%	1,542	42.8%	4,547	68.5%
Offense Type						
Bail Jumping	83	0.8%	37	1.0%	46	0.7%
Criminal Damage	146	1.4%	95	2.6%	51	0.8%
Disorderly Conduct	810	7.9%	568	15.8%	242	3.6%
Drug Possession	1,627	15.9%	1,020	28.3%	607	9.1%
Drug Manufacture/Delivery	227	2.2%	125	3.5%	102	1.5%
OWI	878	8.6%	463	12.9%	415	6.3%
Property/Fraud	194	1.9%	134	3.7%	60	0.9%
Resisting Arrest	73	0.7%	44	1.2%	29	0.4%
Traffic	122	1.2%	89	2.5%	33	0.5%
Violent/Assault/Weapons	316	3.1%	209	5.8%	107	1.6%
Other	307	3.0%	220	6.1%	87	1.3%
Unknown	5,453	53.3%	596	16.6%	4,857	73.2%
Offense Severity						
Felony	3,221	31.5%	1,427	39.6%	1,794	27.0%
Misdemeanor	4,543	44.4%	1,515	42.1%	3,028	45.6%
Criminal Traffic	806	7.9%	438	12.2%	368	5.5%
Other	71	0.7%	14	0.4%	57	0.9%
Unknown	1,595	15.6%	206	5.7%	1,389	20.9%

N=10,236

About 34.2% of referrals who were men were admitted and 36.6% of women were admitted to a program. Several factors may determine if an individual will be admitted to a program, such as willingness to participate, prior criminal history, and risk and need scores. Diversion program eligibility is explored further in the next section.

Figure 29: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Sex



About 47.3% of referred individuals who were White were admitted to a diversion program, while 11.8% of African American/Black referrals, 45.7% of American Indian, and 45.6% of Asian referrals were admitted (Figure 30). In addition, 54.3% of individuals referred for a criminal traffic offense were admitted, while 44.3% of felony referrals and 33.3% of misdemeanor referrals were admitted to a diversion program (Figure 31).

Figure 30: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Race

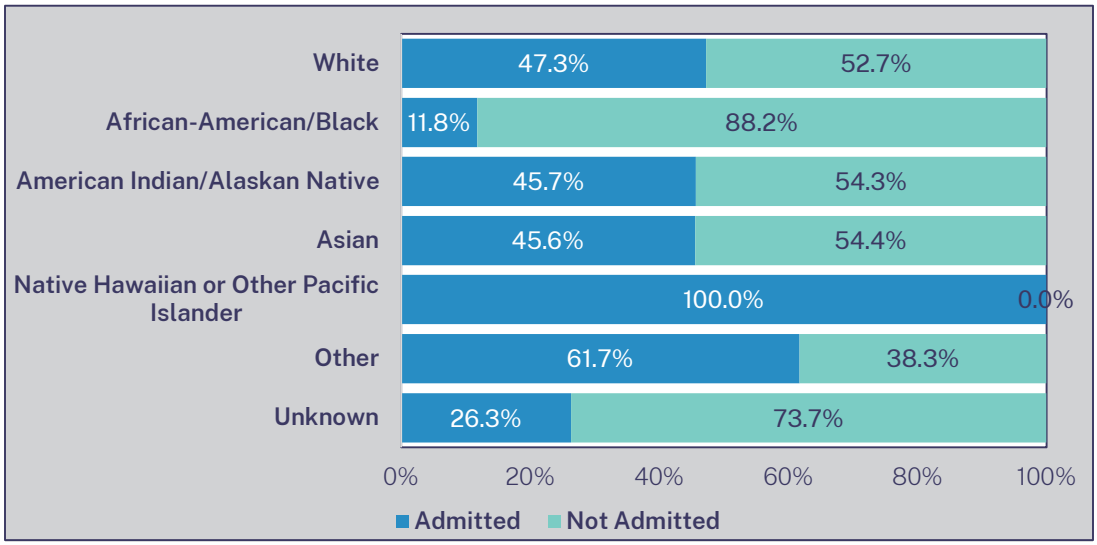


Figure 31: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Offense Severity

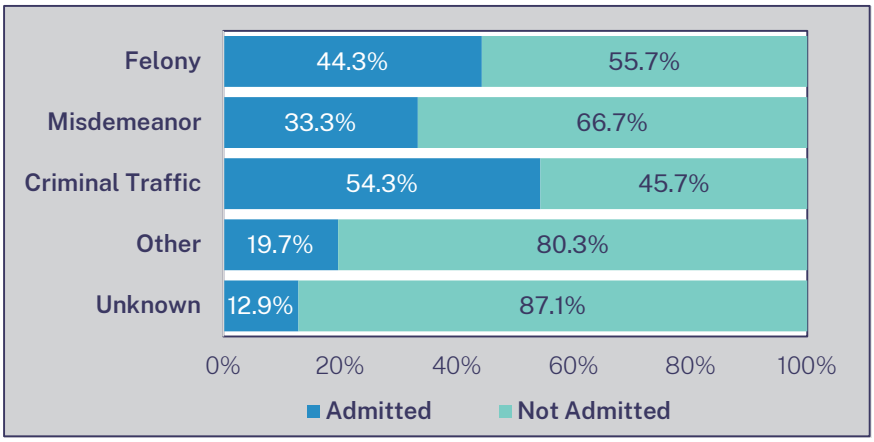
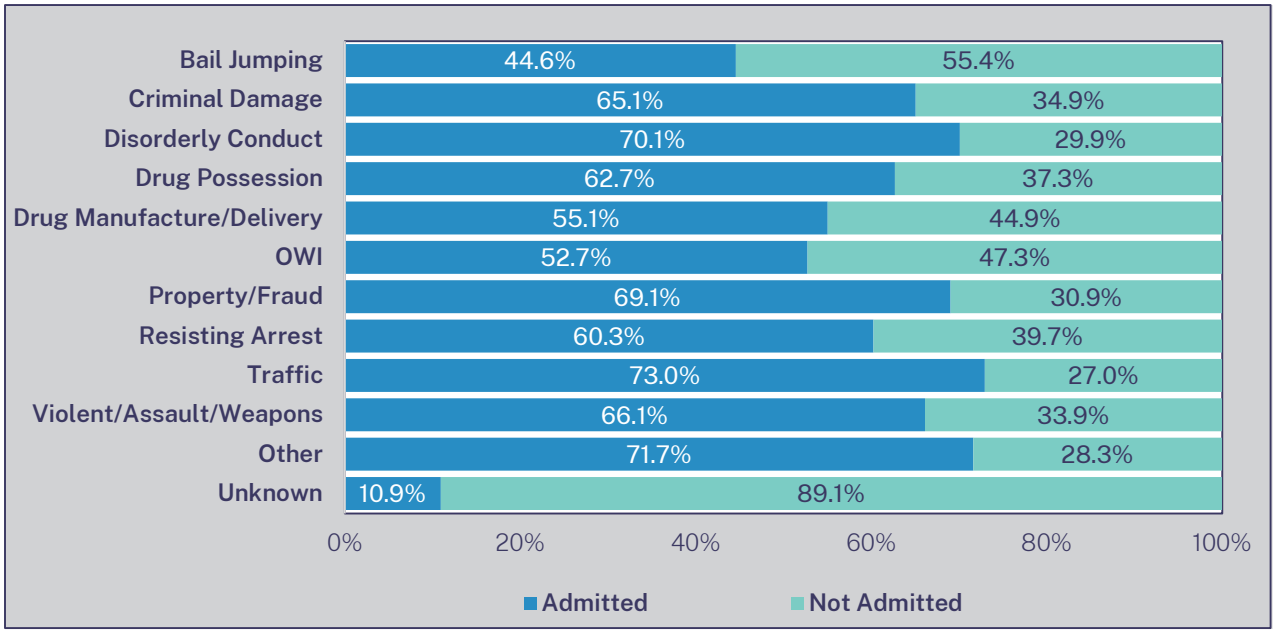


Figure 32: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Admitted by Offense Type



DIVERSION PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY SUMMARY

For diversion programs, 10,236 referrals were made statewide from 2019-2023, and approximately 11.5% of them declined to participate. Nine referrals are still under review for eligibility and are removed from the below figures. Figures 33 and 34 below show a breakdown of the sex and race of referred individuals. 581 (5.7%) total people are listed as no determination due to them declining to participate before eligibility was determined. However, another 566 (13.4%) in the eligible category and 35 (0.6%) in the ineligible category also ended up declining to participate.

Figure 33: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Eligible by Sex

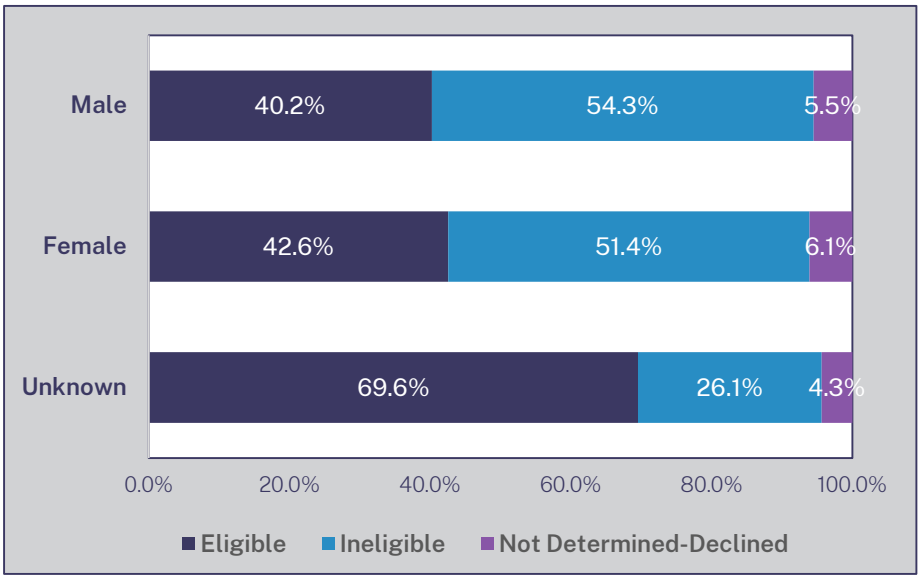
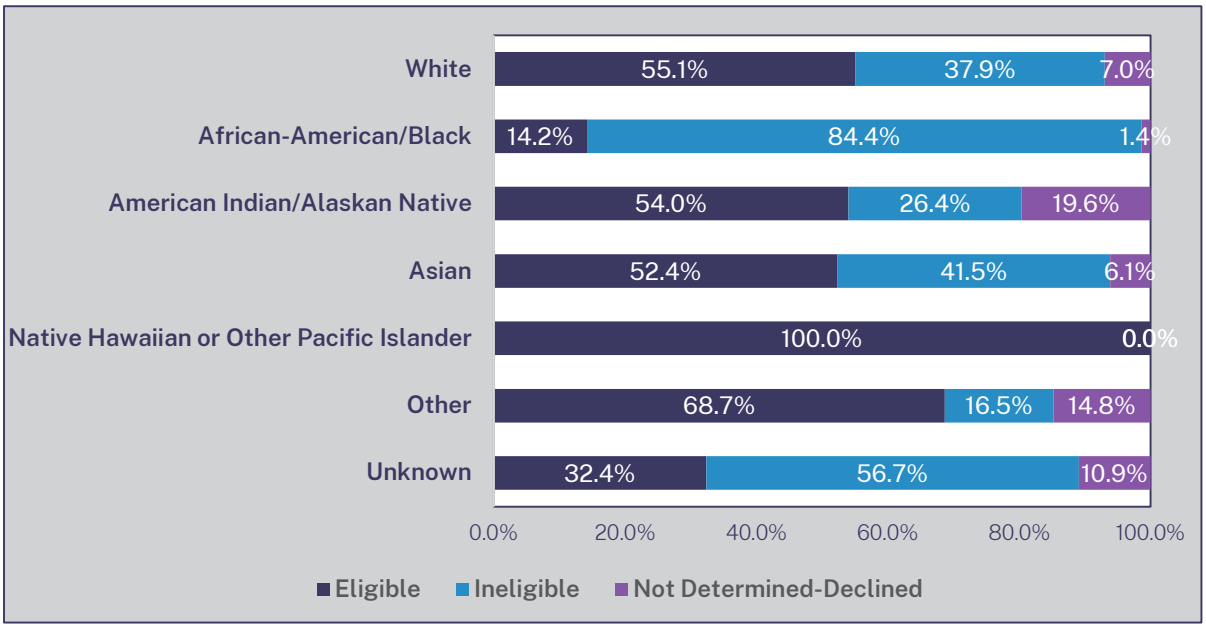


Figure 34: Diversion Program Referrals: Percent Referrals Eligible by Race



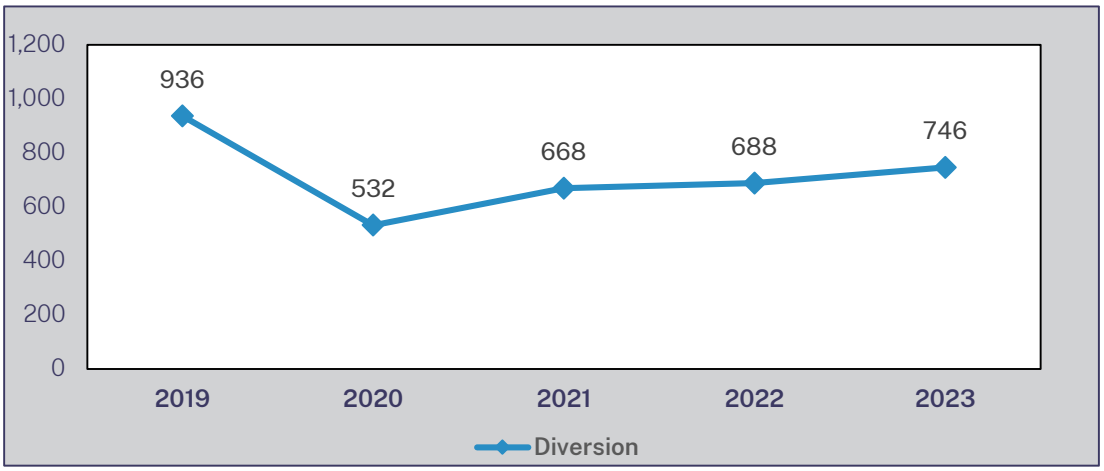
As with treatment court referrals, multiple reasons could be found for ineligibility; as such, counts for reasons for ineligibility exceed the total number of referrals found ineligible.

Like treatment court programs, risk levels are a primary reason why referrals to diversion programs are ineligible for participation; 13.8% of referrals were too high risk and 41.3% of referrals to diversion programs were too low risk. Insufficient identification of substance use/abuse need was also a common (17.19%) reason for ineligibility. Current or prior excluding events were also a common factor (11%), and 9% were ineligible due to a current violent or weapon offense.

DIVERSION PROGRAM ADMISSIONS SUMMARY

The total number of diversion program admissions from 2019-2023 decreased 43% from 2019 to 2020. Admissions started increasing again after 2020 but were still down 20% in 2023 compared to admissions in 2019.

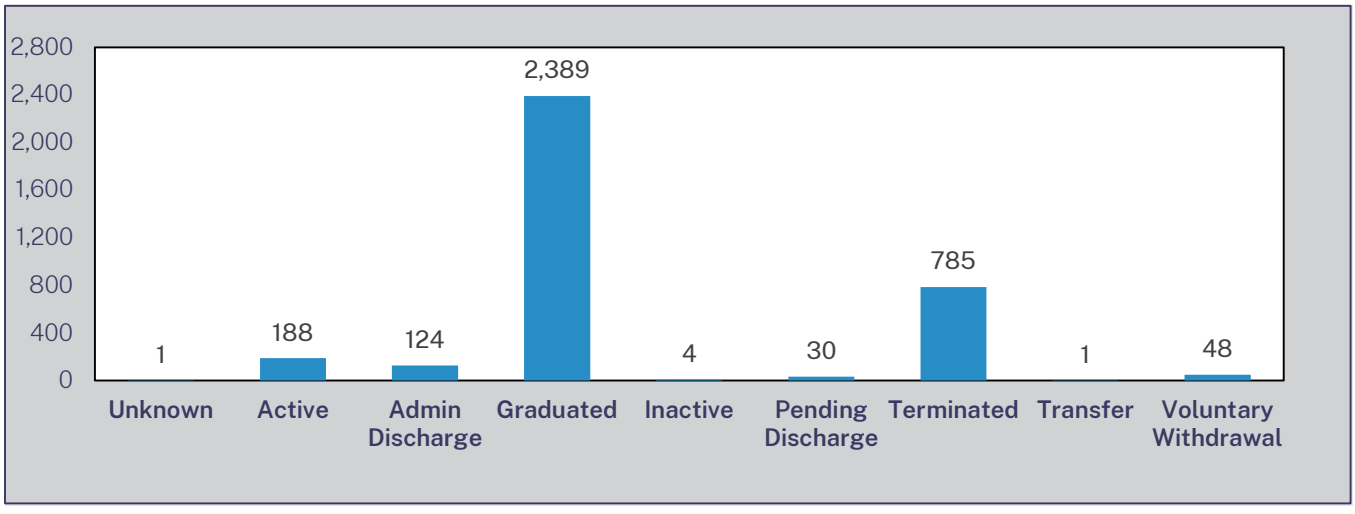
Figure 35: Diversion Program Admissions: Total Admissions by Admission Year



N=3,570

As shown in Figure 36, most admissions have graduated or were terminated from diversion programs, with 188 (5%) still active in a program.

Figure 36: Diversion Admissions: Total Admissions by Program Status



The demographic information of diversion program participants from 2019-2023 indicate the majority are White (79.5%), male (62.7%), and between the age of 26 and 35 (32.4%). The next highest category for race of participants was African American/Black (11%).

Table 8: Diversion Admissions: Demographic Summary of Admissions

	Total	
	Count	Percent
Age		
Average Age	32	
Under 18	99	2.8%
18-25	1,061	29.7%
26-35	1,155	32.4%
36-45	703	19.7%
46-55	340	9.5%
56+	197	5.5%
Unknown	15	0.4%
Sex		
Male	2,237	62.7%
Female	1,316	36.9%
Unknown	17	0.5%
Race		
White	2,837	79.5%
African American/Black	392	11.0%
American Indian/Alaskan Native	143	4.0%
Asian	68	1.9%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	3	0.1%
Other	65	1.8%
Unknown	62	1.7%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic/Latino	244	6.8%
Not Hispanic/Latino	3,118	87.3%
Unknown	208	5.8%

N=3.570

Most of the diversion participants had an unknown/not reported risk and need score. Of those reported, most were low risk (30.1%) and medium need (29.6%) or low need (17%). Alcohol (30.4%) and marijuana (20.3%) were listed as the primary drug for participants. This is a change from the last evaluation period when opioids/opiates (non-heroin) and alcohol were the most common primary drugs. The highest percentage of participants (43.3%) were listed with their primary offense being a misdemeanor and the offense being drug possession (28.9%).

Figure 37: Diversion Admissions: Admissions by Risk Level

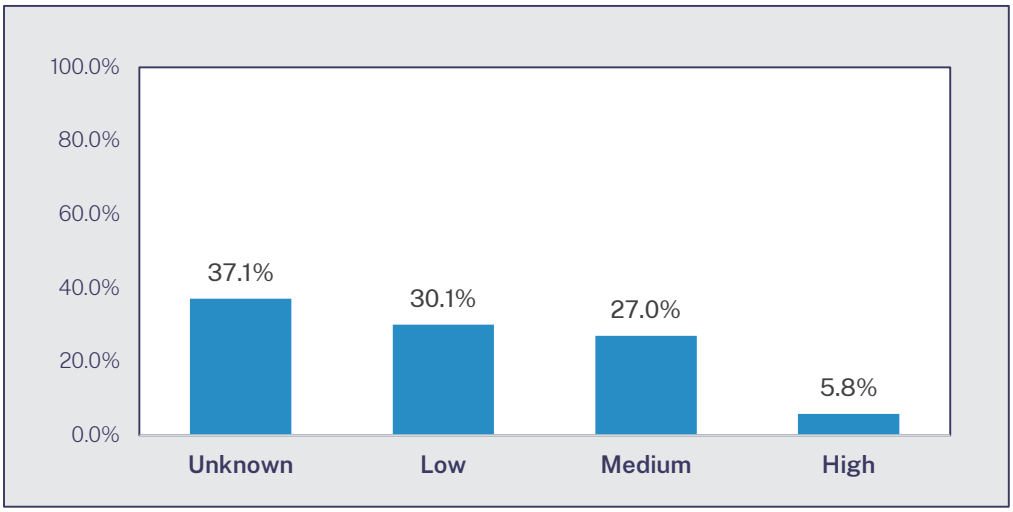


Figure 38: Diversion Admissions: Admissions by Need Level

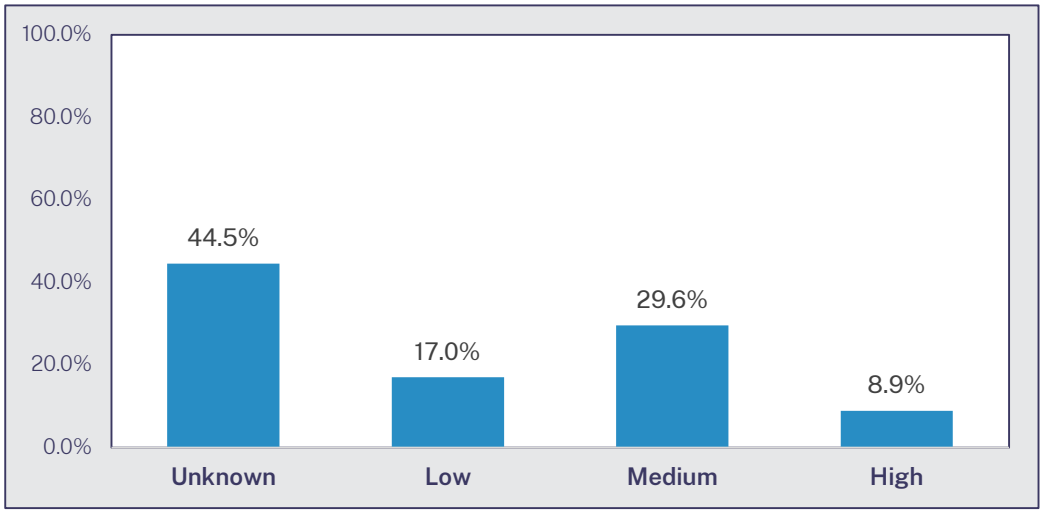
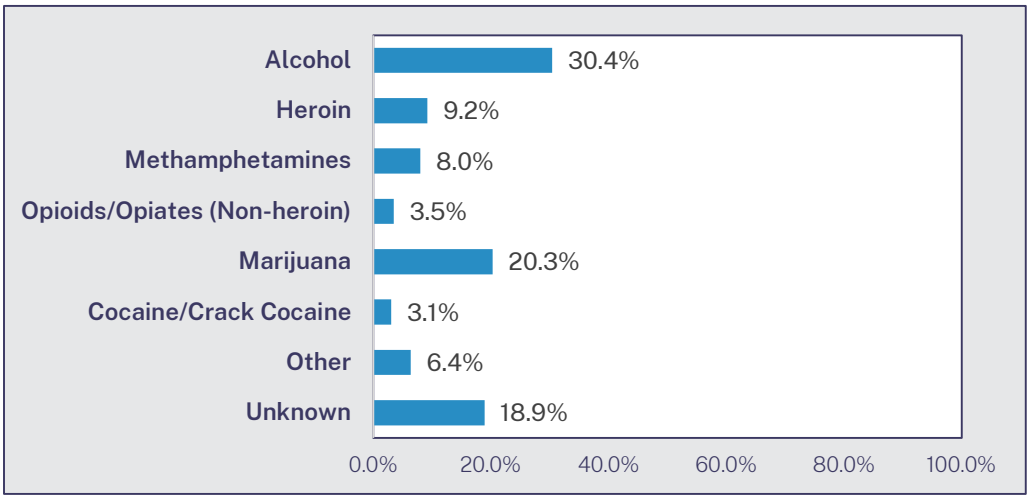


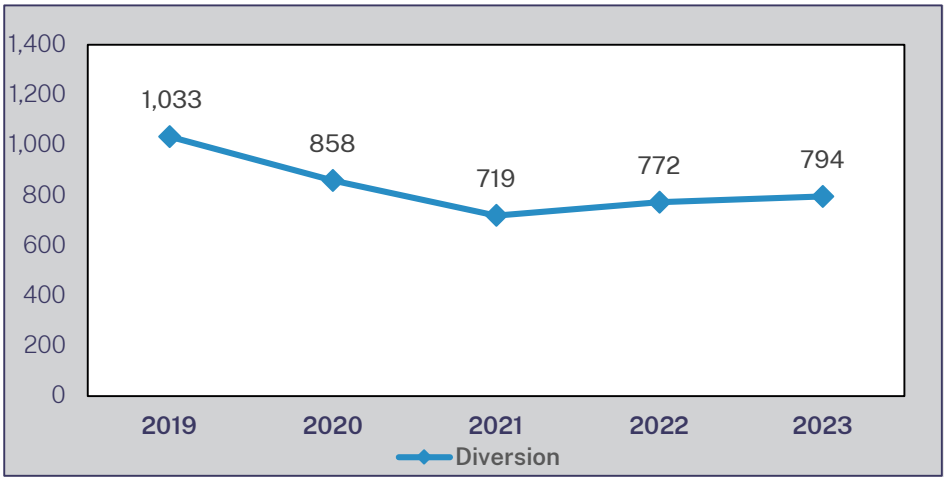
Figure 39: Diversion Admissions: Admissions by Drug of Choice



DIVERSION PROGRAM DISCHARGES SUMMARY

The total number of diversion discharges from 2019-2023 decreased 23% as shown in Figure 40. The decrease in discharges occurred earlier for diversion than for treatment court programs, likely due to the shorter duration of diversion programs; the decline in admissions in 2020 coincided in declined in discharges in the same year for diversion, whereas the decline in treatment court discharges started in 2021.

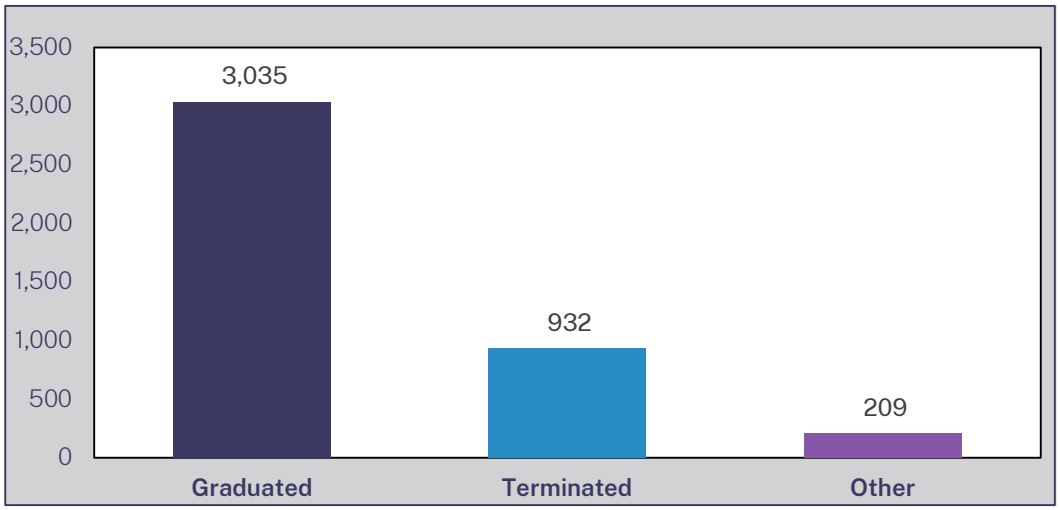
Figure 40: Diversion Program Discharges: Total Discharges by Year



N=4,176

The majority (72.7%) of participants graduated from diversion programs between 2019-2023, which is an increase from the 2014-2018 evaluation period when about 63% of participants graduated. Terminations accounted for 22.3% of diversion discharges and 5% were discharged for other reasons. A higher percentage of participants graduated from diversion programs than treatment courts, where 56.6% of discharges were graduations.

Figure 41: Diversion Program Discharges: Total Discharges by Type



Most participants discharged from diversion programs between 2019-2023 were White (80.7%), male (62.8%), and between the ages of 26 and 35 (32.3%). Of male discharges 73.5% graduated, and of female discharges, 72% graduated. For race, 74.5% of White discharges graduated, 66.2% of African American/Black individuals graduated, and 54.4% of discharges who were American Indian graduated. Graduates also tended to be older than those terminated.

Figure 42: Diversion Program Discharges: Discharges by Sex

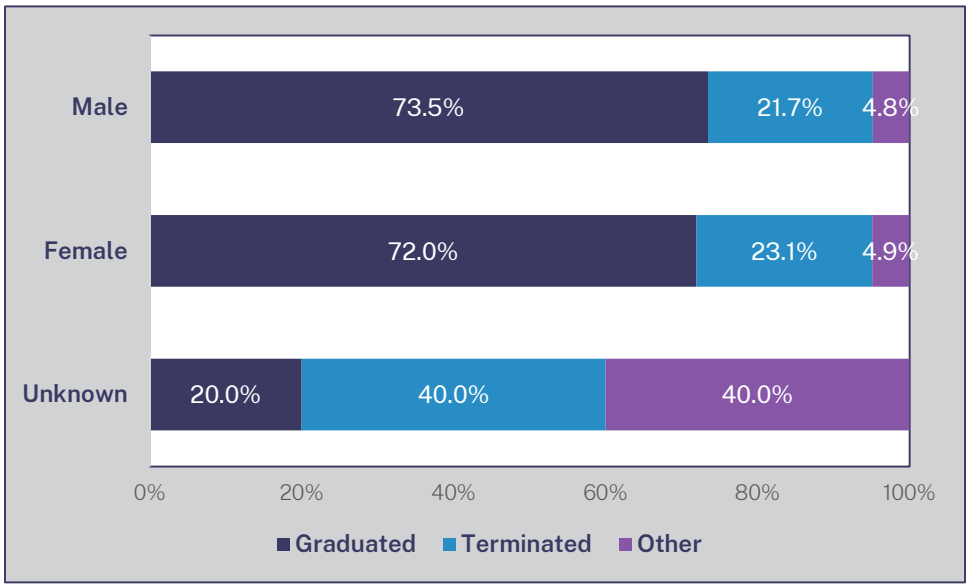
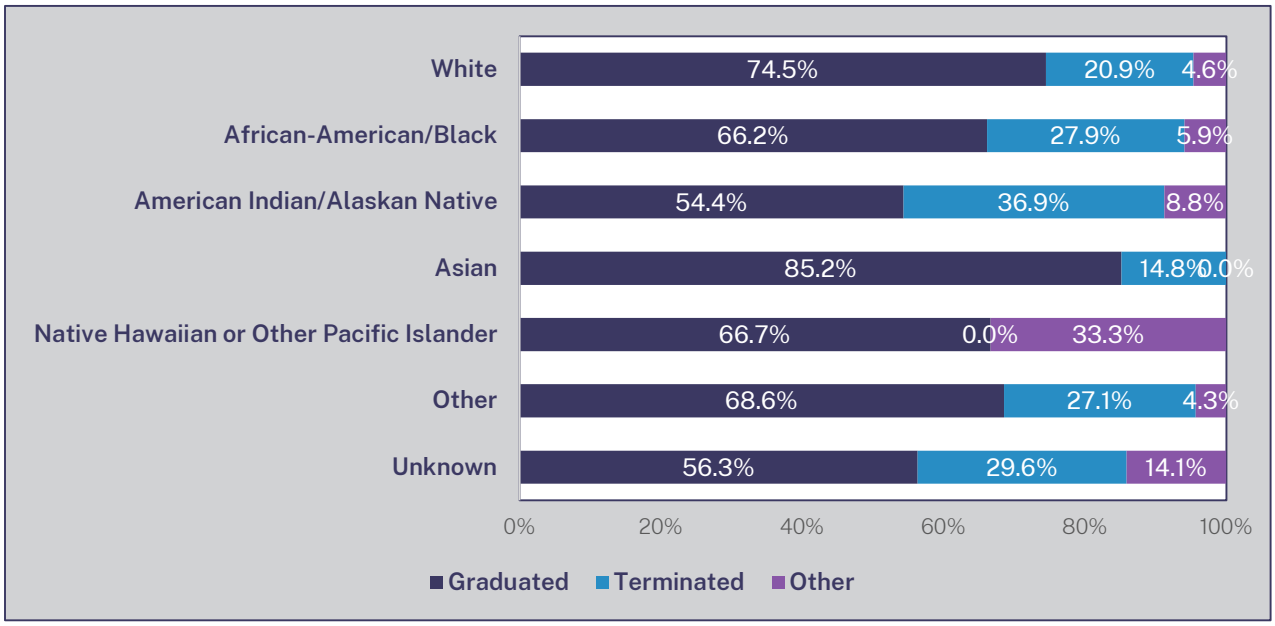


Figure 43: Diversion Program Discharges: Discharges by Race



The personal characteristics of participants discharged from TAD diversion programs between 2019-2023 indicate about 38.6% had a high school diploma or GED, followed by 17.6% who had some higher education. Those who graduated tended to have a higher education level than those who were terminated. There was greater contrast in employment status at time of discharge, with 51% of discharges who graduated were employed full-time and only 23.7% were employed full-time for those who were terminated. This data can be found in Appendix F.

Most people discharged from a diversion program had unknown risk and need scores. Of those known about 35% who graduated were low risk and about 24.5% were medium need. Of those that were terminated, 33.3% were listed as medium risk and 37.6% medium need.

Alcohol and marijuana were the most common primary drugs for discharged participants regardless of discharge type. This is a change from the last evaluation period where those who were terminated were more likely to have heroin as the primary drug.

Table 9: Diversion program Discharges: Background Summary of Discharges by Type of Discharge

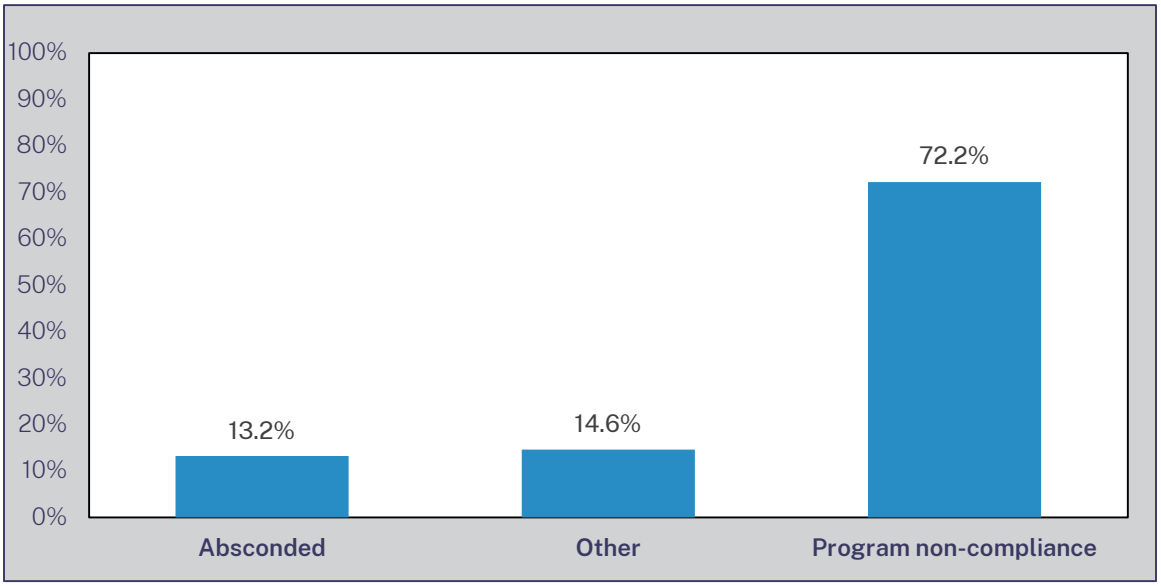
	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Risk Level								
High	207	5.0%	95	3.1%	87	9.3%	25	12.0%
Medium	1,031	24.7%	634	20.9%	310	33.3%	87	41.6%
Low	1,293	31.0%	1,062	35.0%	199	21.4%	32	15.3%
Unknown	1,645	39.4%	1,244	41.0%	336	36.1%	65	31.1%
Need Level								
High	293	7.0%	148	4.9%	119	12.8%	26	12.4%
Medium	1,185	28.4%	745	24.5%	350	37.6%	90	43.1%
Low	706	16.9%	579	19.1%	105	11.3%	22	10.5%
Unknown	1,992	47.7%	1563	51.5%	358	38.4%	71	34.0%
Drug of Choice								
Alcohol	1,200	28.7%	968	31.9%	199	21.4%	33	15.8%
Heroin	389	9.3%	221	7.3%	137	14.7%	31	14.8%
Methamphetamines	307	7.4%	160	5.3%	113	12.1%	34	16.3%
Opioids/Opiates (Non-heroin)	136	3.3%	85	2.8%	40	4.3%	11	5.3%
Marijuana	752	18.0%	529	17.4%	176	18.9%	47	22.5%
Cocaine/Crack Cocaine	101	2.4%	58	1.9%	33	3.5%	10	4.8%
Other	307	7.4%	257	8.5%	40	4.3%	10	4.8%
Unknown	984	23.6%	757	24.9%	194	20.8%	33	15.8%
Offense Type								
Bail Jumping	38	0.9%	22	0.7%	12	1.3%	4	1.9%
Criminal Damage	97	2.3%	84	2.8%	12	1.3%	1	0.5%
Disorderly Conduct	657	15.7%	535	17.6%	105	11.3%	17	8.1%
Drug Possession	1,050	25.1%	688	22.7%	302	32.4%	60	28.7%
Drug Manufacture/Delivery	150	3.6%	106	3.5%	33	3.5%	11	5.3%
OWI	668	16.0%	501	16.5%	127	13.6%	40	19.1%
Property/Fraud	136	3.3%	113	3.7%	19	2.0%	4	1.9%
Resisting Arrest	38	0.9%	32	1.1%	5	0.5%	1	0.5%
Traffic	80	1.9%	63	2.1%	16	1.7%	1	0.5%
Violent/Assault/Weapons	202	4.8%	179	5.9%	20	2.1%	3	1.4%
Other	474	11.4%	341	11.2%	128	13.7%	5	2.4%
Unknown	586	14.0%	371	12.2%	153	16.4%	62	29.7%
Offense Severity								
Felony	1,415	33.9%	915	30.1%	396	42.5%	104	49.8%
Misdemeanor	2,088	50.0%	1614	53.2%	408	43.8%	66	31.6%
Criminal Traffic	365	8.7%	268	8.8%	74	7.9%	23	11.0%
Other	115	2.8%	89	2.9%	25	2.7%	1	0.5%

Unknown	193	4.6%	149	4.9%	29	3.1%	15	7.2%

N=4,176

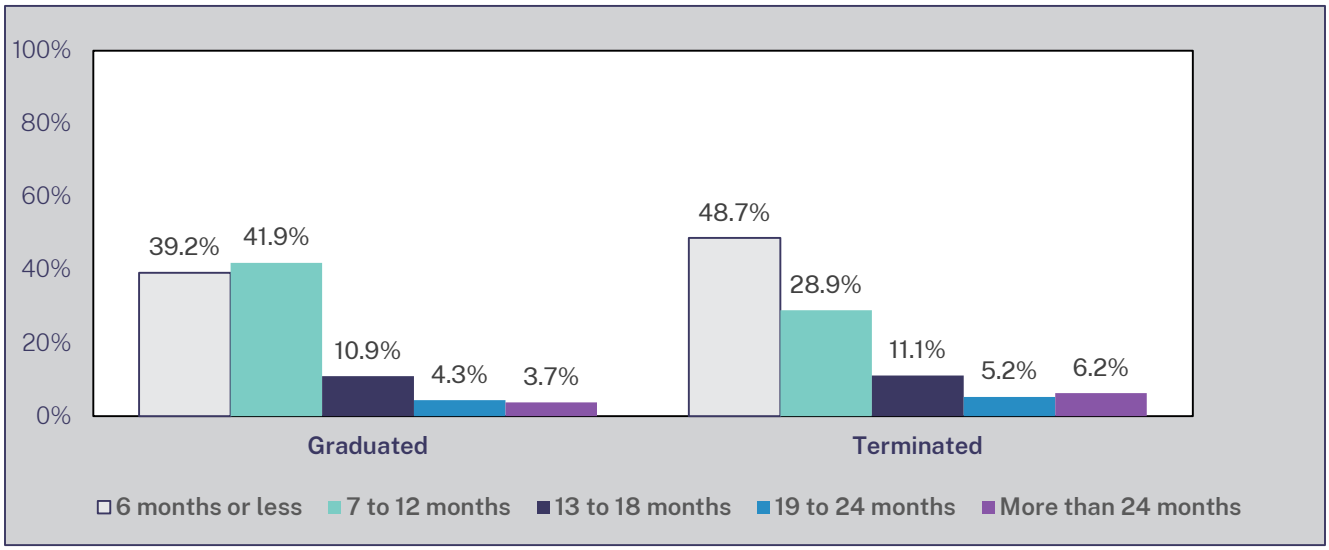
For those participants who were terminated, the primary reason was for program non-compliance (72.2%). As with treatment court programs, diversion program non-compliance can include a variety of behaviors from a new arrest or incarceration to missed court appearances and an assortment of other non-compliance reasons depending on specific program requirements.

Figure 44: Diversion program Discharges: Termination Reason



As shown in Figure 45, of those who graduated, the majority (41.9%) spent between 7 months to a year in a diversion program, followed by six months or less (39.2%). Of those who were terminated, the highest percent were terminated within six months (48.7%), with an additional 28.9% between seven months to a year. Overall, the average length of time in a diversion program is less than the duration of treatment court programs.

Figure 45: Diversion program Discharges: Length of Time in Program by Discharge Type



RECIDIVISM ANALYSIS

This section describes post-program recidivism – a main program outcome measure – for treatment court program discharges and diversion program discharges from 2019-2023, including five years of follow-up time, three recidivist events (arrest, charge, and conviction), and by subcategories of participants and offenses. More detail and comprehensive spreadsheets are included in Appendices G and H.

DATA SOURCES

The Centralized Criminal History Repository (CCH) at the WI DOJ was used for arrest recidivism. The CCH contains the details of arrests and arrest charges and includes all arrests submitted with fingerprints by law enforcement to the WI DOJ but does not contain all arrests across the state.[8] If not required, law enforcement may still submit any arrests and the CCH can accept it so long as fingerprints are included. Data from the Director of State Courts system was utilized for charge and conviction data. The BJIA accessed case-level information from the Wisconsin Circuit Court Access (WCCA) REST service through an Application Programming Interface (API) provided and customized for BJIA by the Consolidated Court Automation Programs (CCAP).

BJIA staff worked to find State Identification (SID) numbers for cases in CCAP and the CORE Reporting System that were missing the SID. As a result of needing the SID for recidivism analyses, the results do not include all TAD discharges; only those with a SID that was either provided by the TAD site or found by BJIA could be included. As a result of the SID searching

[8] Wis. Stat. §165.83(2)(a) indicates which statutes are required to be submitted to the CCH.

and matching, BJIA staff were able to increase the percentage of discharges that are included in the recidivism analyses compared to the 2020 evaluation. About 86% of treatment court discharges and 78% of diversion discharges are included in the recidivism analysis, compared to 71% and 67% in 2020, respectively.

METHODOLOGY

Post-program recidivism measured with the program discharge date as the starting point and includes three recidivist events (arrest, charge, and conviction) in alignment with the Framework for Defining and Measuring Recidivism developed by the Wisconsin Criminal Justice Coordinating Council Data Sharing and Outcomes, Trends, and Indicators subcommittee (2022). Follow-up periods of one, two, three, four, and five years were included. The number of people in each follow-up period includes the individuals who presumably could have recidivated due to the length of time they were out of the program. The unit of analysis is a unique discharge, rather than a unique person.

Recidivism analyses should generally include outcomes from a comparison group comprised of individuals as similar as possible to the program participants. The "gold" standard for a comparison group is an experimental design including random assignment of individuals into a treatment group or a control group. With most criminal justice studies, this methodology is not possible due to the unethical nature of random assignment; legal system staff cannot randomly place eligible people into a control group that does not receive treatment. Instead, researchers must find other avenues of finding similar others to compare the treatment groups to. The Center for Court Innovation (Rempel, 2005) describes numerous comparison group methodologies, all with their own benefits and limitations.

For this analysis, propensity score matching was used to create comparison groups with two different methodologies. Comparison Group A consists of individuals who were referred to a TAD program but not admitted due to various ineligibility reasons. This group excludes individuals who declined to participate and excludes those who were ineligible due to a current or prior violent/weapons offense. These referrals were then joined to a dataset of TAD discharges, and propensity score matching was performed using admission as the outcome variable and age, sex, race, referral source, point of entry, risk/need category, and referral offense category as the input variables. This resulted in a Comparison Group A made up of unique referrals who were referred to a TAD program but not admitted, along with a Group A matched group made up of TAD discharges that were the closest match to the referred participants based on propensity scores. This process was repeated for treatment courts and diversion programs, separately.

Comparison Group B was created from arrests in the CCH who were arrested with an arrest date between 2019-2023 who were not admitted and not referred to a TAD program. The arrestees were arrested in counties with at least one TAD discharge during the 5-year period. Those who were arrested for a violent crime as defined in Wis. Stat. §165.84(7)(ab), Wis. Stat. §941.291(1)(b), and Wis. Stat. §969.001(3) were excluded. These arrest events were added to

the discharge dataset, and propensity score matching was performed using admission as the outcome variable and age, sex, race, and arrest/referral offense category as inputs. The Group B Comparison group are the individuals who were arrested (but not referred to TAD programs) and selected as the comparison sample to the Group B matched group (the TAD discharges).

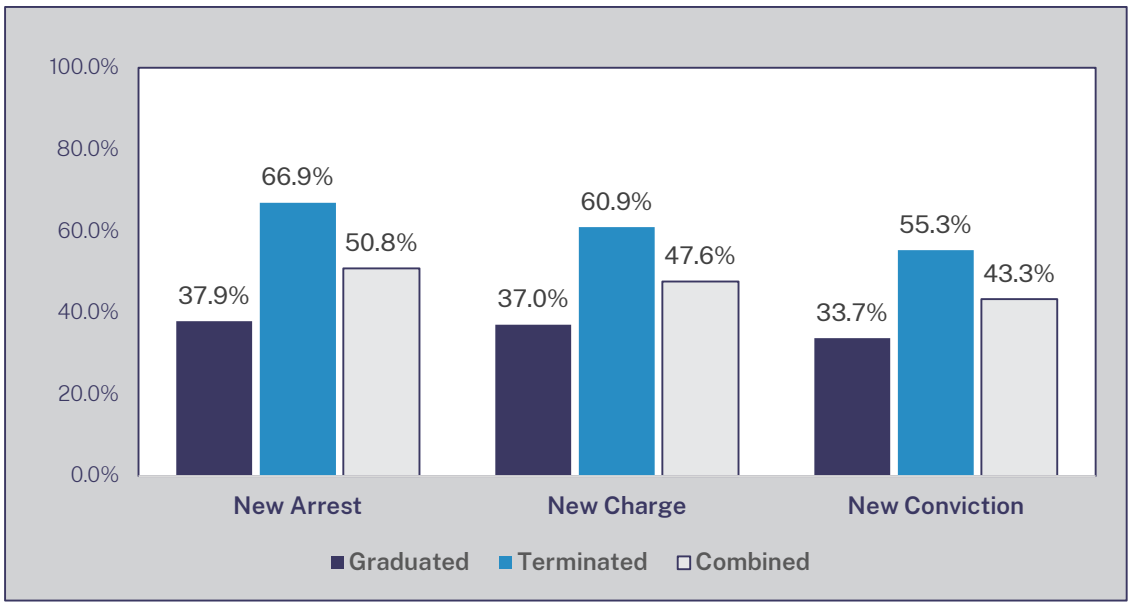
More specific details of the recidivism analysis can be found in Appendix G.

TREATMENT COURT RECIDIVISM

A subset of recidivism information is included in this section, and more detail regarding specific offense category and subcategory recidivism, along with all follow-up periods, are included in Appendix H.

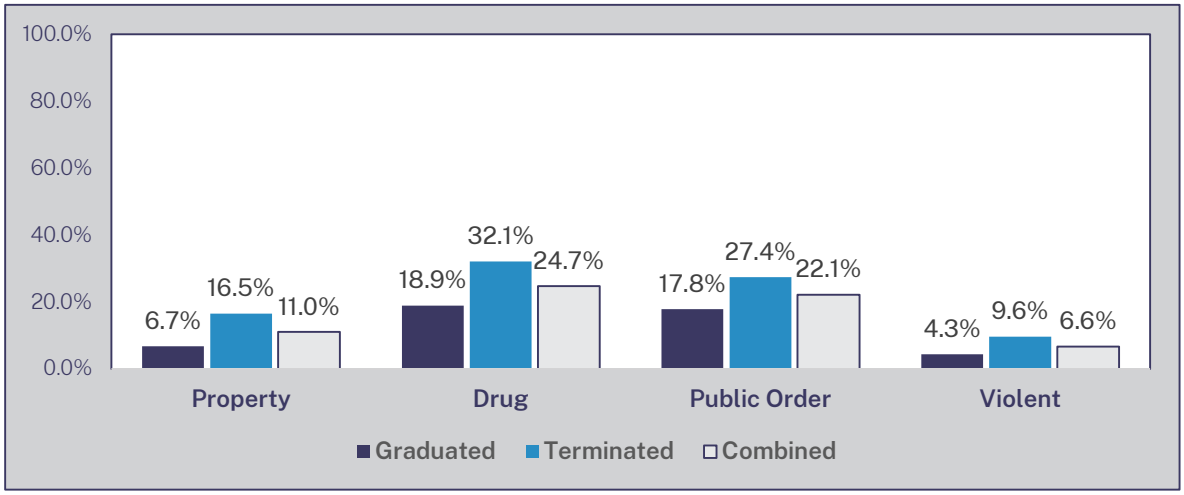
For three-year follow-up recidivism, unsurprisingly, individuals who were terminated recidivated at a higher rate compared to those who graduated for arrests, charges, and convictions (Figure 40). Three-year conviction recidivism for those who were terminated from a treatment court program reaching over 50% is consistent with a previous evaluation (Van Stelle et al., 2014). New arrest recidivism was 50.8% overall, which is similar to the previous evaluation period (52.7%). However, for this period, the range between those who graduated and those who were terminated (37.9% to 66.9%) is larger than the previous evaluation period (43.2% to 61.4%).

Figure 46: Treatment Court: Three Year Recidivism



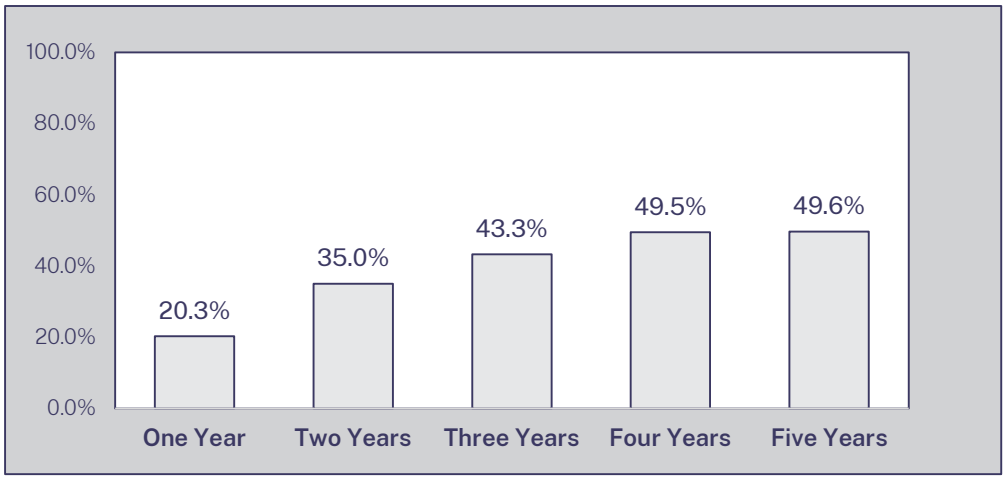
When separating out the type of offense associated with the recidivist event, those who graduated from a treatment court had an 18.9% conviction recidivism rate for drug offenses at the three-year follow-up period, while the recidivism rate for those who were terminated from the program was 32.1% for drug offenses. Overall, the 3-year conviction recidivism for treatment courts, specifically for drug offenses, was 24.7%, an increase from 20.5% from the last evaluation period.

Figure 47: Treatment Court: Three Year Conviction Recidivism by Offense



Consistent with recidivism rates measured by the Wisconsin Department of Corrections, recidivism does continue to increase as the follow-up periods become longer (2021). However, that increase year by year is much larger in the more immediate post-program years.

Figure 48: Treatment Court: Conviction Recidivism by Follow-up Year

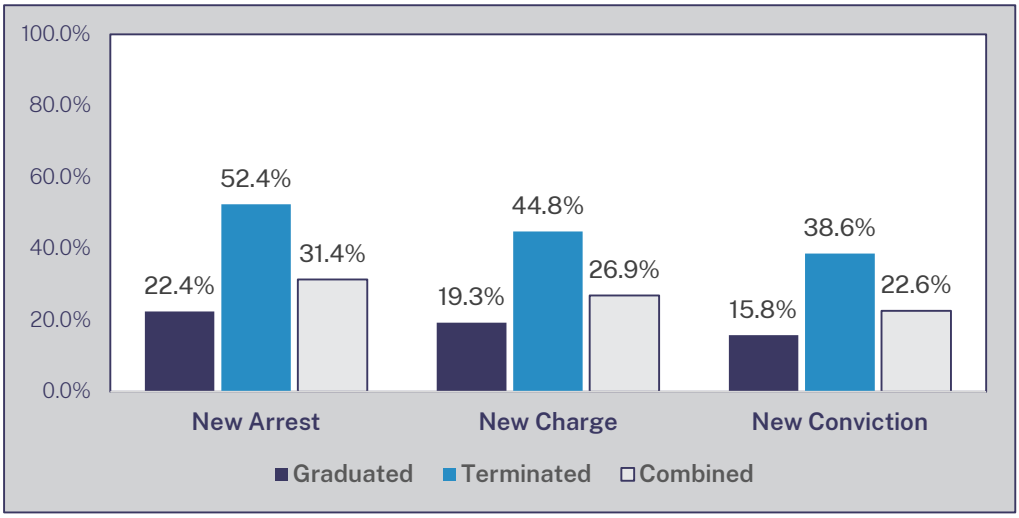


DIVERSION PROGRAM RECIDIVISM

Consistent with treatment court programs, diversion program discharges also showed differences between those who graduated and those who were terminated from the program. Those who were terminated from a diversion program had a 52.4% arrest recidivism rate at the three-year follow-up period, compared to 22.4% for those who graduated. Ultimately, 38.6% of terminations had a new conviction for an offense that occurred within the three-year follow-up period, compared to 15.8% of those who graduated from a diversion program.

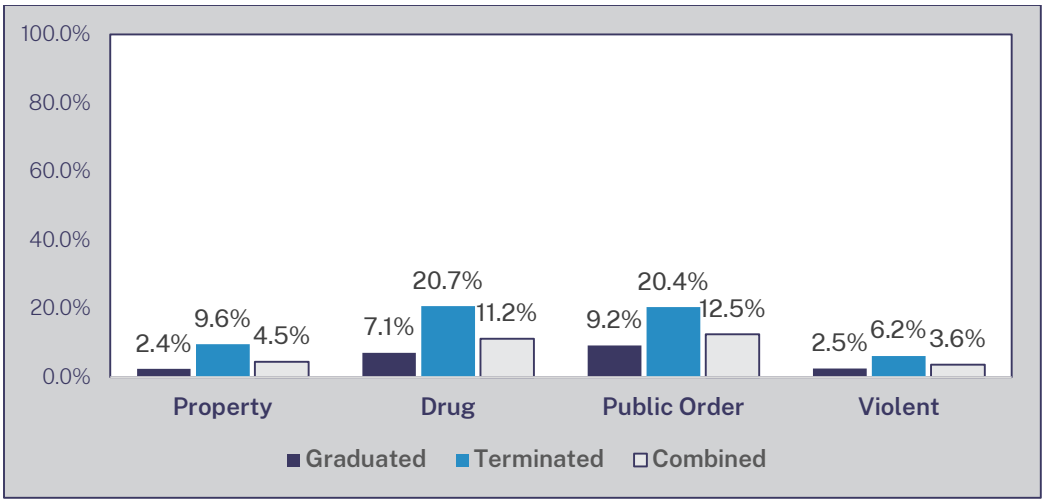
The difference between arrests and charges for diversion participants who were terminated at the 3-year follow-up period for this evaluation period differed from the difference in the last evaluation period. For the current period, terminated diversion participants had an arrest recidivism rate of 52.4% and a charge recidivism rate of 44.8%, whereas in the previous evaluation period, the difference was 62.4% arrest compared to 41.6% charge.

Figure 49: Diversion Programs: Three Year Recidivism



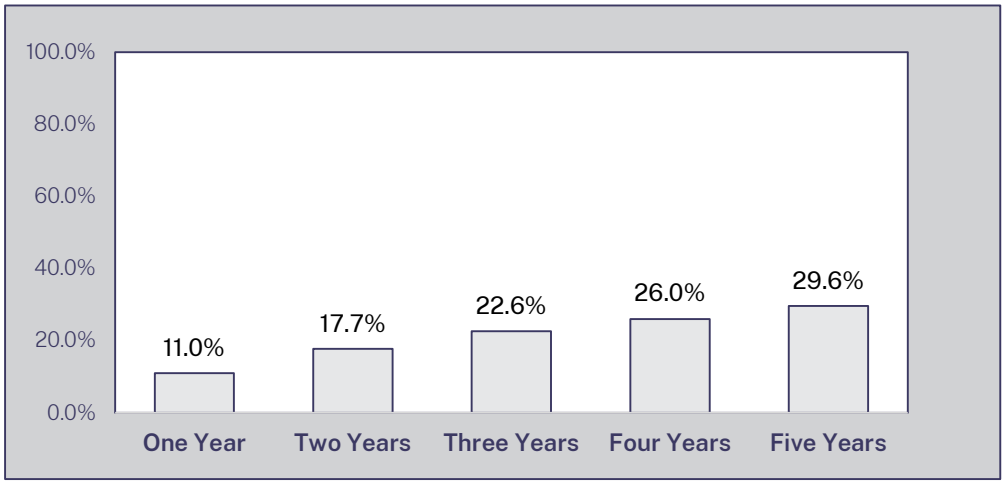
Diversion program graduates show a 2.4% conviction recidivism rate at the three-year follow-up for property crimes and 2.5% for violent crimes. The diversion drug conviction recidivism rates are lower than those for treatment court discharges, and nearly three times as high for participants who were terminated (20.7%) compared to those who graduated (7.1%), see Figure 50.

Figure 50: Diversion Programs: Three Year Conviction Recidivism by Offense



Consistent with treatment court programs, diversion program discharge recidivism rates increased each year during the follow-up period, starting at 11% in the one-year follow-up and reaching 29.6% at the five-year follow-up (Figure 51).

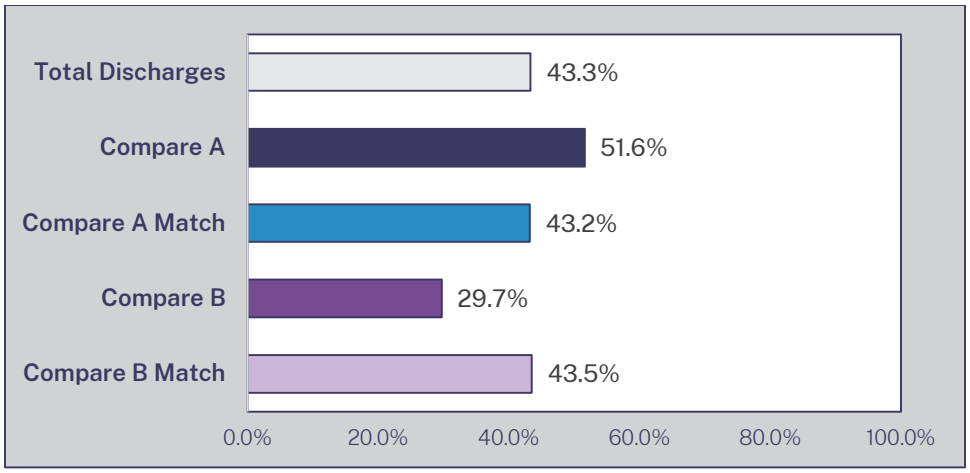
Figure 51: Diversion Programs: Conviction Recidivism by Follow-up Year



COMPARISON RECIDIVISM

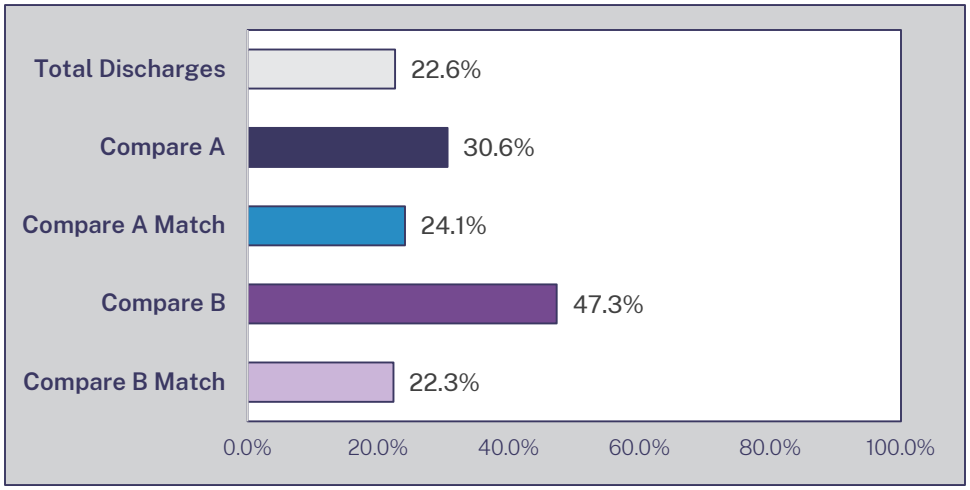
Not surprisingly, Comparison Group A (those who were referred to but not admitted due to various ineligibility reasons) had a higher three-year conviction recidivism rate (51.6%) compared to the full discharge group (43.3%) and Comparison Group B (29.7%). As expected, both discharge Match groups are about the same as the total discharges.

Figure 52: Treatment Court: Three Year Conviction Recidivism by Group



The differing comparison methodologies showed differing results for diversion program conviction recidivism compared to treatment court programs. While Comparison Group A showed higher recidivism rates than the overall diversion discharge group (as expected), Comparison Group B (individuals from criminal history who were not referred nor admitted to a TAD program) had even higher recidivism (47.3%) than the matched group (22.3%).

Figure 53: Diversion Programs: Three Year Conviction Recidivism by Group



LIMITATIONS

Comparison Group A (those who were referred but not admitted to a program due to ineligibility) had increased conviction recidivism at the three-year follow-up period compared to the TAD discharge matched groups. This group was unable to participate in TAD programs due to a variety of factors, and those factors could be the very thing that impacts their likelihood to recidivate. For example, a person who is too high risk for a TAD program and cannot receive treatment services through the program is likely at even higher risk for recidivism. Those who could not participate due to residency requirements or program capacity were also likely at higher risk due to their reasons for ineligibility.

Of note, Comparison Group B showed different results for treatment court programs than for diversion programs; for treatment courts, those who were arrested and not referred had a lower recidivism rate than those in the TAD program and those who were ineligible for a TAD program. However, for diversion programs, the arrested group showed a higher conviction recidivism rate than any of the other groups.

As with any comparison group methodology outside of an experimental design, there are benefits and limitations to the way these groups were created. Comparison Group A (referred but ineligible) has the benefit of being matched based on risk/need information and thus likely more similar to the TAD group than the general population; however, the members of this group may also be at higher risk of recidivism due to factors that make them ineligible for a program (e.g. they are too high risk, etc.). Comparison Group B is not matched based on propensity scores that took risk level into consideration since that information is not available in the CCH but they have not been deemed ineligible for a program. Because the CORE Reporting System is only required for TAD-funded programs, the members of Comparison Group B may have participated in other programs throughout the state but the information about other program participation is not available to WI DOJ if the program does not use the CORE Reporting System.

Another limitation of the data relates to the arrests in CCH and the charges and conviction in CCAP not being entirely tied together. These datasets came out of the two systems separately, and it is possible that a case may be in CCAP with charges and convictions that is not in CCH. In those situations, it would appear that charge and conviction recidivism occurred, but arrest recidivism did not. This is not logical but is a limitation of the CCH not containing all arrests. For example, at the 5-year follow-up period for treatment court graduates, 43.8% of the follow-up sample showed a new arrest, and 44.7% of the sample showed a new charge.

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

In fulfillment of the requirements outlined in Wis. Stat. §165.95(5p)(b), a cost-benefit analysis of the TAD program to estimate the economic benefit of funding these programs. The information provided is an estimation, and does not include all costs nor all benefits, but rather, the specific TAD dollars awarded and the estimated benefits specific to the criminal justice system.

DATA SOURCES

For the costs of TAD, administrative data stored by the BJP was utilized. This included funding information from a grants management system at the WI DOJ. These funding amounts were adjusted to 2023 numbers to account for inflation (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2025). Program fee information was collected from a survey that was distributed to sites. The BJIA asked sites if they charged a fee, what the fee was, what cadence it was collected on (e.g. monthly, one-time, weekly, etc.), and if the program was able to provide the exact amount in program fees collected. For those programs that charge a fee but could not calculate the

specific amount collected, the CORE Reporting System was utilized to estimate the amount collected based on how many discharges were indicated as being compliant with the fee upon release from the program.

Benefit estimations utilized a variety of data sources. The cost of a day in jail or prison was collected from the Department of Corrections (Z. Baumgart, personal communication, Jan 22, 2025). Although the CORE Reporting System does have a data point for programs to indicate the number of averted jail or prison days for an individual who successfully completes a program, data quality work and communications with sites indicate this information is likely very inaccurate due to the programs not having access to that information. Many programs indicate unknown, leave it blank, enter 0 days, enter the maximum days the sentence could have been, or guess. Because of these inconsistencies and the lack of access to accurate information, sentencing data from CCAP was utilized to estimate the number of averted jail and prison days for program graduates, consistent with the 2020 evaluation.

Other information from the CORE Reporting System about discharged individuals was also utilized, including the person's sex, whether their participation was due to a misdemeanor or felony, the specific statute their admission was for, and the percent who graduated from the program.

Recidivism results from both comparison group methods were used to calculate marginal costs of averted crime, using marginal costs to arrest, charge, prosecute, and incarcerate for different crime types, adjusted for inflation.

METHODOLOGY

Costs were calculated by combining all programs' TAD funding received from 2019-2023 (adjusted for inflation) to calculate a total TAD cost per discharge for treatment courts and diversion programs. Program fees were obtained from sites or estimated based on available data, and a total fee paid per discharge was calculated. The TAD cost per discharge minus the fee paid per discharge resulted in a final cost per discharge amount.

Averted incarceration was estimated using methods consistent with the previous evaluation (Bureau of Justice Information and Analysis, 2020). First, the most common referral statutes were tabulated, and the sentencing information from 2019-2023 for cases with convictions for those statutes were obtained from CCAP. Graduates were assumed to be the only participants who might avert any incarceration. The median number of days of incarceration was calculated from CCAP data, and a weighted median was applied to a percentage of graduates based on the number of cases with convictions in CCAP (for the same statutes that resulted in incarceration sentences). The number of days averted was then multiplied by the cost of a day in jail or prison, resulting in a total averted cost per graduate.

Finally, averted crime costs were calculated by applying the three-year conviction recidivism rates for the discharge groups and the comparison groups to calculate the number of averted offenses. The marginal cost to arrest, charge/convict, and incarcerate from (Fredericks, 2010)

was applied, adjusted for inflation. More specifics on the cost-benefit estimations and calculations are included in Appendix G.

COST-BENEFIT RATIO

The TAD program continues to be cost-effective to the criminal justice system in Wisconsin, primarily through averted incarceration costs for participants averting jail or prison through successful program participation. For every $1 spent on TAD programs, the state is estimated to save anywhere from $5.15 - $5.92 for treatment court programs and $8.18 - $9.12 for diversion programs.

For every $1 spent, TAD saves:

$5.15 - $5.92

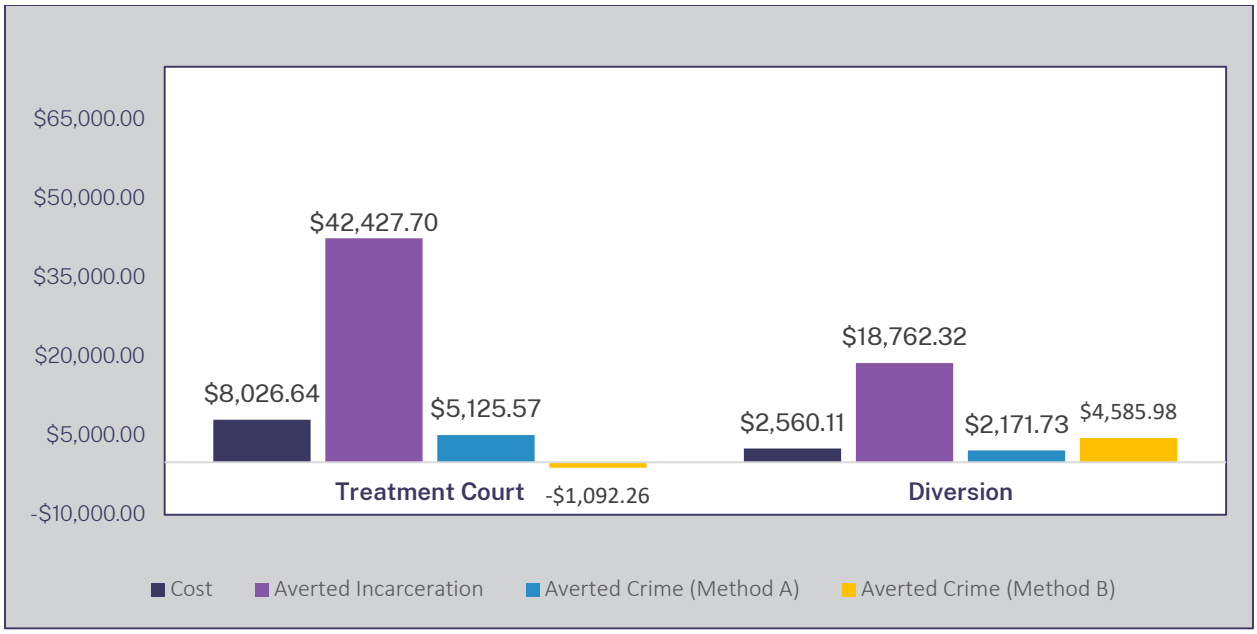
Treatment Courts

$8.18 - $9.12

Diversion Programs

Using the Method A comparison group, the TAD programs appear to save approximately $5.92 for every $1 spent for treatment courts. Using the Method B comparison group, despite the TAD participants having a higher recidivism rate, those rates are in the areas of property, drug, and misdemeanors which are less expensive to the system than other types of crime. The amount saved by those who graduate and avert prison far surpasses the costs of recidivism. Using the lower estimate, the TAD program is still estimated to save the criminal justice system about $5.15 for every $1 spent. For diversion, due to Method B having the higher recidivism, that method resulted in a higher savings estimate ($9.12) compared to Method A ($8.18).

Figure 54: Total Estimated Cost and Benefits Per Discharge 2019-2023



LIMITATIONS

This cost-benefit analysis consists only of TAD funding as the primary "cost" of the program. There are other costs associated with implementing a TAD program, including costs at the local level that are not accounted for in these results. Additionally, the tangible and intangible costs that victims of crime incur are also not included. Much of the data in the cost-benefit calculation relied on estimating, much like previous reports. For example, the challenge of knowing the precise number of days in jail or prison a person will avert if they successfully complete the program remains; some sites have internal processes in which they directly ask the judge or commissioner what the sentence would be, but most sites are unable to access this information in a consistent manner. As a result, nearly 60% of program graduates during this period have "unknown" listed as the number of averted days. Turning to real sentencing data continues to be the option BJIA uses, but this method also assumes TAD graduates would receive similar sentences as everyone else in CCAP, including the percentage who would receive any kind of incarceration; this is likely a conservative approach as TAD programs serve as alternatives to incarceration.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

FURTHER ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION RECOMMENDATIONS

Understanding Program Processes to Increase Successful Outcomes. Overall, the cost-benefit analysis revealed that the largest portion of cost savings come from the reduced use of incarceration for successful program participants (as opposed to reduced future recidivism). Since the savings of averted incarceration continues to drive the cost-benefit analysis, understanding what factors and processes promote participant success may yield more actionable recommendations for program improvement. Future work should include analyses of key program components and processes to better understand what aspects of the programs best predict participant success, and how those processes can be leveraged to better support participants' successful graduations from the programs. One method that may be useful in these analyses includes latent class analysis, which may allow for understanding how different program aspects may group together in different ways for different participants (e.g., whether they received peer support, frequency of program contacts with participants, referrals to different types of treatment programs) and for different programs (e.g., programs that are specialized for different substances vs general treatment courts, hybrid courts, etc.).

Identifying Comparison Groups. One continued challenge for evaluating the TAD programs is the identification of a suitable comparison group that TAD program participants can be compared against. The recidivism estimates presented with the two methods used for this report could both overestimate and underestimate the true rate of recidivism. For example, for the individuals in the comparison group that were referred but ineligible for a TAD program, the reason for ineligibility may also be related to their likelihood of recidivism. Conversely, one of the biggest limitations of utilizing individuals in criminal history records who were not referred to a TAD program is that the level of criminogenic risk and needs for those individuals is unknown, meaning that the arrestee comparison group likely does not accurately represent the same level of risk for recidivating as individuals who are referred to TAD programs. Given the WI DOJ operates the criminal history database, one possible option for addressing this is to calculate a risk-need score for individuals in criminal history records based on information already available (e.g., age at first arrest, number of prior convictions, etc.). This risk-need score could then be used to match individuals in criminal history records with participants in TAD programs based on a risk level in a way that currently is not possible.

Comparison with Non-TAD-Funded Programs. While the CORE Reporting System is available for use by any treatment court or diversion program, primarily it is used by programs that receive TAD funding. Court data currently does not contain the type of information collected in the CORE Reporting System for defendants who participated in a treatment court program or diversion program outside of the TAD-funded programs. If that information were added to CCAP, the TAD evaluation could be compared to other types of programs to determine whether different types of programs may be more effective for different populations than others. Evaluation of different types of programs (both TAD-funded and non-TAD-funded) that reach different populations could be helpful to inform policy and practice.

Understanding Program Success Beyond Recidivism. This evaluation focuses primarily on recidivism outcomes for the programs due to it being a key component of the cost-benefit

analysis required by statute. Although recidivism is an important outcome to measure, and knowing whether the program is cost-effective is crucial to determining future funding, this report is not comprehensive of all outcomes that should be measured for the TAD programs. Recent conversations in the criminal justice field have underscored the limit of using recidivism (broadly defined) as a key program outcome measure (National Institute of Justice, 2023). Indeed, many aspects of individual "success" or "wellness" exist, such as secure and stable housing, financial wellbeing, family relationships, and prosocial networks, that may be better indicators of a program's effectiveness than recidivism alone. Furthermore, recent research into substance use and mental health treatment evidence the nature of recovery and achieving wellbeing as a process – a journey that occurs over time and that often consists of times of struggle or return to use (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2020).

Currently the WI DOJ does not have access to vital records (death records), workforce development (employment), housing, child welfare, or any other information about a person post-program that could shed light on these other potential benefits (both to the participant and to society) of TAD program participation. Access to these and other sources of data, especially if they can be combined and linked at a person-level, would provide a holistic view of the participant-level and humanistic outcomes of treatment and diversion programs.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION RECOMMENDATIONS

TAD Funding and Evaluation Cycles. The misalignment of the TAD grant and evaluation cycles continue to create challenges for program funding and evaluation. During the evaluation period, some programs may have been operating the entirety of the 5 years, while other newer programs may have been operating for only a year or less. This creates challenges in evaluating the programs due to aspects of "program maturity." When new programs are first established, a lot of program aspects and operations are still being established, and they may not admit participants to their full program capacity. As programs "mature," their program operations and practices tend to become more stable and robust.

Another challenge to calculating cost-benefit is that TAD funding is awarded to a site rather than to a program. Currently, many sites (counties/tribes) have multiple programs, but the budget for the site is not separated by program. For the cost-benefit analysis, the program funding needs to be split by treatment courts (collectively) and diversion programs (collectively). To improve this analysis, sites would need to keep track of budgets per program and submit a final report annually that shows expenses by type of program.

WI DOJ TAD Staff Capacity. Resources to administer the TAD program are beyond capacity at the WI DOJ currently. There has not been an increase in administrative support to keep up with the expansions and increased funding over the program's existence. Additional staffing resources in BJP would allow for more in-depth analysis of local programming implementation,

additional training and support, and provide tribal and rural programs with more support to overcome their specific challenges, such as finding treatment providers and transportation options. Additional staffing would also support more frequent in-person site visit cycles and provide on-demand grant reporting training and technical assistance, particularly when grantees have new staff. For the evaluation component, there is not a full-time evaluator at the WI DOJ; most staff within the BJIA are federally funded and cannot allocate time to additional evaluations and data projects that sites have asked for, such as performance measure reports and individualized evaluations. Along with the lack of funding resources for staffing, there is also insufficient funding to keep up with the demand for more efficient and up to date data collection systems. For example, the CORE Reporting System was built and launched using federal dollars. To keep it up to date with emerging and updated performance measures and in alignment with national standards, additional federal funding needs to be sourced. Sustainable funding for BCS is imperative for the WI DOJ to be able to adequately support sites and provide meaningful data products back for data-informed decision-making.

Conducting Site-Specific Evaluations. While the WI DOJ can produce the 5-year evaluation at a statewide level, sites would also benefit from their own individualized evaluations. More recently, the WI DOJ has provided training on performance measures and access to raw data extracts in the CORE Reporting System with instruction on how to retrieve data to evaluate. Sites have also been encouraged to apply for small subgrants to hire external evaluators; a few of these awards have been available in recent years, and the WI DOJ plans to continue making that funding available for site-specific program evaluations, contingent on funding availability. These local evaluations can help give insight on specific program functioning and recommendations tailored to the needs of the specific site.

Expanding Necessary Services TAD Programs Rely On. The participants in TAD-funded programs require an array of treatment services from trained providers, and provision of these services are required components of best practices for treatment courts and diversion programs. Some programs have indicated challenges with securing community providers for direct service and for consultations with the program. This has resulted in an increased utilization of telehealth services though this workaround has not fully addressed the shortage of professionals available to offer treatment services. Consideration should be given to the WI DOJ partnering with other state agencies and stakeholders to better understand the nature and magnitude of treatment services and provider shortages across various regions within the state, and to develop strategies promoting greater access to treatment services by participants.

SUMMARY

Overall, this report provides a summary of referrals to TAD programs, describes the admission and discharge cohorts, and provides an overview of the post-program arrest, charge, and conviction recidivism and results of a cost-benefit analysis. Focusing on recidivism as the sole outcome only shows a fraction of the possible benefits of the TAD programs that participants may receive, as the complexity and dynamic nature of wellbeing cannot be captured by

recidivism rates alone. The timing of the pandemic created challenges to analyzing data and interpreting results. Although the pandemic disrupted program operations and impacted participants in some negative ways, overall, a higher percentage of participants were discharged with graduations as compared to the previous evaluation period. As a result of comparable recidivism rates and increased savings due to averted incarceration, the TAD program continues to be a cost-effective alternative to incarceration program.

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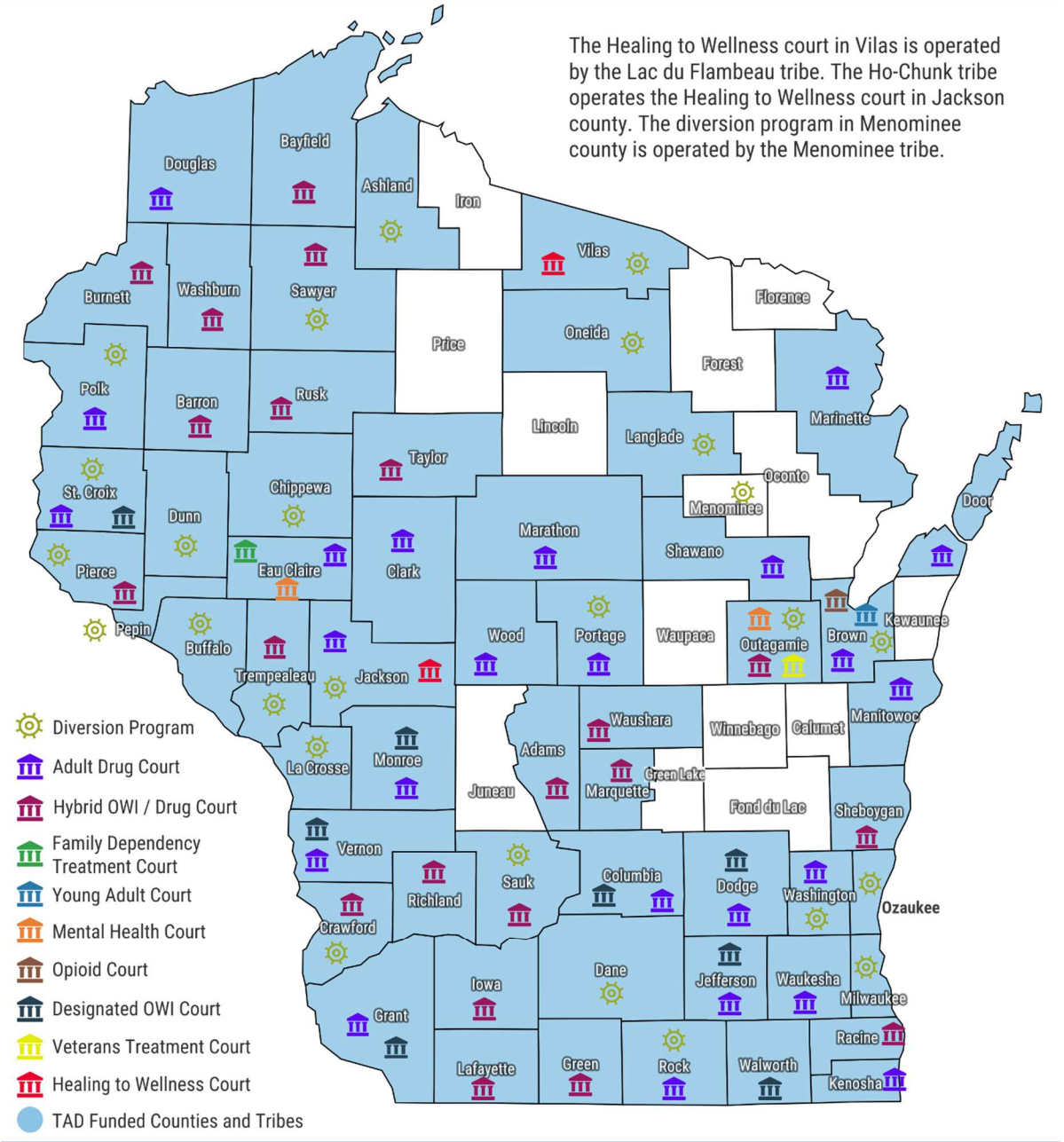
APPENDIX A: CALENDAR YEAR 2023 WISCONSIN COUNTIES AND TRIBES TAD-FUNDED PROGRAMS

Calendar Year 2023
Wisconsin Counties and Tribes
Treatment Alternatives and Diversion (TAD) Funded Programs



Wisconsin Department of Justice
Updated: 12/19/2022

APPENDIX B: IMPACT OF COVID-19 ANALYSIS

Emergent Themes from Qualitative Analysis of Program Site Reports

Theme	Aggregated Code Frequencies by Theme	Number of Codes per Theme
Virtual and non-contact program changes	369	17
External impacts on the programs	244	21
Suspended Programs	146	13
Unable to use what “works”	112	11
Changes in program costs	79	9
Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	76	8
Relaxing program components	76	7
Increased negative outcomes for participants	30	4
Intensifying program components	30	4
Lengthening of program participation or timelines	27	4
Maintaining normalcy and finding a “new normal”	13	5

Codes and Frequencies Derived from Qualitative Review of Program Site Reports

Code	Definition	Theme	Frequency	% Coded

Virtual treatment services	Treatment services being offered at least in part remotely.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, External impacts on the programs	56	87.50%
Virtual court hearings	Court hearings being held virtually or allowed to be attended via phone.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal"	52	81.30%
Alternatives to UA testing	Using alternative methods of drug testing with less contact, such as sweat patches or Soberlink.	Unable to use what "works"	35	54.70%
Non-contact client meetings	Use of virtual/phone meetings or other non-contact methods (e.g., partitions/glass) for meetings with clients, including screening, assessment, supervision, etc.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, external impacts on the programs	35	54.70%
Virtual or non-contact assessments	Use of virtual assessments at least in part, via virtual meeting or phone calls.	Virtual and non-contact program changes	33	51.60%
Virtual Team meetings	Virtual court staff team meetings.	Virtual and non-contact program changes	32	50.00%
Limited or no drug/alcohol testing	Times when drug testing was limited or not available.	Suspended Programs, Relaxing program components, external impacts on the programs, unable to use what "works"	29	45.30%
Limited or no access to treatment services	Participants having less or no access to treatment services due to services being closed/not operating or offering no in-person services (virtual only).	External impacts on the programs, Suspended programs	26	40.60%
Virtual auxiliary services	Virtual services for programs/groups/activities not considered “treatment.”	Virtual and non-contact program changes	23	35.90%
Virtual staff meetings	Staff meetings and other program meetings held virtually.	Virtual and non-contact program changes	22	34.40%
Increased relapses	Reporting increased numbers of relapses; not stated as a positive UA or specifically a prolonged return to use.	Increased negative outcomes for participants	21	32.80%
Virtual or non-contact violation responses	Responses to violations conducted virtually or otherwise through non-contact approaches (e.g., writing assignments, increased virtual case management).	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	21	32.80%
Screening or assessment provider or process changes	Continued screening and assessment, but changes to the process or to who completes them.	External impacts on the programs	19	29.70%
Virtual graduations or outside/non-contact graduations	Graduations and celebrations held virtually or with social distancing/non-contact methods or outdoors (different than usual).	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal", Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	19	29.70%
Virtual or non-contact incentives	Incentives provided either virtually/electronically or through other non-contact methods (e.g., mail, drop-off).	Virtual and non-contact program changes, unable to use what "works"	19	29.70%

Excess funding due to program changes	Availability of additional funds due to changes in the program (e.g., decreased staff time, fewer in-person costs, reduced testing frequencies).	Changes in program costs	17	26.60%
Trainings cancelled	All or some training sessions canceled.	Suspended programs, changes in program costs	17	26.60%
Social distancing or outdoor case management	Case management offered differently (e.g., outdoors, private areas, parks) to allow for social distancing.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	17	26.60%
Decreased referrals	Fewer referrals because of COVID-19 implications (e.g., charges going to DA's office instead of arrests).	External impacts on the programs	16	25.00%
No in-person conferences	No in-person conferences resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic.	Suspended programs, changes in program costs	16	25.00%
Increases in supplies	Increases reported for supplies (e.g., hand sanitizer, wipes, thermometers).	Changes in program costs	14	21.90%
Suspended standardized sanctions	No real sanctions carried out; stern letters but no jail or monitoring sanctions.	Relaxing program components	14	21.90%
Changes in participant program reporting frequency	Increases or decreases in reporting frequency for participants to case management/supervision.	Relaxing program components, intensifying program components	14	21.90%
No graduations	No graduations during this period, possibly postponed until in-person gatherings resume.	Lengthening of program participation or timelines, Suspended programs	13	20.30%
Virtual Probation and/or Parole	Partially or entirely virtual/phone PO visits.	Virtual and non-contact program changes	13	20.30%
Delayed or postponed court hearings affecting program progress	Court backlogs or other COVID-19 factors delaying participants from referral to admission, or admission to discharge.	Lengthening of program participation or timelines	11	17.20%
Limited case management offered	Fewer case management visits, higher caseloads, or barriers to using community-based case managers.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, external impacts on the programs	11	17.20%
Suspended referrals of new participants	Complete stoppage of new participant referrals or progression.	Suspended programs, External impacts on the programs	10	15.60%
Changes in participant needs	Shifts in participant needs (transportation, food, housing, medical care, etc.).	Intensifying program components, Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	9	14.10%
Virtual termination meetings/proceedings	Termination meetings or hearings held virtually.	Virtual and non-contact program changes	9	14.10%
Barriers in access to community resources	Challenges referring participants to community services (e.g., housing, employment, food).	External impacts on the programs, Suspended programs	8	12.50%
Barriers to initial contact with client due	Difficulty connecting initially with new referrals/admissions because of changes in jail or law	External impacts on the programs	7	10.90%

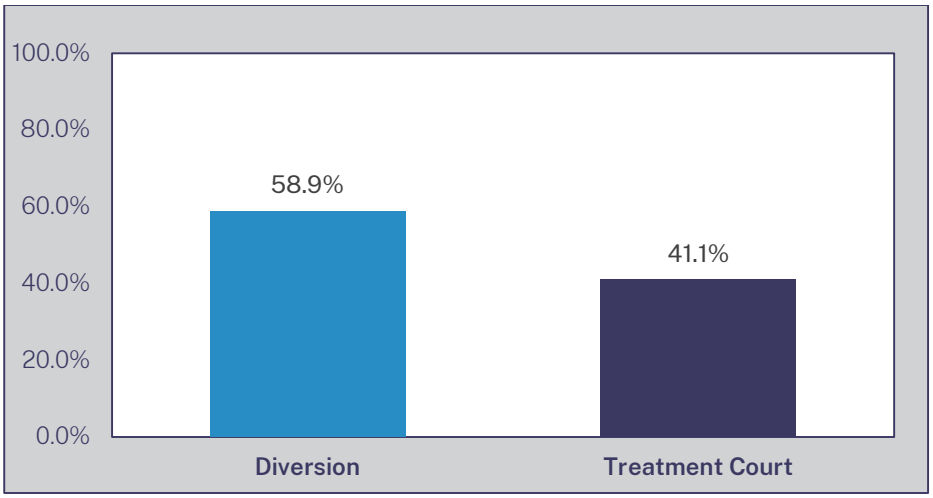
to jail/LE/court process changes	enforcement practices (e.g., cite-and-release).			
Less effective sanctions	Sanctions perceived as less effective, possibly due to virtual hearings.	Unable to use what "works", Relaxing program components	7	10.90%
Insufficient funding due to program changes	Not enough funds due to new costs (technology, participant fees waived, decreased external funding).	Changes in program costs	6	9.40%
UA testing continued as pre-pandemic	Continuing UA testing with no or minimal changes.	Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal"	6	9.40%
Internet/phone service impacts on remote services	Connectivity issues interfering with remote meetings and supervision.	External impacts on the programs	5	7.80%
Treatment or testing provider or location changes	Switching providers or locations for treatment/testing.	External impacts on the programs	5	7.80%
Added additional supports for participants	Introducing new services or supports (e.g., peer support, extra group meeting options).	Intensifying program components, Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	5	7.80%
Leniency in sanctions	More flexible approaches to sanctions (e.g., extended deadlines for fines).	Relaxing program components	5	7.80%
Changes in participant court reporting frequency	Increases or decreases in how often participants report to court.	Relaxing program components	5	7.80%
Decreased admissions	Decreases or slowed intakes within the reporting period.	Suspended Programs	5	7.80%
Suspended home visits	Home visits from case management and/or supervision suspended.	Suspended Programs	5	7.80%
Suspended travel and training	Travel and training suspended.	Suspended programs, unable to use what "works"	5	7.80%
Decreases in referrals	Fewer referrals than before but still continuing to receive some.	External impacts on the programs	4	6.30%
Increases in violations	Increase in participant violations.	Increased negative outcomes for participants	4	6.30%
Suspended assessments	Accepting new referrals but suspending screening/assessments or not progressing participants.	Suspended programs	4	6.30%
Limited to no PBT testing	Reduced or no use of preliminary breath testing (PBT).	Suspended Programs, Relaxing program components, external impacts on the programs, unable to use what "works"	4	6.30%
Virtual trainings	Trainings held virtually.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Changes in program costs, Suspended programs	4	6.30%
Treatment capacity limit impacts	Limited capacity of treatment providers due to COVID-19 (e.g., reduced staffing or facility restrictions).	External impacts on the programs, Unable to use what "works"	3	4.70%
Increased frequency of positive test results	Higher number of positive substance use tests.	Increased negative outcomes for participants	3	4.70%

Suspended incentives	Partially or entirely discontinuing use of incentives.	Unable to use what "works"	3	4.70%
Decrease in incentives or impact on the ability to carry out the standard for incentives	Reduced incentives or difficulty providing them as intended.	Unable to use what "works", Relaxing program components	3	4.70%
Decreases in personnel costs	Decreases in reported personnel costs.	Changes in program costs	2	3.10%
Insurance issues	Issues involving insurance coverage.	External impacts on the programs	2	3.10%
Staff vacancies	Vacant positions due to various factors possibly related to COVID-19.	External impacts on the programs, Changes in program costs	2	3.10%
Suspended residential treatment referrals	Paused referrals to residential treatment (facilities closed or not accepting new clients).	External impacts on the programs, unable to use what "works"	2	3.10%
Increases in terminations	Increased occurrences of terminations.	Increased negative outcomes for participants	2	3.10%
Increased team meetings	More frequent team meetings to address client needs or as part of violation responses.	Intensifying program components	2	3.10%
Postponed terminations	Delays or extensions of typical timelines that lead to terminations.	Lengthening of program participation or timelines	2	3.10%
No personnel changes	No personnel changes associated with COVID-19.	Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal"	2	3.10%
Continued or increases in EM	Continued or increased use of electronic monitoring (EM) in lieu of other supervision or violation responses.	Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal", Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	2	3.10%
Treatment and services focusing on immediate needs rather than long-term goals	Focusing on immediate participant needs rather than long-term goals.	Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal", Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	2	3.10%
Decreased or limited supervision (Probation and parole)	Reduced supervision by Probation and Parole.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, unable to use what "works"	2	3.10%
Increased personnel costs	Increases in reported personnel costs.	Changes in program costs	1	1.60%
Increased incentives	Greater incentives for positive behavior (e.g., attendance, negative tests).	Creative alternatives to pre pandemic programs	1	1.60%
Decreased frequency of positive test results	Fewer positive substance use tests.	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Decreases in return to use	Decrease in the frequency of individuals who have returned to substance use.	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Impacts on calls for service	Changes in law enforcement operations or calls for service (could be an increase or decrease).	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Changes in bond conditions	Changes in how often certain bond conditions are used (e.g., decreased electronic monitoring).	External impacts io the programs	1	1.60%

Barriers to maintain contact after referral (screening or assessments) NOT related to jail	Inability to follow up with client(s) after a referral is made.	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Changes in Medication-Assisted-Treatment (MAT)	Adjustments to MAT delivery (e.g., medication types, extended-release forms).	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Increased referrals	More referrals than before the pandemic.	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
No consultations/ contractuals reported	No consultants or contractual reported (possibly due to limited availability of in-person sessions).	External impacts on the programs	1	1.60%
Increases in testing requirements	Requirements for more frequent testing than pre-COVID.	Intensifying program components	1	1.60%
Extended program average length due to COVID impacts on the program	Participants taking longer to move through the program due to COVID-19 changes.	Lengthening of program participation or timelines	1	1.60%
Missing data or incomplete data entry into CORE	Missing or incomplete data in CORE due to program changes or staffing challenges.	Maintaining normalcy and finding a "new normal"	1	1.60%
In-person individual court hearings	Court hearings held in-person on an individual basis.	Virtual and non-contact program changes, Creative alternatives to pre-pandemic practices	1	1.60%

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT ADMISSION AND DISCHARGE OVERVIEW

TAD Admission by Program Type 2019-2023

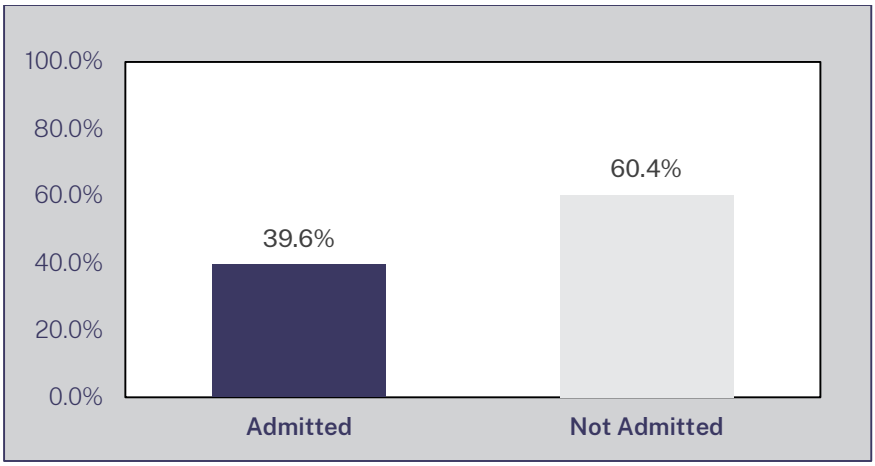


TAD Admissions by Program Type 2019-2023

	Total		Diversion		Treatment Court	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Admissions	6,062	100.0%	3,570	58.9%	2,492	41.1%

APPENDIX D: TREATMENT COURT REFERRALS, ADMISSIONS, AND DISCHARGES

Treatment Court Referrals by Admitted or Not Admitted to a Treatment Court



N=6,169

Treatment Court Referrals Reason Ineligible

Treatment Courts	Total	
	Count	Percent
Reason for Ineligibility		

Case Dismissed/Resolved	1	0.03%
Current offense not related to use/abuse of alcohol or drugs	31	0.93%
Current or prior offense for drug manufacture/delivery/sale	23	0.69%
Current or prior other excluding offense	282	8.42%
Current violent or weapon offense	37	1.10%
DA denied	8	0.24%
DOC revoked referral	12	0.36%
Does not meet age requirement	2	0.06%
Does not meet need level	272	8.12%
Does not meet residency requirement	407	12.15%
Incarcerated	7	0.21%
Insufficient alcohol/drug treatment available	10	0.30%
Insufficient mental health services available	30	0.90%
Insufficient substance use/abuse need identified	136	4.06%
Judge denied	8	0.24%
New pending charges	8	0.24%
Prior program participant	44	1.31%
Prior violent or weapon offense	357	10.65%
Risk level too high	273	8.15%
Risk level too low	551	16.44%
Unable to participate for mental health reasons	32	0.95%
Unable to participate for physical reasons	70	2.09%
Other	750	22.38%

Treatment Court Admissions: Personal characteristics of participants

	Total	
	Count	Percent
Education		

Less than High School	419	16.8%
High School Diploma/GED	1,373	55.1%
Some College	368	14.8%
Technical or Vocational Degree	79	3.2%
Associate Degree	66	2.6%
Bachelor's Degree	60	2.4%
Master's Degree	7	0.3%
Doctorate Degree	2	0.1%
Unknown	118	4.7%
Employment		
Employed full-time	619	24.8%
Employed part-time/seasonal	200	8.0%
Not Employed	1,505	60.4%
Odd jobs	35	1.4%
Other	38	1.5%
Unknown	95	3.8%
Living Situation		
Independent Living	716	28.7%
With Parents/Relatives/Friends	876	35.2%
Homeless/Shelter	194	7.8%
Incarceration	325	13.0%
Halfway house	32	1.3%
Residential treatment facility	36	1.4%
Transitional Living	193	7.7%
Other	49	2.0%
Unknown	71	2.8%

N=2,492

Treatment Court Admissions: Background summary of participants

	Total	
	Count	Percent
Risk Level		

High	1,542	61.9%
Medium	405	16.3%
Low	173	6.9%
Unknown	372	14.9%
Need Level		
High	1,697	68.1%
Medium	296	11.9%
Low	99	4.0%
Unknown	400	16.1%
Drug of Choice		
Alcohol	584	23.4%
Heroin	554	22.2%
Methamphetamines	770	30.9%
Opioids/Opiates (Non-heroin)	146	5.9%
Marijuana	112	4.5%
Cocaine/Crack Cocaine	148	5.9%
Other	87	3.5%
Unknown	91	3.7%
Offense Type		
Bail Jumping	107	4.3%
Criminal Damage	24	1.0%
Disorderly Conduct	19	0.8%
Drug Possession	1,113	44.7%
Drug Manufacture/Delivery	214	8.6%
OWI	542	21.7%
Property/Fraud	224	9.0%
Resisting Arrest	21	0.8%
Traffic	11	0.4%
Violent/Assault/Weapons	12	0.5%
Other	155	6.2%
Unknown	50	2.0%
Offense Severity		
Felony	2,126	85.3%
Misdemeanor	162	6.5%
Criminal Traffic	175	7.0%
Other	3	0.1%
Unknown	26	1.0%

N=2,492

Treatment Court Discharges: Demographic summary of discharges by type of discharge

	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent

Age								
Average Age	36		37		33		35	
Under 18	3	0.1%	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
18-25	356	12.0%	145	8.6%	171	16.6%	40	15.6%
26-35	1,321	44.4%	720	42.8%	487	47.1%	114	44.4%
36-45	803	27.0%	479	28.5%	261	25.3%	63	24.5%
46-55	302	10.2%	196	11.7%	79	7.6%	27	10.5%
56+	187	6.3%	140	8.3%	34	3.3%	13	5.1%
Sex								
Male	1,850	62.2%	1,077	64.0%	624	60.4%	149	58.0%
Female	1,120	37.7%	604	35.9%	409	39.6%	107	41.6%
Unknown	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Race								
White	2,585	87.0%	1,518	90.2%	856	82.9%	211	82.1%
African American/Black	162	5.5%	71	4.2%	76	7.4%	15	5.8%
American Indian/Alaskan Native	159	5.3%	62	3.7%	74	7.2%	23	8.9%
Asian	16	0.5%	7	0.4%	7	0.7%	2	0.8%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	2	0.1%	2	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Other	30	1.0%	13	0.8%	12	1.2%	5	1.9%
Unknown	18	0.6%	9	0.5%	8	0.8%	1	0.4%
Ethnicity								
Hispanic/Latino	116	3.9%	60	3.6%	46	4.5%	10	3.9%
Not Hispanic/Latino	2,621	88.2%	1,498	89.1%	898	86.9%	225	87.5%
Unknown	235	7.9%	124	7.4%	89	8.6%	22	8.6%

N=2,972

Treatment Court Discharges: Personal characteristics of participants by type of discharge

	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent

Education								
Less than High School	385	13.0%	133	7.9%	203	19.7%	49	19.1%
High School Diploma/GED	1,578	53.1%	909	54.0%	535	51.8%	134	52.1%
Some College	443	14.9%	286	17.0%	131	12.7%	26	10.1%
Technical or Vocational Degree	91	3.1%	64	3.8%	22	2.1%	5	1.9%
Associate Degree	78	2.6%	50	3.0%	21	2.0%	7	2.7%
Bachelor's Degree	87	2.9%	60	3.6%	21	2.0%	6	2.3%
Master's Degree	12	0.4%	8	0.5%	3	0.3%	1	0.4%
Doctorate/Professional Degree	4	0.1%	3	0.2%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Unknown	294	9.9%	169	10.0%	96	9.3%	29	11.3%
Employment								
Employed full-time	1,291	43.4%	1,115	66.3%	111	10.7%	65	25.3%
Employed part-time/seasonal	281	9.5%	186	11.1%	67	6.5%	28	10.9%
Not Employed	928	31.2%	197	11.7%	609	59.0%	122	47.5%
Odd jobs	29	1.0%	17	1.0%	11	1.1%	1	0.4%
Other	36	1.2%	23	1.4%	9	0.9%	4	1.6%
Unknown	407	13.7%	144	8.6%	226	21.9%	37	14.4%
Living Situation								
Independent Living	1,345	45.3%	1,098	65.3%	163	15.8%	84	32.7%
With Parents/Relatives/Friends	663	22.3%	400	23.8%	192	18.6%	71	27.6%
Homeless/Shelter	89	3.0%	5	0.3%	71	6.9%	13	5.1%
Incarceration	360	12.1%	1	0.1%	328	31.8%	31	12.1%
Halfway house	13	0.4%	2	0.1%	5	0.5%	6	2.3%
Residential treatment facility	10	0.3%	0	0.0%	7	0.7%	3	1.2%
Transitional Living	81	2.7%	38	2.3%	35	3.4%	8	3.1%
Other	93	3.1%	65	3.9%	18	1.7%	10	3.9%
Unknown	318	10.7%	73	4.3%	214	20.7%	31	12.1%

N=2,972

APPENDIX E: PROCEDURAL FAIRNESS SURVEY

Thank you for your willingness to complete this survey. We are interested in learning more about your personal experiences with the court staff and

services to date. The following questions specifically focus on the **judge, case manager, probation, treatment staff, and the court generally**. In each section, please consider all of your interactions with the indicated person or persons and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement listed.
Note: some programs are referred to as "hybrid" courts; these programs are combinations of OWI and drug-related cases.

The survey is confidential and your feedback will not be connected to your name (we are not asking for your name). The information provided on the survey will not impact your program participation so please be honest in your responses. Your electronic responses will be sent directly to staff at the Wisconsin Department of Justice, who will combine all responses and provide your program with summary results; your program will not have access to your individual survey. The survey will be available until [relevant date] and should take about 10 minutes or less to complete. Please fill out the survey only once.

Please write the county name and program you are currently enrolled in:

What is the LAST NAME of the Judge you see most often?

About how many months have you been in your current program? (Please write a whole number)

What phase of your program are you currently in?

How old are you in years? (Please write a whole number)

What is your gender?

- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Other

Other gender (please specify **if applicable**):

What is your race?

- ○ White
- ○ Black or African American
- ○ American Indian or Alaskan Native
- ○ Asian
- ○ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- ○ Other

Other race (please specify **if applicable**):

What is your ethnicity?

- ○ Not Hispanic/Latino
- ○ Hispanic/Latino

Section 1: Your Experiences with the Judge In this section, please consider all of your interactions with the primary judge with whom you have had contact throughout your dealings with the court. *If these questions do not relate to you, please select "Not Applicable".*	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Not Applicable (0)
1. The judge applies rules consistently to everyone.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. The judge makes me feel comfortable enough to say how I really feel about things.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. The judge gives me a chance to tell my side of the story.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. The judge treats me politely.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. The judge is knowledgeable about my case.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. The judge makes decisions about how to handle my problems in a fair way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section 2: Your Experiences with your Case Manager In this section, please consider all of your interactions with your primary case manager. *If these questions do not relate to you, please select "Not Applicable".*	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Not Applicable (0)
7. The case manager interacts with me in a professional manner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. I know that my case manager truly wants to help me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. My case manager gives me enough of a chance to say what I want to say.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. The way my case manager handles my case is fair.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. My case manager treats all of his or her clients equally.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. I feel safe enough to be open and honest with my case manager.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section 3: Your Experiences with Probation In this section, please consider all of your interactions with your primary probation officer. *If these questions do not relate to you, please select "Not Applicable".*	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Not Applicable (0)
13. My probation officer interacts with me in a professional manner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. I know that my probation officer truly wants to help me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. My probation officer gives me enough of a chance to say what I want to say.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. The way my probation officer handles my case is fair.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. My probation officer treats all of his or her clients equally.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. I feel safe enough to be open and honest with my probation officer.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section 4: Your Experiences with Treatment In this section, please consider all of your interactions with your primary treatment provider. *If these questions do not relate to you, please select "Not Applicable".*	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Not Applicable (0)
19. The treatment staff gives me a chance to tell my side of the story.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. I believe the treatment staff is genuinely interested in helping me with my problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. The treatment staff interacts with me in a professional manner.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. The treatment staff treats all clients fairly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. I feel safe enough to be open and honest with treatment staff.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. The way treatment handles my case is fair.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section 5: Your Experiences with the Court in General In this section, please consider all of your interactions with the staff of the court that have not been specifically mentioned above. *If these questions do not relate to you, please select "Not Applicable".*	Strongly Agree (7)	Agree (6)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Not Applicable (0)
25. They treat all people and groups fairly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. They are fair in their dealings.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. They care about me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. They treat me with courtesy.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. They listen to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. They are trustworthy.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Do you have any other comments you'd like to share about your experience in your program this year?

_____

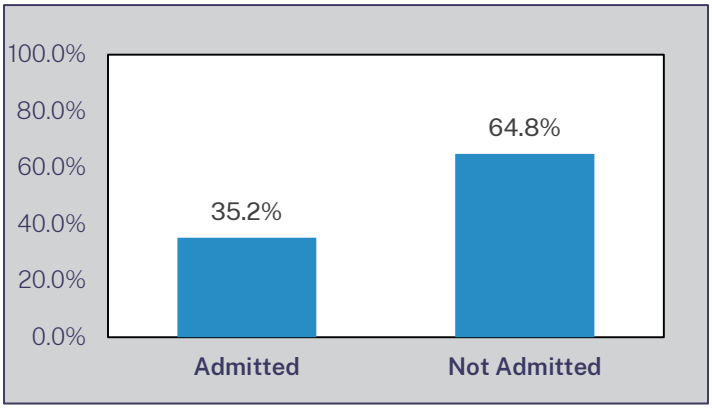
_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX F: DIVERSION PROGRAM REFERRALS, ADMISSIONS, AND DISCHARGES

Diversion Program Referrals by Admitted or Not Admitted to a Diversion Program



N=10,236

Diversion Program Referrals Reasons Ineligible

Diversion	Total	
	Count	Percent
Reason for Ineligibility		
Case Dismissed/Resolved	14	0.25%
Current offense not related to use/abuse of alcohol or drugs	67	1.20%
Current or prior offense for drug manufacture/delivery/sale	18	0.32%
Current or prior other excluding offense	27	0.48%
Current violent or weapon offense	504	9.00%
DA denied	10	0.18%
DOC revoked referral	0	0.00%
Does not meet age requirement	31	0.55%
Does not meet need level	5	0.09%
Does not meet residency requirement	388	6.93%
Incarcerated	1	0.02%
Insufficient alcohol/drug treatment available	2	0.04%
Insufficient mental health services available	3	0.05%
Insufficient substance use/abuse need identified	962	17.19%
Judge denied	1	0.02%
New pending charges	3	0.05%
Prior program participant	15	0.27%
Prior violent or weapon offense	63	1.13%
Risk level too high	773	13.81%
Risk level too low	2319	41.43%
Unable to participate for mental health reasons	12	0.21%
Unable to participate for physical reasons	27	0.48%

Other	352	6.29%

Diversion Admissions: Personal Characteristics of Participants

	Total	
	Count	Percent
Education		
Less than High School	494	13.8%
High School Diploma/GED	1,558	43.6%
Some College	667	18.7%
Technical or Vocational Degree	151	4.2%
Associate Degree	156	4.4%
Bachelor's Degree	191	5.4%
Master's Degree	21	0.6%
Doctorate/Professional Degree	6	0.2%
Unknown	326	9.1%
Employment		
Employed full-time	1,723	48.3%
Employed part-time/seasonal	455	12.7%
Not Employed	1,075	30.1%
Odd jobs	33	0.9%
Other	38	1.1%
Unknown	246	6.9%
Living Situation		
Independent Living	1,743	48.8%
With Parents/Relatives/Friends	1,292	36.2%
Homeless/Shelter	87	2.4%
Incarceration	13	0.4%
Halfway house	8	0.2%
Residential treatment facility	24	0.7%
Transitional Living	31	0.9%
Other	179	5.0%
Unknown	193	5.4%

N=3,570

Diversion Program Discharges: Demographic Summary of Discharges by Type of Discharge

	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Age								
Average Age	33		33		32		34	
Under 18	37	0.9%	23	0.8%	13	1.4%	1	0.5%
18-25	1,279	30.6%	973	32.1%	262	28.1%	44	21.1%
26-35	1,350	32.3%	932	30.7%	344	36.9%	74	35.4%
36-45	831	19.9%	606	20.0%	179	19.2%	46	22.0%
46-55	406	9.7%	304	10.0%	83	8.9%	19	9.1%
56+	255	6.1%	193	6.4%	45	4.8%	17	8.1%
Unknown	18	0.4%	4	0.1%	6	0.6%	8	3.8%
Sex								
Male	2,621	62.8%	1,926	63.5%	569	61.1%	126	60.3%
Female	1,535	36.8%	1,105	36.4%	355	38.1%	75	35.9%
Unknown	20	0.5%	4	0.1%	8	0.9%	8	3.8%
Race								
White	3,368	80.7%	2,509	82.7%	703	75.4%	156	74.6%
African American/Black	423	10.1%	280	9.2%	118	12.7%	25	12.0%
American Indian/Alaskan Native	160	3.8%	87	2.9%	59	6.3%	14	6.7%
Asian	81	1.9%	69	2.3%	12	1.3%	0	0.0%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	3	0.1%	2	0.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
Other	70	1.7%	48	1.6%	19	2.0%	3	1.4%
Unknown	71	1.7%	40	1.3%	21	2.3%	10	4.8%
Ethnicity								
Hispanic/Latino	256	6.1%	176	5.8%	64	6.9%	16	7.7%
Not Hispanic/Latino	3,639	87.1%	2,670	88.0%	791	84.9%	178	85.2%
Unknown	281	6.7%	189	6.2%	77	8.3%	15	7.2%

N=4,176

Diversion Program Discharges: Personal Characteristics of Participants by Type of Discharge

	Total		Graduated		Terminated		Other	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Education								
Less than High School	423	10.1%	251	8.3%	148	15.9%	24	11.5%
High School Diploma/GED	1,610	38.6%	1,139	37.5%	381	40.9%	90	43.1%
Some College	736	17.6%	579	19.1%	121	13.0%	36	17.2%
Technical or Vocational Degree	137	3.3%	114	3.8%	17	1.8%	6	2.9%
Associate Degree	157	3.8%	128	4.2%	25	2.7%	4	1.9%
Bachelor's Degree	203	4.9%	182	6.0%	17	1.8%	4	1.9%
Master's Degree	25	0.6%	24	0.8%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Doctorate/Professional Degree	8	0.2%	5	0.2%	2	0.2%	1	0.5%
Unknown	877	21.0%	613	20.2%	220	23.6%	44	21.1%
Employment								
Employed full-time	1,823	43.7%	1,549	51.0%	221	23.7%	53	25.4%
Employed part-time/seasonal	441	10.6%	339	11.2%	82	8.8%	20	9.6%
Not Employed	866	20.7%	488	16.1%	285	30.6%	93	44.5%
Odd jobs	34	0.8%	19	0.6%	13	1.4%	2	1.0%
Other	35	0.8%	23	0.8%	7	0.8%	5	2.4%
Unknown	977	23.4%	617	20.3%	324	34.8%	36	17.2%
Living Situation								
Independent Living	2,012	48.2%	1,640	54.0%	296	31.8%	76	36.4%
With Parents/Relatives/Friends	1,192	28.5%	836	27.5%	295	31.7%	61	29.2%
Homeless/Shelter	61	1.5%	15	0.5%	42	4.5%	4	1.9%
Incarceration	66	1.6%	5	0.2%	47	5.0%	14	6.7%
Halfway house	3	0.1%	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Residential treatment facility	20	0.5%	9	0.3%	7	0.8%	4	1.9%
Transitional Living	33	0.8%	23	0.8%	9	1.0%	1	0.5%
Other	351	8.4%	280	9.2%	58	6.2%	13	6.2%
Unknown	438	10.5%	225	7.4%	177	19.0%	36	17.2%

N=4,176

APPENDIX G: TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION OF RECIDIVISM AND COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Technical Description of Recidivism and Cost-Benefit Analysis

Cost-Benefit Budget Information

TAD funding awards were obtained by the BJP per site, per year and adjusted for inflation. When a site operated both treatment court(s) and diversion program(s), information on how the budget should be split was either obtained from the site or estimated based on the number of participants each year in each program. Of note, TAD sites are required to provide at least a 25% match to help fund their program(s). However, some sites provide a much higher match, and there is not an accurate way for the WI DOJ to know exactly what sites are spending beyond TAD funding. As such, the cost-benefit analysis is not inclusive of all costs (donated time, other local funding, etc.); it is only TAD funding that is represented.

As not all funding awarded was spent, after the awarded funds were totaled, the amount of turnback funding was removed from the total.

Turnback Funding

Year	Amount of Turnback	% of Total Allocated
2019	$121,041.34	2%
2020	$812,830.90	11%
2021	$663,259.80	9%
2022	$603,284.85	8%
2023	$1,252,062.75	13.2%

Cost-Benefit Fee Information

If a program indicated exactly how much they collected in program fees from participants, that amount was used for the five year period. If a program indicated they did not charge a fee, no amount was applied to that program. If a program indicated they charged a fee but was not able to provide a specific amount collected, the BJIA estimated the amount the site may have collected by multiplying the fee by the number of discharges in CORE as being compliant with a fee.

The fees estimated to be collected from each site over the five year period ranged from $0 for sites that do not impose a fee to $152,531.27.

Discharge Counts

In CORE, participants can be discharged but still appear in overall “pending” status if other information in CORE that is required has not been filled in. For these instances, the BJIA used the discharge type to include the participant in the analysis, even though other information about them may have been incomplete.

Recidivism Data Sources

When a person is first arrested and their fingerprints are submitted to the CCH, they are assigned a State Identification Number (SID) which stays with them. The SID attaches to the arrest and follows the case through the various criminal justice data systems as the case progresses. Because the CCH is a fingerprint-based system, it does not rely on names/DOBs/etc. matching to know whether records match the same person. As such, there are many occasions where the same SID is attached to multiple arrests with different names, DOBs, and identifying information; however, because the fingerprints match, the WI DOJ links the records together since the fingerprints confirm it is the same person.

All CCH data has a SID; however, there are cases in CCAP that do not have a SID nor an arrest tracking number (ATN). The SID may be missing from a CCAP case for a variety of reasons, but the primary reason is that the arrest (with fingerprints) that led to the charges was not sent to the WI DOJ. As a result, that arrest would not be in CCH and the SID is either not created or if one already exists for the defendant, it does not get attached to the case. Staff within the BJIA used various matching logic to find SIDs for instances in which the SID was missing from CCAP but the person listed as the defendant was in CCH with a SID for a different case by utilizing various matching logic, including various R packages.

Occasionally, a SID is not entered into CORE when someone is entered into the system for several possible reasons. For example, depending on the participant's point of entry into the program, a SID may not be available or assigned yet at the time of data entry. In other cases, the SID may be missing due to error, or some sites may not have access to the SID in their systems. About 78% of discharge records in CORE had a SID; to account for as many missing SIDs as possible in the CORE discharge dataset and to verify the SIDs that were provided appeared accurate, a search was made in the CCH for matches on several different identifiers.

Recidivism Comparison Groups

Comparison A Creation

Propensity score matching (PSM) using IBM SPSS was used to create comparison groups using two different subsets of individuals. Propensity scores are calculated using logistic regression to estimate the likelihood of a person being in the treatment group (in this case, a TAD program participant) based on other characteristics that might be related to receiving treatment.

To create Comparison Group A, individuals referred but not admitted to a TAD program in 2019-2023 were extracted from CORE. Those who declined to participate and those who were ineligible due to a prior or current violent/weapon offense were removed. The resulting dataset of referrals was then combined with a set of participants who were discharged from 2019-2023. Propensity scores were created using "Admitted" or "Not Admitted" as a binary outcome for all individuals using age, sex, race, referral source, point of entry, risk category, need category, proxy category (for diversion in place of risk and need category), and offense

category for the offense that led to the referral. Only those individuals that had all the information for those variables available (and not "unknown") had scores calculated. For Comparison Group A, a match tolerance of .02 was used. The number of discharges/referrals was used as the unit of analysis, such that if a person was discharged multiple times or referred multiple times, they could be in the dataset multiple times.

Treatment Court Comparison A Groups

In the Comparison Group A dataset, of the 884 records, 44 (5.5%) are referrals for a person with at least one other referral in the dataset.

In the Group A matches dataset, of the 884 records, seven records (0.8%) are the same person in the dataset more than once with different discharges.

Diversion Comparison A Groups

In the Comparison Group A dataset, of the 1,342 records, 26 (1.9%) are referrals for a person with at least one other referral in the dataset.

In the Group A matches dataset, of the 1,342 records, 21 records (1.6%) are the same person in the dataset more than once with different discharges.

Comparison B Creation

To create Comparison Group B, individuals who were arrested between 2019-2023 and in the CCH, but not referred to or admitted to a TAD program during that time were utilized. Those who were arrested for a violent crime (as defined in Wis. Stat. §165.84(7)(ab), Wis. Stat. §941.291(1)(b), and Wis. Stat. §969.001(3)) were excluded, and arrests from counties that did not have at least one TAD discharge during 2019-2023 were excluded. This dataset was combined with the TAD discharge dataset and propensity scores were created using "Admitted" or "Not Admitted" as a binary outcome for everyone using age, sex, race, and offense category as the input variables. The match tolerance was originally set at .02. Consistent with Method A, only those who had information supplied for all the input variables received a score.

Treatment Court Comparison B Groups

In the Comparison Group B dataset, of the 2,320 records, 332 (14.3%) are arrests for a person with at least one other arrest charge in the dataset. In some of these cases, the same arrest event was selected to match two or more Group B match sample records. Due to the larger percentage of possible duplicates, the 3-year conviction recidivism was measured again using a distinct count of arrestee/arrest event in the follow-up period to determine whether the duplicates made a difference; the different counting methodology led to a less than 1% difference in recidivism, so the non-distinct count was reported.

In the Group B matches dataset, of the 2,320 records, 53 records (2.3%) are the same person in the dataset more than once with different discharges.

Diversion Comparison B Groups

In the original Comparison Group B dataset, 50.3% of records were duplicated for the same person and usually the same arrest event (with different arrest charges). The original measurement of 3-year conviction recidivism with this dataset (with each record kept), compared to measuring the set with a distinct count of records based on person and arrest event led to a near 5% difference in recidivism. Due to that difference, a new dataset was created by deduplicating the arrest dataset before propensity score matching to include each arrest event once and matched at a stricter match tolerance level of .005, such that one arrest event could only be included once, and only the charge on the event that was the most serious was kept. Arrest events are assigned an event ID with each unique fingerprint card submitted. In some infrequent cases, the same fingerprint card will be submitted multiple times on the same day for what appear to be the same offense(s), resulting in different arrest events with different IDs for each submission. As such, even though the arrest events were deduplicated by arrest event ID, it is possible to still have what appear to be duplicate arrest events in the deduplicated dataset if fingerprint cards were submitted multiple times. For the newly created dataset, about 1.8% of records were the same person and same arrest date. Using all records in this set compared to a distinct count of person/arrest date resulted in less than about a .5% difference in recidivism. The non-distinct count is the number reported.

In the Group B matches dataset, of the 2,778 records, 42 records (1.5%) are the same person in the dataset more than once with different discharges.

Averted Incarceration

The BJIA made an assumption that only those who graduated would avert any incarceration, but that not all graduates would have been sentenced to incarceration. This is likely a more conservative approach, to not overestimate averted days. However, the days estimated with only assuming a percentage of graduates would otherwise be incarcerated is possibly an undercount due to the TAD participants being in an "alternatives to incarceration" program. Due to data quality issues with averted days within CORE, the BJIA used sentencing data from CCAP to estimate averted incarceration days due to program participation/graduation.

First, the BJIA assumed that a graduate with a misdemeanor referral charge might have gone to jail otherwise, and a graduate with a felony referral charge might have gone to prison otherwise. For diversion graduates, misdemeanors were listed for about 70% of cases, and for treatment court graduates, felonies were listed for about 80% of cases.

Estimated Jail Days Averted

About 90% of graduates possibly facing jail had a referral charge of one of the 10 statutes listed on the table below. All cases with a conviction on one or more of these charges with a disposition date of 2019-2023 were pulled from CCAP. The percent of each charge that resulted in any type of incarceration was calculated per statute. The median days of incarceration was then calculated for those that did result in an incarceration sentence.

Statutes listed with Misd. In CORE	N CORE Discharges	Percent of cases in CCAP with incarceration sentence	N CORE Discharges who would have been in jail	Median Sentence (in Days) in CCAP	% of CORE Discharges with Misd. for this Statute
Wis. Stat. §343.44	38	16.1%	6.	10	2%
Wis. Stat. §346.63	669	85.3%	571	60	31%
Wis. Stat. §450.11	37	43.1%	16	61	2%
Wis. Stat. §940.19	167	55.1%	92	180	8%
Wis. Stat. §943.01	84	50.5%	42	150	4%
Wis. Stat. §943.20	56	50.3%	28	180	3%
Wis. Stat. §943.50	34	56.4%	19	90	2%
Wis. Stat. §946.41	44	57.1%	25	90	2%
Wis. Stat. §947.01	502	47.1%	236	60	23%
Wis. Stat. §946.41	315	50.3%	158	150	15%
Total	1,946		1,195		

The BJIA created a weighted average based on how common each statute was in the dataset. For example, Wis. Stat. §343.63 is the charge for about 31% of all cases in TAD discharges for jail possibility, and thus the median sentence of 60 days for that statute weighs more than Wis. Stat. §943.20, which had a median of 180 days of incarceration but was only present in about 3% of jail possibility cases. This resulted in a median days of 92.45 days if a graduate would have gone to jail.

Out of 2,161 graduates with a misdemeanor (including those that were not one of the top 10 statutes), we estimated that 1,194.5 of them would go to jail if not for TAD participation, resulting in a 55.25% jail incarceration rate. This assumes that none of the individuals that did not have one of the top 10 statutes would have gone to jail (likely an undercount).

Estimated Prison Days Averted

About 82% of graduates possibly facing prison had a referral charge of one of the statutes listed in the table below. The same process was followed to calculate averted prison days as jail days. The median days for these five statutes in CCAP were weighted based on how common the statute was listed for the CORE discharged participant, resulting in a median of 743.81 days if a graduate would have gone to prison.

Out of 2,265 graduates with a felony (including those that were not one of the top five statutes), we estimated that 1,069.37 of them would go to prison if not for TAD participation, resulting in a 47.2% incarceration rate. This assumes that none of the individuals that did not have one of the top five statutes would have gone to prison (likely an undercount).

Statutes listed with Felony In CORE	N CORE Discharges	Percent of cases in CCAP with incarceration sentence	N CORE Discharges who would have been in prison	Median Sentence (in Days) in CCAP	% of CORE Discharges with Felony for this Statute
Wis. Stat. §343.63	329	85.3%	281	720	14.5%
Wis. Stat. §943.10	79	71.6%	57	1095	3.5%
Wis. Stat. §943.20	59	56.4%	33	730	2.6%
Wis. Stat. §946.49	54	56.3%	30	730	2.4%
Wis. Stat. §961.41	1,329	50.3%	668	730	58.7%
Total	1,850		1,069		

For both jail days and prison days, the number of days averted was calculated based on how many treatment court graduates had a misdemeanor versus a felony and if a felony, what percentage of graduates were male versus female. The same was done for diversion programs.

A daily cost of $60 for jail, $140.66 for prison (male), and $156.56 for prison (female) was applied based on information provided by the Department of Corrections to calculate a final averted incarceration cost per graduate.

	Treatment Courts	Diversion
Est. # graduates averting jail	172	1,127
Est. # graduates averting prison (male)	414	296
Est. # graduates averting prison (female)	233	169
Median sentence for Misdemeanor = **92.45 days**		
Median sentence for Felony = **743.81 days**		
Estimated jail day averted	15,936.47	104,148.91
Estimated prison days averted (male)	307,824.69	220,294.06
Estimated prison days averted (female)	173,151.39	125,882.32
Esti. Averted jail costs	$956,188.14	$6,248,934.67
Est. Averted prison costs (male)	$43,298,620.62	$30,986,563.03
Est. Averted prison costs (female)	$27,108,581.15	$19,708,136.37
Averted Incarceration Cost per graduate	**$42,427.70**	**$18,762.32**

Averted Crime

Estimated marginal costs of averted crime were calculated consistent with the previous evaluation. BJIA first calculated recidivism for Comparison Group A and Group A Matches separately. We used the same schema as was used previously to categorize statutes by type of crime and applied the number of convictions for each crime type.

Cost to arrest, prosecute/convict, and incarcerate (adjusted for inflation)

Type of Crime	Cost
Rape	$41,663.11
Robbery	$31,388.95
Aggravated Assault	$25,632.64
Property	$20,237.32
Drug	$20,237.32
Misdemeanor	$20,237.32

For example, the drug conviction recidivism for Comparison Group A was 162 out of 442, or a rate of about 36.7%. The Group A matches (TAD participants who matched Comparison Group A) conviction recidivism for drug offenses was 111 out of 519, or about 21.4%. The difference in recidivism for drug offenses was about 15%, which is about 79 averted convictions. Using the cost to arrest, charge/convict, and incarcerate adjusted for inflation, these averted convictions saved about $1.6M total for drug offenses. This process was repeated for the different crime categories, separate for treatment courts and diversion programs, and separately by Comparison Methodology A and Comparison Methodology B. The total savings was then divided by the number of discharges in the 3-year conviction recidivism follow-up period.

Treatment Court 3-Year Conviction Recidivism Rates for Comparison Group A and Match A

	3-Year Conviction Recidivism Rate		3-Year Conviction Recidivism Rate		
Offense Type	**N in follow-up period**	**TAD Discharges (Matched Group)**	**N in follow-up period**	**Comparison Group A**	**Difference in Recidivism**
Rape	519	0	442	0.009	0.009
Robbery	519	0	442	0	0
Aggravated Assault	519	0.029	442	0.025	-0.004
Property	519	0.112	442	0.120	0.008
Drug	519	0.214	442	0.367	0.153
Misdemeanor - Technical	519	0.077	442	0.156	0.079
Misdemeanor - Public Order	519	0.233	442	0.233	-0.000

Treatment Court Estimated Averted Convictions and Cost by Crime Type

Offense Type	**Estimated Averted Convictions (Difference*N in follow-up period)**	**Total cost to arrest, prosecute/convict, and incarcerate**	**Reduced Marginal Costs**
Rape	4.70	41,663.11	195,684.64
Robbery	0	31,388.95	0
Aggravated Assault	-2.10	25,632.64	-53,411.00
Property	4.23	20,237.32	85,665.21

Drug	79.22	20,237.32	1,603,235.16
Misdemeanor - Technical	41.02036199	20,237.32	830,142.1265
Misdemeanor - Public Order	-0.06	20,237.32	-1,144.64
		Total Saved	2,660,171.49

The total saved for treatment courts and diversion programs, separated out by whether it used Comparison method A or B was divided by the total number of people in the 3-year conviction follow-up period (in the above table, 519) for a calculated savings per discharge.

Averted costs due to reduced crime (convictions)

	Treatment Courts	**Diversion Programs**
Method A	$5,125.57	$2,171.73
Method B	$-1,092.26	$4,585.98

To calculate the final cost-benefit ratio, the following calculation was used:

(Averted Incarceration per graduate + Averted Costs due to Averted Crime per people in 3-year follow-up)/Cost per discharge

	Treatment Court	**Diversion**
Costs		
Cost per Discharge	$8,026.64	$2,560.11
Benefits		
Averted Incarceration	$42,427.70	$18,762.32
Averted Costs due to Averted Crime (Method A)	$5,125.57	$2,171.73
Averted Costs due to Averted Crime (Method B)	-$1,092.26	$4,585.98
Ratio (benefits divided by costs) – Method A	$5.92	$8.18
Ratio (benefits divided by costs) – Method B	$5.15	$9.12

APPENDIX H: RECIDIVISM TABLES

Treatment Court Recidivism by Offense Type

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense		Property Offense		Drug Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	715	28.1	106	4.2	144	5.7	317	12.5
		2 year	2,060	898	43.6	149	7.2	206	10.0	490	23.8
		3 year	1,596	811	50.8	158	9.9	204	12.8	506	31.7
		4 year	1,143	641	56.1	150	13.1	175	15.3	420	36.7
		5 year	567	314	55.4	81	14.3	99	17.5	213	37.6
	Charge	1 year	2,545	597	23.5	91	3.6	142	5.6	300	11.8
		2 year	2,060	801	38.9	135	6.6	211	10.2	461	22.4
		3 year	1,596	760	47.6	147	9.2	220	13.8	483	30.3
		4 year	1,143	618	54.1	139	12.2	193	16.9	403	35.3
		5 year	567	309	54.5	76	13.4	103	18.2	210	37.0
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	517	20.3	59	2.3	116	4.6	226	8.9
		2 year	2,060	721	35.0	84	4.1	166	8.1	369	17.9
		3 year	1,596	691	43.3	93	5.8	176	11.0	395	24.7
		4 year	1,143	566	49.5	86	7.5	153	13.4	332	29.0
		5 year	567	281	49.6	46	8.1	81	14.3	178	31.4
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	278	19.7	48	3.4	40	2.8	117	8.3
		2 year	1,146	361	31.5	63	5.5	60	5.2	196	17.1
		3 year	884	335	37.9	72	8.1	65	7.4	201	22.7
		4 year	656	284	43.3	68	10.4	66	10.1	179	27.3
		5 year	331	145	43.8	38	11.5	44	13.3	95	28.7
	Charge	1 year	1,414	240	17.0	45	3.2	42	3.0	115	8.1
		2 year	1,146	344	30.0	66	5.8	68	5.9	185	16.1
		3 year	884	327	37.0	71	8.0	71	8.0	193	21.8

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense		Property Offense		Drug Offense	
		4 year	656	286	43.6	68	10.4	71	10.8	169	25.8
		5 year	331	148	44.7	38	11.5	40	12.1	94	28.4
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	210	14.9	28	2.0	35	2.5	94	6.6
		2 year	1,146	309	27.0	40	3.5	55	4.8	152	13.3
		3 year	884	298	33.7	44	5.0	59	6.7	167	18.9
		4 year	656	259	39.5	41	6.3	56	8.5	142	21.6
		5 year	331	132	39.9	22	6.6	31	9.4	80	24.2
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	437	38.7	58	5.1	104	9.2	200	17.7
		2 year	913	537	58.8	86	9.4	146	16.0	294	32.2
		3 year	711	476	66.9	86	12.1	139	19.5	305	42.9
		4 year	486	357	73.5	82	16.9	109	22.4	241	49.6
		5 year	235	169	71.9	43	18.3	55	23.4	118	50.2
	Charge	1 year	1,130	357	31.6	46	4.1	100	8.8	185	16.4
		2 year	913	457	50.1	69	7.6	143	15.7	276	30.2
		3 year	711	433	60.9	76	10.7	149	21.0	290	40.8
		4 year	486	332	68.3	71	14.6	122	25.1	234	48.1
		5 year	235	161	68.5	38	16.2	63	26.8	116	49.4
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	307	27.2	31	2.7	81	7.2	132	11.7
		2 year	913	412	45.1	44	4.8	111	12.2	217	23.8
		3 year	711	393	55.3	49	6.9	117	16.5	228	32.1
		4 year	486	307	63.2	45	9.3	97	20.0	190	39.1
		5 year	235	149	63.4	24	10.2	50	21.3	98	41.7

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Technical Offense		Public Order Offense		Violent Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	443	17.4	329	12.9	116	4.6
		2 year	2,060	543	26.4	463	22.5	161	7.8
		3 year	1,596	495	31.0	462	28.9	162	10.2
		4 year	1,143	411	36.0	380	33.2	152	13.3
		5 year	567	203	35.8	185	32.6	84	14.8
	Charge	1 year	2,545	193	7.6	376	14.8	100	3.9
		2 year	2,060	287	13.9	508	24.7	143	6.9
		3 year	1,596	298	18.7	505	31.6	162	10.2
		4 year	1,143	248	21.7	413	36.1	151	13.2
		5 year	567	129	22.8	198	34.9	73	12.9
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	89	3.5	239	9.4	68	2.7
		2 year	2,060	145	7.0	342	16.6	94	4.6
		3 year	1,596	154	9.6	352	22.1	106	6.6
		4 year	1,143	127	11.1	295	25.8	100	8.7
		5 year	567	62	10.9	142	25.0	48	8.5
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	153	10.8	126	8.9	44	3.1
		2 year	1,146	191	16.7	184	16.1	54	4.7
		3 year	884	177	20.0	185	20.9	60	6.8
		4 year	656	159	24.2	157	23.9	59	9.0
		5 year	331	83	25.1	76	23.0	37	11.2
	Charge	1 year	1,414	63	4.5	147	10.4	40	2.8
		2 year	1,146	94	8.2	217	18.9	57	5.0
		3 year	884	101	11.4	216	24.4	61	6.9
		4 year	656	93	14.2	189	28.8	60	9.1
		5 year	331	50	15.1	90	27.2	32	9.7
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	28	2.0	91	6.4	23	1.6

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Technical Offense		Public Order Offense		Violent Offense	
		2 year	1,146	45	3.9	150	13.1	33	2.9
		3 year	884	51	5.8	157	17.8	38	4.3
		4 year	656	48	7.3	139	21.2	38	5.8
		5 year	331	23	6.9	67	20.2	18	5.4
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	290	25.7	203	18.0	72	6.4
		2 year	913	352	38.6	279	30.6	107	11.7
		3 year	711	318	44.7	277	39.0	102	14.3
		4 year	486	252	51.9	223	45.9	93	19.1
		5 year	235	120	51.1	109	46.4	47	20.0
	Charge	1 year	1,130	130	11.5	229	20.3	60	5.3
		2 year	913	193	21.1	291	31.9	86	9.4
		3 year	711	197	27.7	289	40.6	101	14.2
		4 year	486	155	31.9	224	46.1	91	18.7
		5 year	235	79	33.6	108	46.0	41	17.4
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	61	5.4	148	13.1	45	4.0
		2 year	913	100	11.0	192	21.0	61	6.7
		3 year	711	103	14.5	195	27.4	68	9.6
		4 year	486	79	16.3	156	32.1	62	12.8
		5 year	235	39	16.6	75	31.9	30	12.8

Treatment Court Recidivism: Person Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	715	28.1	5	0.2	2	0.1
		2 year	2,060	898	43.6	5	0.2	2	0.1
		3 year	1,596	811	50.8	5	0.3	2	0.1
		4 year	1,143	641	56.1	6	0.5	1	0.1
		5 year	567	314	55.4	6	1.1	1	0.2
	Charge	1 year	2,545	597	23.5	3	0.1	2	0.1
		2 year	2,060	801	38.9	3	0.1	2	0.1
		3 year	1,596	760	47.6	2	0.1	2	0.1
		4 year	1,143	618	54.1	3	0.3	1	0.1
		5 year	567	309	54.5	2	0.4	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	517	20.3	1	0.0	2	0.1
		2 year	2,060	721	35.0	0	0.0	2	0.1
		3 year	1,596	691	43.3	0	0.0	2	0.1
		4 year	1,143	566	49.5	1	0.1	1	0.1
		5 year	567	281	49.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	278	19.7	2	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	361	31.5	1	0.1	0	0.0
		3 year	884	335	37.9	2	0.2	0	0.0
		4 year	656	284	43.3	2	0.3	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
		5 year	331	145	43.8	3	0.9	1	0.3
	Charge	1 year	1,414	240	17.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	344	30.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		3 year	884	327	37.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
		4 year	656	286	43.6	1	0.2	0	0.0
		5 year	331	148	44.7	1	0.3	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	210	14.9	1	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	309	27.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		3 year	884	298	33.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
		4 year	656	259	39.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
		5 year	331	132	39.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	437	38.7	3	0.3	2	0.2
		2 year	913	537	58.8	4	0.4	2	0.2
		3 year	711	476	66.9	3	0.4	2	0.3
		4 year	486	357	73.5	4	0.8	1	0.2
		5 year	235	169	71.9	3	1.3	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	1,130	357	31.6	2	0.2	2	0.2
		2 year	913	457	50.1	3	0.3	2	0.2
		3 year	711	433	60.9	1	0.1	2	0.3
		4 year	486	332	68.3	2	0.4	1	0.2
		5 year	235	161	68.5	1	0.4	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	307	27.2	0	0.0	2	0.2
		2 year	913	412	45.1	0	0.0	2	0.2
		3 year	711	393	55.3	0	0.0	2	0.3
		4 year	486	307	63.2	1	0.2	1	0.2
		5 year	235	149	63.4	0	0.0	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	4	0.2	56	2.2	5	0.2	47	1.8
		2 year	2,060	6	0.3	84	4.1	7	0.3	64	3.1
		3 year	1,596	5	0.3	83	5.2	6	0.4	75	4.7
		4 year	1,143	4	0.3	88	7.7	7	0.6	66	5.8
		5 year	567	2	0.4	48	8.5	3	0.5	35	6.2
	Charge	1 year	2,545	2	0.1	46	1.8	0	0.0	51	3.9
		2 year	2,060	4	0.2	72	3.5	1	0.0	70	6.9
		3 year	1,596	6	0.4	74	4.6	1	0.1	79	10.2
		4 year	1,143	6	0.5	78	6.8	0	0.0	70	13.2
		5 year	567	4	0.7	41	7.2	0	0.0	42	12.9
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	1	0.0	28	1.1	0	0.0	30	1.2
		2 year	2,060	3	0.1	40	1.9	1	0.0	42	2.0
		3 year	1,596	5	0.3	42	2.6	1	0.1	47	2.9

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
		4 year	1,143	4	0.3	45	3.9	0	0.0	40	3.5
		5 year	567	2	0.4	23	4.1	0	0.0	24	4.2
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	1	0.1	21	1.5	2	0.1	27	1.9
		2 year	1,146	1	0.1	29	2.5	1	0.1	38	3.3
		3 year	884	1	0.1	29	3.3	2	0.2	48	5.4
		4 year	656	0	0.0	34	5.2	3	0.5	42	6.4
		5 year	331	0	0.0	21	6.3	1	0.3	21	6.3
	Charge	1 year	1,414	1	0.1	19	1.3	0	0.0	29	2.1
		2 year	1,146	1	0.1	31	2.7	1	0.1	40	3.5
		3 year	884	1	0.1	29	3.3	1	0.1	47	5.3
		4 year	656	1	0.2	34	5.2	0	0.0	41	6.3
		5 year	331	1	0.3	19	5.7	0	0.0	24	7.3
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	1	0.1	10	0.7	0	0.0	18	1.3
		2 year	1,146	1	0.1	14	1.2	1	0.1	27	2.4
		3 year	884	1	0.1	14	1.6	1	0.1	30	3.4
		4 year	656	0	0.0	17	2.6	0	0.0	26	4.0
		5 year	331	0	0.0	8	2.4	0	0.0	15	4.5
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	3	0.3	35	3.1	3	0.3	20	1.8
		2 year	913	5	0.5	55	6.0	6	0.7	26	2.8
		3 year	711	4	0.6	54	7.6	4	0.6	27	3.8
		4 year	486	4	0.8	54	11.1	4	0.8	24	4.9
		5 year	235	2	0.9	27	11.5	2	0.9	14	6.0
	Charge	1 year	1,130	1	0.1	27	2.4	0	0.0	22	1.9
		2 year	913	3	0.3	41	4.5	0	0.0	30	3.3

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
		3 year	711	5	0.7	45	6.3	0	0.0	32	4.5
		4 year	486	5	1.0	44	9.1	0	0.0	29	6.0
		5 year	235	3	1.3	22	9.4	0	0.0	18	7.7
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	0	0.0	18	1.6	0	0.0	12	1.1
		2 year	913	2	0.2	26	2.8	0	0.0	15	1.6
		3 year	711	4	0.6	28	3.9	0	0.0	17	2.4
		4 year	486	4	0.8	28	5.8	0	0.0	14	2.9
		5 year	235	2	0.9	15	6.4	0	0.0	9	3.8

Treatment Court Recidivism: Property Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	715	28.1	20	0.8	31	1.2	77	3.0
		2 year	2,060	898	43.6	22	1.1	45	2.2	119	5.8
		3 year	1,596	811	50.8	21	1.3	43	2.7	118	7.4
		4 year	1,143	641	56.1	20	1.7	39	3.4	115	10.1
		5 year	567	314	55.4	11	1.9	25	4.4	68	12.0
	Charge	1 year	2,545	597	23.5	14	0.6	31	1.2	82	3.2
		2 year	2,060	801	38.9	15	0.7	45	2.2	127	6.2
		3 year	1,596	760	47.6	18	1.1	43	2.7	136	8.5
		4 year	1,143	618	54.1	15	1.3	42	3.7	125	10.9
		5 year	567	309	54.5	7	1.2	27	4.8	62	10.9
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	517	20.3	14	0.6	21	0.8	59	2.3
		2 year	2,060	721	35.0	14	0.7	34	1.7	94	4.6
		3 year	1,596	691	43.3	14	0.9	31	1.9	107	6.7
		4 year	1,143	566	49.5	10	0.9	29	2.5	94	8.2
		5 year	567	281	49.6	5	0.9	18	3.2	42	7.4
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	278	19.7	6	0.4	10	0.7	19	1.3
		2 year	1,146	361	31.5	5	0.4	16	1.4	31	2.7
		3 year	884	335	37.9	5	0.6	14	1.6	36	4.1
		4 year	656	284	43.3	6	0.9	13	2.0	43	6.6
		5 year	331	145	43.8	4	1.2	9	2.7	28	8.5
	Charge	1 year	1,414	240	17.0	4	0.3	11	0.8	21	1.5
		2 year	1,146	344	30.0	2	0.2	17	1.5	36	3.1

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
		3 year	884	327	37.0	4	0.5	15	1.7	42	4.8
		4 year	656	286	43.6	5	0.8	17	2.6	44	6.7
		5 year	331	148	44.7	3	0.9	9	2.7	21	6.3
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	210	14.9	4	0.3	8	0.6	15	1.1
		2 year	1,146	309	27.0	2	0.2	14	1.2	26	2.3
		3 year	884	298	33.7	2	0.2	11	1.2	33	3.7
		4 year	656	259	39.5	2	0.3	11	1.7	33	5.0
		5 year	331	132	39.9	1	0.3	6	1.8	15	4.5
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	437	38.7	14	1.2	21	1.9	58	5.1
		2 year	913	537	58.8	17	1.9	29	3.2	88	9.6
		3 year	711	476	66.9	16	2.3	29	4.1	82	11.5
		4 year	486	357	73.5	14	2.9	26	5.3	72	14.8
		5 year	235	169	71.9	7	3.0	16	6.8	40	17.0
	Charge	1 year	1,130	357	31.6	10	0.9	20	1.8	61	5.4
		2 year	913	457	50.1	13	1.4	28	3.1	91	10.0
		3 year	711	433	60.9	14	2.0	28	3.9	94	13.2
		4 year	486	332	68.3	10	2.1	25	5.1	81	16.7
		5 year	235	161	68.5	4	1.7	18	7.7	41	17.4
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	307	27.2	10	0.9	13	1.2	44	3.9
		2 year	913	412	45.1	12	1.3	20	2.2	68	7.4
		3 year	711	393	55.3	12	1.7	20	2.8	74	10.4
		4 year	486	307	63.2	8	1.6	18	3.7	61	12.6

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
		5 year	235	149	63.4	4	1.7	12	5.1	27	11.5

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Property Offense				Drug Offense					
				Motor Vehicle Theft		Other Property Offense		Drug Trafficking		OWI		Other Drug Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	4	0.2	48	1.9	52	2.0	69	2.7	265	10.4
		2 year	2,060	14	0.7	73	3.5	84	4.1	124	6.0	416	20.2
		3 year	1,596	13	0.8	83	5.2	98	6.1	133	8.3	435	27.3
		4 year	1,143	12	1.0	72	6.3	90	7.9	119	10.4	355	31.1
		5 year	567	5	0.9	44	7.8	57	10.1	63	11.1	182	32.1
	Charge	1 year	2,545	7	0.3	51	2.0	50	2.0	61	2.4	256	10.1
		2 year	2,060	13	0.6	79	3.8	82	4.0	99	4.8	401	19.5
		3 year	1,596	10	0.6	87	5.5	98	6.1	110	6.9	420	26.3
		4 year	1,143	6	0.5	78	6.8	83	7.3	91	8.0	353	30.9
		5 year	567	2	0.4	46	8.1	55	9.7	52	9.2	184	32.5
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	6	0.2	28	1.1	36	1.4	51	2.0	162	6.4
		2 year	2,060	9	0.4	48	2.3	61	3.0	88	4.3	269	13.1
		3 year	1,596	6	0.4	56	3.5	77	4.8	100	6.3	288	18.0
		4 year	1,143	4	0.3	50	4.4	65	5.7	83	7.3	244	21.3
		5 year	567	0	0.0	30	5.3	43	7.6	48	8.5	128	22.6

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Property Offense				Drug Offense					
				Motor Vehicle Theft		Other Property Offense		Drug Trafficking		OWI		Other Drug Offense	
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	0	0.0	18	1.3	22	1.6	46	3.3	86	6.1
		2 year	1,146	2	0.2	30	2.6	37	3.2	80	7.0	145	12.7
		3 year	884	4	0.5	32	3.6	36	4.1	87	9.8	156	17.6
		4 year	656	3	0.5	28	4.3	36	5.5	74	11.3	138	21.0
		5 year	331	2	0.6	20	6.0	25	7.6	42	12.7	75	22.7
	Charge	1 year	1,414	2	0.1	17	1.2	25	1.8	40	2.8	86	6.1
		2 year	1,146	2	0.2	28	2.4	43	3.8	63	5.5	141	12.3
		3 year	884	1	0.1	29	3.3	44	5.0	71	8.0	148	16.7
		4 year	656	1	0.2	29	4.4	43	6.6	57	8.7	136	20.7
		5 year	331	0	0.0	19	5.7	30	9.1	34	10.3	77	23.3
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	2	0.1	9	0.6	18	1.3	37	2.6	54	3.8
		2 year	1,146	1	0.1	19	1.7	32	2.8	59	5.1	84	7.3
		3 year	884	0	0.0	21	2.4	33	3.7	68	7.7	98	11.1
		4 year	656	1	0.2	20	3.0	33	5.0	54	8.2	88	13.4
		5 year	331	0	0.0	14	4.2	24	7.3	31	9.4	47	14.2
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	4	0.4	30	2.7	30	2.7	23	2.0	179	15.8
		2 year	913	12	1.3	43	4.7	47	5.1	44	4.8	271	29.7
		3 year	711	9	1.3	51	7.2	62	8.7	46	6.5	279	39.2
		4 year	486	9	1.9	44	9.1	54	11.1	45	9.3	217	44.7
		5 year	235	3	1.3	24	10.2	32	13.6	21	8.9	107	45.5
	Charge	1 year	1,130	5	0.4	34	3.0	25	2.2	21	1.9	170	15.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Property Offense				Drug Offense					
				Motor Vehicle Theft		Other Property Offense		Drug Trafficking		OWI		Other Drug Offense	
		2 year	913	11	1.2	51	5.6	39	4.3	36	3.9	260	28.5
		3 year	711	9	1.3	58	8.2	54	7.6	39	5.5	272	38.3
		4 year	486	5	1.0	49	10.1	40	8.2	34	7.0	217	44.7
		5 year	235	2	0.9	27	11.5	25	10.6	18	7.7	107	45.5
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	4	0.4	19	1.7	18	1.6	14	1.2	108	9.6
		2 year	913	8	0.9	29	3.2	29	3.2	29	3.2	185	20.3
		3 year	711	6	0.8	35	4.9	44	6.2	32	4.5	190	26.7
		4 year	486	3	0.6	30	6.2	32	6.6	29	6.0	156	32.1
		5 year	235	0	0.0	16	6.8	19	8.1	17	7.2	81	34.5

Treatment Court Recidivism: Technical and Public Order Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	715	28.1	443	17.4	0	0.0
		2 year	2,060	898	43.6	543	26.4	0	0.0
		3 year	1,596	811	50.8	495	31.0	0	0.0
		4 year	1,143	641	56.1	411	36.0	0	0.0
		5 year	567	314	55.4	203	35.8	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	2,545	597	23.5	193	7.6	0	0.0
		2 year	2,060	801	38.9	287	13.9	0	0.0
		3 year	1,596	760	47.6	298	18.7	0	0.0
		4 year	1,143	618	54.1	248	21.7	0	0.0
		5 year	567	309	54.5	128	22.6	1	0.2
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	517	20.3	89	3.5	0	0.0
		2 year	2,060	721	35.0	145	7.0	0	0.0
		3 year	1,596	691	43.3	154	9.6	0	0.0
		4 year	1,143	566	49.5	127	11.1	0	0.0
		5 year	567	281	49.6	62	10.9	0	0.0
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	278	19.7	153	10.8	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	361	31.5	191	16.7	0	0.0
		3 year	884	335	37.9	177	20.0	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
		4 year	656	284	43.3	159	24.2	0	0.0
		5 year	331	145	43.8	83	25.1	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	1,414	240	17.0	63	4.5	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	344	30.0	94	8.2	0	0.0
		3 year	884	327	37.0	101	11.4	0	0.0
		4 year	656	286	43.6	93	14.2	0	0.0
		5 year	331	148	44.7	49	14.8	1	0.3
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	210	14.9	28	2.0	0	0.0
		2 year	1,146	309	27.0	45	3.9	0	0.0
		3 year	884	298	33.7	51	5.8	0	0.0
		4 year	656	259	39.5	48	7.3	0	0.0
		5 year	331	132	39.9	23	6.9	0	0.0
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	437	38.7	290	25.7	0	0.0
		2 year	913	537	58.8	352	38.6	0	0.0
		3 year	711	476	66.9	318	44.7	0	0.0
		4 year	486	357	73.5	252	51.9	0	0.0
		5 year	235	169	71.9	120	51.1	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	1,130	357	31.6	130	11.5	0	0.0
		2 year	913	457	50.1	193	21.1	0	0.0
		3 year	711	433	60.9	197	27.7	0	0.0
		4 year	486	332	68.3	155	31.9	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
		5 year	235	161	68.5	79	33.6	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	307	27.2	61	5.4	0	0.0
		2 year	913	412	45.1	100	11.0	0	0.0
		3 year	711	393	55.3	103	14.5	0	0.0
		4 year	486	307	63.2	79	16.3	0	0.0
		5 year	235	149	63.4	39	16.6	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	2,545	16	0.6	124	4.9	225	8.8
		2 year	2,060	33	1.6	170	8.3	337	16.4
		3 year	1,596	47	2.9	172	10.8	343	21.5
		4 year	1,143	45	3.9	151	13.2	290	25.4
		5 year	567	25	4.4	67	11.8	147	25.9
	Charge	1 year	2,545	19	0.7	165	6.5	242	9.5
		2 year	2,060	37	1.8	229	11.1	338	16.4
		3 year	1,596	52	3.3	222	13.9	357	22.4
		4 year	1,143	47	4.1	183	16.0	302	26.4
		5 year	567	24	4.2	85	15.0	152	26.8

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
	Conviction	1 year	2,545	9	0.4	112	4.4	135	5.3
		2 year	2,060	16	0.8	161	7.8	200	9.7
		3 year	1,596	24	1.5	154	9.6	211	13.2
		4 year	1,143	23	2.0	130	11.4	187	16.4
		5 year	567	10	1.8	58	10.2	99	17.5
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	1,414	4	0.3	55	3.9	76	5.4
		2 year	1,146	14	1.2	76	6.6	119	10.4
		3 year	884	18	2.0	75	8.5	127	14.4
		4 year	656	17	2.6	65	9.9	112	17.1
		5 year	331	10	3.0	30	9.1	57	17.2
	Charge	1 year	1,414	6	0.4	80	5.7	73	5.2
		2 year	1,146	13	1.1	117	10.2	122	10.6
		3 year	884	20	2.3	106	12.0	135	15.3
		4 year	656	18	2.7	88	13.4	126	19.2
		5 year	331	8	2.4	44	13.3	63	19.0
	Conviction	1 year	1,414	2	0.1	56	4.0	40	2.8
		2 year	1,146	4	0.3	86	7.5	74	6.5
		3 year	884	8	0.9	78	8.8	84	9.5
		4 year	656	10	1.5	65	9.9	79	12.0
		5 year	331	2	0.6	32	9.7	42	12.7

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	1,130	12	1.1	69	6.1	149	13.2
		2 year	913	19	2.1	94	10.3	218	23.9
		3 year	711	29	4.1	97	13.6	216	30.4
		4 year	486	28	5.8	86	17.7	178	36.6
		5 year	235	15	6.4	37	15.7	90	38.3
	Charge	1 year	1,130	13	1.2	85	7.5	169	15.0
		2 year	913	24	2.6	112	12.3	216	23.7
		3 year	711	32	4.5	116	16.3	222	31.2
		4 year	486	29	6.0	95	19.5	176	36.2
		5 year	235	16	6.8	41	17.4	89	37.9
	Conviction	1 year	1,130	7	0.6	56	5.0	95	8.4
		2 year	913	12	1.3	75	8.2	126	13.8
		3 year	711	16	2.3	76	10.7	127	17.9
		4 year	486	13	2.7	65	13.4	108	22.2
		5 year	235	8	3.4	26	11.1	57	24.3

Diversion Program Recidivism by Offense Type

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense		Property Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	582	18.0	96	3.0	122	3.8
		2 year	2,652	680	25.6	141	5.3	155	5.8
		3 year	2,056	645	31.4	150	7.3	152	7.4
		4 year	1,508	545	36.1	136	9.0	128	8.5
		5 year	831	350	42.1	93	11.2	77	9.3
	Charge	1 year	3,241	464	14.3	76	2.3	105	3.2
		2 year	2,652	567	21.4	109	4.1	135	5.1
		3 year	2,056	554	26.9	117	5.7	131	6.4
		4 year	1,508	467	31.0	115	7.6	114	7.6
		5 year	831	296	35.6	73	8.8	67	8.1
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	356	11.0	33	1.0	71	2.2
		2 year	2,652	470	17.7	52	2.0	92	3.5
		3 year	2,056	465	22.6	59	2.9	93	4.5
		4 year	1,508	392	26.0	55	3.6	76	5.0
		5 year	831	246	29.6	36	4.3	41	4.9
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	255	11.3	59	2.6	47	2.1
		2 year	1,858	319	17.2	82	4.4	60	3.2
		3 year	1,442	323	22.4	91	6.3	65	4.5
		4 year	1,050	289	27.5	86	8.2	63	6.0
		5 year	565	186	32.9	62	11.0	42	7.4
	Charge	1 year	2,264	216	9.5	47	2.1	38	1.7

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense		Property Offense	
		2 year	1,858	277	14.9	66	3.6	54	2.9
		3 year	1,442	279	19.3	71	4.9	60	4.2
		4 year	1,050	243	23.1	69	6.6	58	5.5
		5 year	565	163	28.8	48	8.5	41	7.3
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	161	7.1	18	0.8	17	0.8
		2 year	1,858	224	12.1	30	1.6	26	1.4
		3 year	1,442	228	15.8	35	2.4	34	2.4
		4 year	1,050	201	19.1	32	3.0	31	3.0
		5 year	565	134	23.7	22	3.9	21	3.7
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	327	33.5	37	3.8	75	7.7
		2 year	794	361	45.5	59	7.4	95	12.0
		3 year	614	322	52.4	59	9.6	87	14.2
		4 year	458	256	55.9	50	10.9	65	14.2
		5 year	266	164	61.7	31	11.7	35	13.2
	Charge	1 year	977	248	25.4	29	3.0	67	6.9
		2 year	794	290	36.5	43	5.4	81	10.2
		3 year	614	275	44.8	46	7.5	71	11.6
		4 year	458	224	48.9	46	10.0	56	12.2
		5 year	266	133	50.0	25	9.4	26	9.8
	Conviction	1 year	977	195	20.0	15	1.5	54	5.5
		2 year	794	246	31.0	22	2.8	66	8.3
		3 year	614	237	38.6	24	3.9	59	9.6

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense		Property Offense	
		4 year	458	191	41.7	23	5.0	45	9.8
		5 year	266	112	42.1	14	5.3	20	7.5

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Drug Offense		Technical Offense		Public Order Offense		Violent Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	278	8.6	240	7.4	300	9.3	104	3.2
		2 year	2,652	346	13.0	289	10.9	371	14.0	144	5.4
		3 year	2,056	347	16.9	275	13.4	372	18.1	152	7.4
		4 year	1,508	305	20.2	233	15.5	334	22.1	143	9.5
		5 year	831	205	24.7	143	17.2	224	27.0	94	11.3
	Charge	1 year	3,241	204	6.3	167	5.2	294	9.1	85	2.6
		2 year	2,652	279	10.5	199	7.5	368	13.9	116	4.4
		3 year	2,056	288	14.0	200	9.7	375	18.2	128	6.2
		4 year	1,508	255	16.9	163	10.8	314	20.8	129	8.6
		5 year	831	167	20.1	94	11.3	199	23.9	76	9.1
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	153	4.7	67	2.1	190	5.9	45	1.4
		2 year	2,652	222	8.4	87	3.3	249	9.4	64	2.4
		3 year	2,056	230	11.2	89	4.3	258	12.5	74	3.6
		4 year	1,508	208	13.8	75	5.0	221	14.7	71	4.7
		5 year	831	138	16.6	44	5.3	140	16.8	42	5.1
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	112	4.9	44	1.9	143	6.3	60	2.7

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Drug Offense		Technical Offense		Public Order Offense		Violent Offense	
		2 year	1,858	148	8.0	77	4.1	186	10.0	80	4.3
		3 year	1,442	157	10.9	85	5.9	194	13.5	88	6.1
		4 year	1,050	144	13.7	85	8.1	179	17.0	85	8.1
		5 year	565	101	17.9	61	10.8	123	21.8	61	10.8
	Charge	1 year	2,264	88	3.9	33	1.5	143	6.3	47	2.1
	Charge	2 year	1,858	127	6.8	59	3.2	183	9.8	62	3.3
	Charge	3 year	1,442	134	9.3	65	4.5	190	13.2	71	4.9
	Charge	4 year	1,050	125	11.9	58	5.5	161	15.3	73	7.0
	Charge	5 year	565	91	16.1	41	7.3	105	18.6	46	8.1
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	63	2.8	14	0.6	95	4.2	21	0.9
	Conviction	2 year	1,858	99	5.3	23	1.2	124	6.7	30	1.6
	Conviction	3 year	1,442	103	7.1	28	1.9	133	9.2	36	2.5
	Conviction	4 year	1,050	98	9.3	27	2.6	115	11.0	36	3.4
	Conviction	5 year	565	74	13.1	21	3.7	73	12.9	22	3.9
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	166	17.0	196	20.1	157	16.1	44	4.5
Terminated	Arrest	2 year	794	198	24.9	212	26.7	185	23.3	64	8.1
Terminated	Arrest	3 year	614	190	30.9	190	30.9	178	29.0	64	10.4
Terminated	Arrest	4 year	458	161	35.2	148	32.3	155	33.8	58	12.7
Terminated	Arrest	5 year	266	104	39.1	82	30.8	101	38.0	33	12.4
Terminated	Charge	1 year	977	116	11.9	134	13.7	151	15.5	38	3.9
Terminated	Charge	2 year	794	152	19.1	140	17.6	185	23.3	54	6.8
Terminated	Charge	3 year	614	154	25.1	135	22.0	185	30.1	57	9.3

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Drug Offense		Technical Offense		Public Order Offense		Violent Offense	
		4 year	458	130	28.4	105	22.9	153	33.4	56	12.2
		5 year	266	76	28.6	53	19.9	94	35.3	30	11.3
	Conviction	1 year	977	90	9.2	53	5.4	95	9.7	24	2.5
		2 year	794	123	15.5	64	8.1	125	15.7	34	4.3
		3 year	614	127	20.7	61	9.9	125	20.4	38	6.2
		4 year	458	110	24.0	48	10.5	106	23.1	35	7.6
		5 year	266	64	24.1	23	8.6	67	25.2	20	7.5

Diversion Program Recidivism: Person Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	582	18.0	7	0.2	0	0.0
		2 year	2,652	680	25.6	12	0.5	2	0.1
		3 year	2,056	645	31.4	12	0.6	1	0.0
		4 year	1,508	545	36.1	9	0.6	0	0.0
		5 year	831	350	42.1	1	0.1	2	0.2
	Charge	1 year	3,241	464	14.3	4	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	2,652	567	21.4	6	0.2	1	0.0
		3 year	2,056	554	26.9	8	0.4	0	0.0
		4 year	1,508	467	31.0	8	0.5	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
		5 year	831	296	35.6	1	0.1	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	356	11.0	3	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	2,652	470	17.7	5	0.2	0	0.0
		3 year	2,056	465	22.6	6	0.3	0	0.0
		4 year	1,508	392	26.0	6	0.4	0	0.0
		5 year	831	246	29.6	1	0.1	0	0.0
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	255	11.3	6	0.3	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	319	17.2	10	0.5	2	0.1
		3 year	1,442	323	22.4	9	0.6	1	0.1
		4 year	1,050	289	27.5	7	0.7	0	0.0
		5 year	565	186	32.9	1	0.2	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	2,264	216	9.5	4	0.2	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	277	14.9	5	0.3	1	0.1
		3 year	1,442	279	19.3	7	0.5	0	0.0
		4 year	1,050	243	23.1	7	0.7	0	0.0
		5 year	565	163	28.8	1	0.2	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	161	7.1	3	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	224	12.1	4	0.2	0	0.0
		3 year	1,442	228	15.8	5	0.3	0	0.0
		4 year	1,050	201	19.1	5	0.5	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Person Offense			
						Sex Offense		Murder - Nonnegligent Manslaughter	
		5 year	565	134	23.7	1	0.2	0	0.0
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	327	33.5	1	0.1	0	0.0
		2 year	794	361	45.5	2	0.3	0	0.0
		3 year	614	322	52.4	3	0.5	0	0.0
		4 year	458	256	55.9	2	0.4	0	0.0
		5 year	266	164	61.7	0	0.0	2	0.8
	Charge	1 year	977	248	25.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
		2 year	794	290	36.5	1	0.1	0	0.0
		3 year	614	275	44.8	1	0.2	0	0.0
		4 year	458	224	48.9	1	0.2	0	0.0
		5 year	266	133	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	977	195	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		2 year	794	246	31.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
		3 year	614	237	38.6	1	0.2	0	0.0
		4 year	458	191	41.7	1	0.2	0	0.0
		5 year	266	112	42.1	0	0.0	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	2	0.1	62	1.9	3	0.1	37	1.1
		2 year	2,652	2	0.1	89	3.4	5	0.2	56	2.1
		3 year	2,056	1	0.0	99	4.8	6	0.3	63	3.1
		4 year	1,508	1	0.1	102	6.8	5	0.3	46	3.1
		5 year	831	1	0.1	71	8.5	4	0.5	36	4.3
	Charge	1 year	3,241	1	0.0	56	1.7	1	0.0	24	0.7
		2 year	2,652	2	0.1	78	2.9	1	0.0	42	1.6
		3 year	2,056	1	0.0	88	4.3	1	0.0	44	2.1
		4 year	1,508	1	0.1	88	5.8	1	0.1	42	2.8
		5 year	831	0	0.0	54	6.5	1	0.1	32	3.9
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	0	0.0	24	0.7	0	0.0	9	0.3
		2 year	2,652	1	0.0	35	1.3	0	0.0	16	0.6
		3 year	2,056	1	0.0	40	1.9	0	0.0	20	1.0
		4 year	1,508	1	0.1	42	2.8	0	0.0	13	0.9
		5 year	831	0	0.0	27	3.2	0	0.0	13	1.6
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	2	0.1	37	1.6	2	0.1	18	0.8
		2 year	1,858	1	0.1	47	2.5	3	0.2	31	1.7
		3 year	1,442	0	0.0	58	4.0	3	0.2	35	2.4
		4 year	1,050	0	0.0	63	6.0	3	0.3	25	2.4
		5 year	565	1	0.2	48	8.5	3	0.5	20	3.5

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
	Charge	1 year	2,264	1	0.0	34	1.5	1	0.0	13	0.6
		2 year	1,858	1	0.1	45	2.4	1	0.1	26	1.4
		3 year	1,442	0	0.0	52	3.6	1	0.1	26	1.8
		4 year	1,050	0	0.0	51	4.9	1	0.1	24	2.3
		5 year	565	0	0.0	35	6.2	1	0.2	20	3.5
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	0	0.0	13	0.6	0	0.0	3	0.1
		2 year	1,858	0	0.0	20	1.1	0	0.0	8	0.4
		3 year	1,442	0	0.0	24	1.7	0	0.0	10	0.7
		4 year	1,050	0	0.0	24	2.3	0	0.0	6	0.6
		5 year	565	0	0.0	17	3.0	0	0.0	6	1.1
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	0	0.0	25	2.6	1	0.1	19	1.9
		2 year	794	1	0.1	42	5.3	2	0.3	25	3.1
		3 year	614	1	0.2	41	6.7	3	0.5	28	4.6
		4 year	458	1	0.2	39	8.5	2	0.4	21	4.6
		5 year	266	0	0.0	23	8.6	1	0.4	16	6.0
	Charge	1 year	977	0	0.0	22	2.3	0	0.0	11	1.1
		2 year	794	1	0.1	33	4.2	0	0.0	16	2.0
		3 year	614	1	0.2	36	5.9	0	0.0	18	2.9
		4 year	458	1	0.2	37	8.1	0	0.0	18	3.9
		5 year	266	0	0.0	19	7.1	0	0.0	12	4.5

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Person Offense							
				Negligent Manslaughter - Reckless Homicide		Assault		Robbery		Other Person Offense	
	Conviction	1 year	977	0	0.0	11	1.1	0	0.0	6	0.6
		2 year	794	1	0.1	15	1.9	0	0.0	8	1.0
		3 year	614	1	0.2	16	2.6	0	0.0	10	1.6
		4 year	458	1	0.2	18	3.9	0	0.0	7	1.5
		5 year	266	0	0.0	10	3.8	0	0.0	7	2.6

Diversion Program Recidivism: Property Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	582	18.0	13	0.4	21	0.6	72	2.2
		2 year	2,652	680	25.6	16	0.6	24	0.9	77	2.9
		3 year	2,056	645	31.4	20	1.0	25	1.2	74	3.6
		4 year	1,508	545	36.1	18	1.2	17	1.1	62	4.1
		5 year	831	350	42.1	10	1.2	7	0.8	36	4.3
	Charge	1 year	3,241	464	14.3	10	0.3	17	0.5	62	1.9
		2 year	2,652	567	21.4	14	0.5	21	0.8	70	2.6
		3 year	2,056	554	26.9	17	0.8	24	1.2	71	3.5
		4 year	1,508	467	31.0	14	0.9	15	1.0	59	3.9

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
		5 year	831	296	35.6	6	0.7	6	0.7	31	3.7
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	356	11.0	7	0.2	12	0.4	39	1.2
		2 year	2,652	470	17.7	10	0.4	16	0.6	44	1.7
		3 year	2,056	465	22.6	14	0.7	18	0.9	44	2.1
		4 year	1,508	392	26.0	12	0.8	10	0.7	33	2.2
		5 year	831	246	29.6	5	0.6	3	0.4	16	1.9
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	255	11.3	3	0.1	8	0.4	22	1.0
		2 year	1,858	319	17.2	4	0.2	9	0.5	23	1.2
		3 year	1,442	323	22.4	5	0.3	10	0.7	31	2.1
		4 year	1,050	289	27.5	5	0.5	7	0.7	29	2.8
		5 year	565	186	32.9	4	0.7	4	0.7	20	3.5
	Charge	1 year	2,264	216	9.5	2	0.1	5	0.2	19	0.8
		2 year	1,858	277	14.9	3	0.2	7	0.4	22	1.2
		3 year	1,442	279	19.3	4	0.3	8	0.6	32	2.2
		4 year	1,050	243	23.1	4	0.4	7	0.7	29	2.8
		5 year	565	163	28.8	2	0.4	4	0.7	20	3.5
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	161	7.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	10	0.4
		2 year	1,858	224	12.1	3	0.2	4	0.2	11	0.6
		3 year	1,442	228	15.8	4	0.3	4	0.3	18	1.2
		4 year	1,050	201	19.1	4	0.4	3	0.3	15	1.4

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Property Offense					
						Burglary		Fraud/Forgery		Larceny Theft	
		5 year	565	134	23.7	2	0.4	1	0.2	10	1.8
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	327	33.5	10	1.0	13	1.3	50	5.1
		2 year	794	361	45.5	12	1.5	15	1.9	54	6.8
		3 year	614	322	52.4	15	2.4	15	2.4	43	7.0
		4 year	458	256	55.9	13	2.8	10	2.2	33	7.2
		5 year	266	164	61.7	6	2.3	3	1.1	16	6.0
	Charge	1 year	977	248	25.4	8	0.8	12	1.2	43	4.4
		2 year	794	290	36.5	11	1.4	14	1.8	48	6.0
		3 year	614	275	44.8	13	2.1	16	2.6	39	6.4
		4 year	458	224	48.9	10	2.2	8	1.7	30	6.6
		5 year	266	133	50.0	4	1.5	2	0.8	11	4.1
	Conviction	1 year	977	195	20.0	5	0.5	10	1.0	29	3.0
		2 year	794	246	31.0	7	0.9	12	1.5	33	4.2
		3 year	614	237	38.6	10	1.6	14	2.3	26	4.2
		4 year	458	191	41.7	8	1.7	7	1.5	18	3.9
		5 year	266	112	42.1	3	1.1	2	0.8	6	2.3

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Property Offense				Drug Offense					
				Motor Vehicle Theft		Other Property Offense		Drug Trafficking		OWI		Other Drug Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	8	0.2	37	1.1	43	1.3	75	2.3	201	6.2
		2 year	2,652	10	0.4	66	2.5	53	2.0	112	4.2	253	9.5
		3 year	2,056	10	0.5	69	3.4	58	2.8	127	6.2	239	11.6
		4 year	1,508	9	0.6	65	4.3	47	3.1	116	7.7	210	13.9
		5 year	831	3	0.4	49	5.9	37	4.5	72	8.7	146	17.6
	Charge	1 year	3,241	1	0.0	44	1.4	30	0.9	54	1.7	147	4.5
		2 year	2,652	3	0.1	70	2.6	39	1.5	86	3.2	204	7.7
		3 year	2,056	3	0.1	67	3.3	41	2.0	101	4.9	204	9.9
		4 year	1,508	4	0.3	64	4.2	30	2.0	93	6.2	179	11.9
		5 year	831	1	0.1	41	4.9	19	2.3	57	6.9	120	14.4
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	1	0.0	21	0.6	20	0.6	47	1.5	96	3.0
		2 year	2,652	3	0.1	34	1.3	27	1.0	77	2.9	140	5.3
		3 year	2,056	3	0.1	34	1.7	27	1.3	89	4.3	141	6.9
		4 year	1,508	3	0.2	33	2.2	21	1.4	80	5.3	129	8.6
		5 year	831	1	0.1	20	2.4	13	1.6	48	5.8	90	10.8
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	2	0.1	18	0.8	22	1.0	45	2.0	64	2.8
		2 year	1,858	3	0.2	29	1.6	28	1.5	67	3.6	91	4.9
		3 year	1,442	3	0.2	27	1.9	31	2.1	73	5.1	94	6.5
		4 year	1,050	4	0.4	32	3.0	28	2.7	70	6.7	86	8.2
		5 year	565	2	0.4	24	4.2	22	3.9	45	8.0	62	11.0
	Charge	1 year	2,264	0	0.0	16	0.7	14	0.6	33	1.5	53	2.3
		2 year	1,858	2	0.1	29	1.6	19	1.0	51	2.7	81	4.4
		3 year	1,442	2	0.1	27	1.9	20	1.4	59	4.1	84	5.8

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Property Offense				Drug Offense					
				Motor Vehicle Theft		Other Property Offense		Drug Trafficking		OWI		Other Drug Offense	
		4 year	1,050	3	0.3	29	2.8	17	1.6	55	5.2	76	7.2
		5 year	565	1	0.2	21	3.7	13	2.3	38	6.7	56	9.9
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	0	0.0	5	0.2	8	0.4	28	1.2	30	1.3
		2 year	1,858	2	0.1	12	0.6	13	0.7	46	2.5	48	2.6
		3 year	1,442	2	0.1	13	0.9	13	0.9	52	3.6	49	3.4
		4 year	1,050	2	0.2	13	1.2	12	1.1	47	4.5	47	4.5
		5 year	565	1	0.2	9	1.6	8	1.4	33	5.8	41	7.3
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	6	0.6	19	1.9	21	2.1	30	3.1	137	14.0
		2 year	794	7	0.9	37	4.7	25	3.1	45	5.7	162	20.4
		3 year	614	7	1.1	42	6.8	27	4.4	54	8.8	145	23.6
		4 year	458	5	1.1	33	7.2	19	4.1	46	10.0	124	27.1
		5 year	266	1	0.4	25	9.4	15	5.6	27	10.2	84	31.6
	Charge	1 year	977	1	0.1	28	2.9	16	1.6	21	2.1	94	9.6
		2 year	794	1	0.1	41	5.2	20	2.5	35	4.4	123	15.5
		3 year	614	1	0.2	40	6.5	21	3.4	42	6.8	120	19.5
		4 year	458	1	0.2	35	7.6	13	2.8	38	8.3	103	22.5
		5 year	266	0	0.0	20	7.5	6	2.3	19	7.1	64	24.1
	Conviction	1 year	977	1	0.1	16	1.6	12	1.2	19	1.9	66	6.8
		2 year	794	1	0.1	22	2.8	14	1.8	31	3.9	92	11.6
		3 year	614	1	0.2	21	3.4	14	2.3	37	6.0	92	15.0
		4 year	458	1	0.2	20	4.4	9	2.0	33	7.2	82	17.9
		5 year	266	0	0.0	11	4.1	5	1.9	15	5.6	49	18.4

Diversion Program Recidivism: Technical and Public Order Crimes

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
				# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	582	18.0	240	7.4	1	0.0
		2 year	2,652	680	25.6	289	10.9	1	0.0
		3 year	2,056	645	31.4	275	13.4	1	0.0
		4 year	1,508	545	36.1	233	15.5	1	0.1
		5 year	831	350	42.1	143	17.2	1	0.1
	Charge	1 year	3,241	464	14.3	167	5.2	0	0.0
		2 year	2,652	567	21.4	199	7.5	0	0.0
		3 year	2,056	554	26.9	200	9.7	0	0.0
		4 year	1,508	467	31.0	163	10.8	0	0.0
		5 year	831	296	35.6	94	11.3	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	356	11.0	67	2.1	0	0.0
		2 year	2,652	470	17.7	87	3.3	0	0.0
		3 year	2,056	465	22.6	89	4.3	0	0.0
		4 year	1,508	392	26.0	75	5.0	0	0.0
		5 year	831	246	29.6	44	5.3	0	0.0
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	255	11.3	44	1.9	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	319	17.2	77	4.1	0	0.0
		3 year	1,442	323	22.4	85	5.9	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
		4 year	1,050	289	27.5	85	8.1	0	0.0
		5 year	565	186	32.9	61	10.8	0	0.0
	Charge	1 year	2,264	216	9.5	33	1.5	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	277	14.9	59	3.2	0	0.0
		3 year	1,442	279	19.3	65	4.5	0	0.0
		4 year	1,050	243	23.1	58	5.5	0	0.0
		5 year	565	163	28.8	41	7.3	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	161	7.1	14	0.6	0	0.0
		2 year	1,858	224	12.1	23	1.2	0	0.0
		3 year	1,442	228	15.8	28	1.9	0	0.0
		4 year	1,050	201	19.1	27	2.6	0	0.0
		5 year	565	134	23.7	21	3.7	0	0.0
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	327	33.5	196	20.1	1	0.1
		2 year	794	361	45.5	212	26.7	1	0.1
		3 year	614	322	52.4	190	30.9	1	0.2
		4 year	458	256	55.9	148	32.3	1	0.2
		5 year	266	164	61.7	82	30.8	1	0.4
	Charge	1 year	977	248	25.4	134	13.7	0	0.0
		2 year	794	290	36.5	140	17.6	0	0.0
		3 year	614	275	44.8	135	22.0	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Overall Recidivism		Technical Offense			
						Court Order Violation		Other Technical Offense	
		4 year	458	224	48.9	105	22.9	0	0.0
		5 year	266	133	50.0	53	19.9	0	0.0
	Conviction	1 year	977	195	20.0	53	5.4	0	0.0
		2 year	794	246	31.0	64	8.1	0	0.0
		3 year	614	237	38.6	61	9.9	0	0.0
		4 year	458	191	41.7	48	10.5	0	0.0
		5 year	266	112	42.1	23	8.6	0	0.0

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
Overall	Arrest	1 year	3,241	25	0.8	108	3.3	198	6.1
		2 year	2,652	42	1.6	121	4.6	254	9.6
		3 year	2,056	37	1.8	139	6.8	255	12.4
		4 year	1,508	34	2.3	120	8.0	239	15.8
		5 year	831	18	2.2	85	10.2	164	19.7
	Charge	1 year	3,241	20	0.6	130	4.0	178	5.5
		2 year	2,652	29	1.1	173	6.5	225	8.5
		3 year	2,056	28	1.4	182	8.9	240	11.7
		4 year	1,508	23	1.5	154	10.2	210	13.9

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
		5 year	831	12	1.4	102	12.3	137	16.5
	Conviction	1 year	3,241	14	0.4	88	2.7	99	3.1
		2 year	2,652	19	0.7	117	4.4	131	4.9
		3 year	2,056	20	1.0	119	5.8	147	7.1
		4 year	1,508	20	1.3	102	6.8	129	8.6
		5 year	831	10	1.2	71	8.5	81	9.7
Graduated	Arrest	1 year	2,264	12	0.5	47	2.1	96	4.2
		2 year	1,858	20	1.1	57	3.1	129	6.9
		3 year	1,442	18	1.2	63	4.4	138	9.6
		4 year	1,050	19	1.8	54	5.1	138	13.1
		5 year	565	10	1.8	38	6.7	99	17.5
	Charge	1 year	2,264	8	0.4	61	2.7	85	3.8
		2 year	1,858	12	0.6	85	4.6	107	5.8
		3 year	1,442	13	0.9	88	6.1	122	8.5
		4 year	1,050	12	1.1	75	7.1	109	10.4
		5 year	565	6	1.1	50	8.8	76	13.5
	Conviction	1 year	2,264	7	0.3	46	2.0	47	2.1
		2 year	1,858	8	0.4	64	3.4	59	3.2
		3 year	1,442	9	0.6	63	4.4	71	4.9
		4 year	1,050	12	1.1	53	5.0	65	6.2

Discharge Type	Criminal Justice Event	Follow-Up Period	# in Cohort	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate	# Recidivated	Recidivism Rate
				Public Order Offense					
				Weapons		Driving		Other Public Order Offense	
		5 year	565	6	1.1	36	6.4	43	7.6
Terminated	Arrest	1 year	977	13	1.3	61	6.2	102	10.4
		2 year	794	22	2.8	64	8.1	125	15.7
		3 year	614	19	3.1	76	12.4	117	19.1
		4 year	458	15	3.3	66	14.4	101	22.1
		5 year	266	8	3.0	47	17.7	65	24.4
	Charge	1 year	977	12	1.2	69	7.1	93	9.5
		2 year	794	17	2.1	88	11.1	118	14.9
		3 year	614	15	2.4	94	15.3	118	19.2
		4 year	458	11	2.4	79	17.2	101	22.1
		5 year	266	6	2.3	52	19.5	61	22.9
	Conviction	1 year	977	7	0.7	42	4.3	52	5.3
		2 year	794	11	1.4	53	6.7	72	9.1
		3 year	614	11	1.8	56	9.1	76	12.4
		4 year	458	8	1.7	49	10.7	64	14.0
		5 year	266	4	1.5	35	13.2	38	14.3

APPENDIX I: STATUTE CATEGORIZATION

1. Person Offenses: statutes that refer to offenses committed against a person
    a. Murder/Non-Negligent Manslaughter: statutes that refer to the willful killing of one human by another (intentional homicide; felony murder)
    b. Negligent Manslaughter/Reckless Homicide: statutes that refer to the gross negligence of a person that results in the death of another person (reckless homicide; homicide by negligent operation of a vehicle)
    c. Sex Offense: statues that involve an illegal sexual component (forcible intercourse; penetration with an object; internet sex crimes)
        i. Contact: statutes that involve an illegal sexual component where physical contact between a perpetrator and a victim occurs (sexual assault; rape; sexual exploitation)
        ii. Non-Contact: statutes that involve an illegal sexual component where physical contact between a perpetrator and victim does not occur (possession of child pornography; indecent exposure)
    d. Assault: statutes that refer to a willful attempt by someone to inflict injury or harm on another person (aggravated assault, aggravated battery, assault with a deadly weapon, felony assault)
    e. Robbery: statutes that refer to the unlawful taking of anything of value using force or threat of the use of force (armed robbery, unarmed robbery, aggravated robbery, car-jacking, armed burglary)
    f. Other Person Offense: statutes that refer to offenses committed against a person that are not included in one of the above categories (kidnapping, unlawful imprisonment, intimidation, extortion, neglect or abuse)

2. Property Offenses: statutes that refer to the taking of money or property and/or to the damage of property
    a. Burglary: statutes that refer to any type of entry into a residence, business or industry with the intent to commit a felony or theft
    b. Fraud/Forgery: statutes that refer to impersonating a person and/or the use or creation of documents in an illegal way, for financial gain (forging an official document, notes, money orders, credit cards; counterfeiting; possession of false documents; embezzlement; insurance fraud)
    c. Larceny/Theft: statutes that refer to the unlawful taking, carrying, leading away property from another person (shoplifting, petty theft, grand theft)
    d. Motor Vehicle Theft: statutes that refer to the unlawful taking or possession of a vehicle or the parts from a vehicle (auto theft, unauthorized use of a vehicle)
    e. Other Property Offense: statutes that involve the illegal taking of money or property that are not included in one of the above categories (receiving or buying stolen property; vandalism, arson, possession of burglary tools)

3. Drug Offenses: statutes that prohibit the production, distribution and/or use of specific controlled substances and the devices or equipment used in that process
    a. Drug Trafficking: statutes that refer to the trafficking, sales, distribution, manufacture and smuggling of controlled substances
    b. OWI: statutes that refer to the operation of a vehicle (car, boat, ATV, cycle) while under the influence of a controlled substance

c. **Other Drug Offense:** statutes that refer to other control substance violations not included in one of the above categories (possession of a controlled substance, prescription drug violations, possession of drug paraphernalia)

4. **Public Order Offenses:** statutes that refer any unreasonable interference to the rights that are common to all members of the public
    a. **Weapons:** statutes that refer to the unlawful sale, distribution, manufacture, transportation, possession, alteration and/or use of a deadly weapon or accessory
    b. **Traffic/Vehicle Offense:** statutes that refer to the illegal operation of a vehicle (driving with a suspended or revoked license; failure to register boat, driving an ATV on an unmarked trail) *does not include OWI*
    c. **Other Public Order Offense:** statutes that refer to unreasonable interference in the rights of all members of the public that are not included in one of the above categories (obstruction of justice, flight/escape, illegal hunting, bribery, pandering, tax law violations, slander, campaign violations)

5. **Technical Offenses:** statutes that refer to the violation of official mandates or orders
    a. **Violation of Court Order:** statutes that refer to the violation of a court order that results in a new charge (failure to register as a sex offender; failure to provide a DNA sample; probation/parole violation)
    b. **Other Technical Offense:** statutes that refer to the violation of official mandates or orders that were not issued by the courts

6. **Information (Definition, Penalty)**: statutes that are used for definition purposes or list out penalties for the violation of other statutes