Brief No. 46: CJA’s Updated Release Assessment

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In November 2019, CJA began using an updated Release Assessment to provide the New York City Criminal Courts with information about the likelihood of court appearance. The updated Release Assessment is one of the factors judges consider at arraignment when deciding whether to release individuals while their case is pending and, if so, under what conditions.

The updated Release Assessment revises a previous one that had been in use since 2003. Under the auspices of the NYC Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice (MOCJ), CJA updated the Release Assessment to improve its predictive accuracy by using more recent data reflecting changes in New York City’s social conditions and justice system practices. The update also was driven by the desire to benefit from the breadth and wealth of knowledge accumulated since 2003 across many disciplines including social science, data science, and behavioral science. Because it is based on newer data and new techniques, the updated Release Assessment provides a more accurate calculation of the likelihood of court appearance.

This Research Brief discusses the updated CJA Release Assessment, and is presented in three parts.

**Part I: Preliminary Results Using the Updated Release Assessment**

Part I discusses results from the first several months of use of the updated Release Assessment and shows that it performed well. The updated Release Assessment recommended a large percentage of individuals for release: 85%. Black and White individuals were equally likely to be recommended for release, and Hispanic individuals were slightly more likely to be recommended for release. The updated Release Assessment performed well in terms of predicting individuals’ court appearance rates through March 2020, when court appearances were suspended due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Judges' release rates were often consistent with the recommendations.

**Part II: How the Updated Release Assessment is Calculated**

In Part II, this Brief provides information about how the updated Release Assessment is calculated. The Release Assessment relies on eight predictive factors; six are based on the individual’s criminal history and two are based on community ties. These factors are used to calculate a score indicating the likelihood of court appearance, and a release recommendation is made based on the score and the severity of the arraignment charges.

**Part III: Development of the Updated Release Assessment**

Part III describes how the updated Release Assessment was developed. It was designed to reduce the use of pretrial detention while maintaining high court appearance rates and reducing racial disparities. Two independent research teams analyzed a dataset of over 1.6 million arrests in New York City between 2009 and 2015 to identify the factors that are most predictive of court appearance. The update also revised the CJA Release Assessment report given to judges and court actors. The revised report transparently displays how the score and recommendation were derived as well as the estimated appearance rate.
As a final note, the updated Release Assessment was implemented shortly before bail reform legislation went into effect in New York State on January 1, 2020. This legislation eliminated bail for most misdemeanor and non-violent felony cases. By significantly limiting the number of individuals for whom judges could set bail, the legislation resulted in greater reliance on non-monetary release, including release on recognizance and supervised release, a program that promotes court appearance by maintaining contact with individuals and offering service referrals based on their needs. CJA’s updated Release Assessment is consistent with the goals of bail reform, as it recommends release on recognizance for the vast majority of individuals who are likely to attend all their court appearances.

I. PRELIMINARY RESULTS USING THE UPDATED RELEASE ASSESSMENT

This section provides preliminary results on the updated Release Assessment to address the following questions:

1) Does the updated Release Assessment accurately classify the likelihood of court appearance?
2) How often were individuals recommended for release on recognizance?
3) Are there racial/ethnic variations in the release recommendations?
4) How often do judges’ decisions align with the Release Assessment recommendation?
5) Are there racial/ethnic variations in judges’ release decisions?

Data Used for Preliminary Results

The preliminary results presented here are based on cases that were assessed, continued past arraignment, and have arraignment dates between November 12, 2019 and March 17, 2020. The updated Release Assessment was first introduced in Manhattan on November 12, 2020. During the following weeks, implementation expanded to Brooklyn (Nov. 18), the Bronx (Nov. 20), Queens (Nov. 25), and Staten Island (Dec. 2). CJA suspended conducting Release Assessments on March 17 due to court-imposed restrictions related to COVID-19. During the period from November 12, 2019 to March 17, 2020, CJA assessed 98.0% of cases held for arraignment.
Point Scores and Release Recommendation Categories

CJA’s updated Release Assessment includes a 26-point scale (scores ranging from 0 to 25) based on eight predictive factors which are weighted to reflect the strength of the relationship between the factor and the likelihood of appearing for all required court hearings. Each person begins with a score of 25, and points are subtracted based on the presence of the predictive factors. Higher scores are associated with a greater likelihood of appearing for all required court hearings, while lower scores are associated with a lower likelihood of appearing for all required court hearings.

Based on the point scores and the severity of the arraignment charge, individuals receive one of three possible recommendations: Recommended for release on recognizance (ROR), Consider all options, and Not recommended for ROR. “Consider all options” is an intermediate category that can only be recommended for individuals with felony arraignment charges. These individuals might be appropriate for ROR or might require additional conditions or support to ensure their return to court. There are also circumstances where a recommendation is not made, including when a Release Assessment cannot be completed, the individual is currently incarcerated, or the individual is arrested on a murder, attempted murder, escape, absconding, or bail-jumping charge. These cases are determined to be “for information only.” All results presented here exclude cases designated “for information only.”

1) Does the updated Release Assessment accurately classify the likelihood of court appearance?

Full court appearance rates are not yet available for all cases because the COVID-19 pandemic interrupted regular court operations and delayed many appearances. However, early findings indicate that the updated Release Assessment classifies the likelihood of court appearance well. Individuals with the highest point scores had the highest appearance rates, and the court appearance rate decreased as the number of points decreased, without exception (Figure 1A). Court appearance rates varied from 97.7% for those with 25 points to 36.1% for those with 0-3 points.

Figure 1A: Appearance Rate for Disposed and Active Cases by Point Score
The recommendations also distinguished between higher and lower likelihood of court appearance (Figure 1B). As expected, the appearance rate was highest for those Recommended for ROR (93.5%), lower for Consider all options (83.4%), and lowest for those Not recommended for ROR (53.6%).

**Figure 1B: Appearance Rate for Disposed and Active Cases by Recommendation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total, All Recommendations (N=18,161)</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommended for ROR (N=15,730)</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider All Options (N=710)</td>
<td>83.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Recommended for ROR (N=1,721)</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) How often were individuals recommended for release on recognizance?

Overall, the updated Release Assessment recommended ROR in 85.0% of all cases (Figure 2). The ROR recommendation rate was over 90% for those charged with misdemeanors and around 75% for those charged with felonies (violent or non-violent).

![Figure 2: Distribution of Release Recommendations by Arraignment Charge Severity](image)

3) Are there racial/ethnic variations in the release recommendations?

Racial and ethnic variations in the release recommendations were small (Figure 3). Black and White individuals were equally likely to be Recommended for ROR (83.9% and 83.5%), and Hispanic individuals were slightly more likely to be Recommended for ROR (85.8%). White individuals were most likely to be Not recommended for ROR (12.4%), compared to Black (10.7%) and Hispanic (9.4%) individuals.

![Figure 3: Distribution of Release Recommendations by Race/Ethnicity](image)
4) How often do judges’ decisions align with the Release Assessment recommendation?

Judges' release determinations were frequently aligned with the release recommendations (see Figures 4A, 4B, and 4C). Because the recommendation criteria vary by charge severity, the relationship between judges' decisions and the release recommendation is reported separately by charge severity.

For misdemeanor cases, judges were twice as likely to ROR individuals recommended for ROR as those not recommended for ROR (88.7% vs. 43.8%).

Figure 4A: Judges’ Release Decisions by Release Recommendation
Misdemeanors

- Total, All Recommendations (N=16,937)
  - ROR: 84.4%
  - Supervised Release: 6.2%
  - Bail: 9.3%
  - Remand: 0.2%

- Recommended for ROR (N=15,290)
  - ROR: 88.7%
  - Supervised Release: 4.8%
  - Bail: 6.4%
  - Remand: 0.1%

- Not Recommended for ROR (N=1,647)
  - ROR: 43.8%
  - Supervised Release: 19.2%
  - Bail: 36.3%
  - Remand: 0.6%
For non-violent felony cases, ROR rates were lower than for misdemeanors, including among those recommended for ROR (66.7%). About 35% of those with a recommendation of Consider all options were ROR’d and 21.8% of those Not recommended for release on recognizance were ROR’d. Supervised release was the most common release outcome for non-violent felony cases with recommendations of Consider all options and Not recommended for ROR (38.6% and 47.4%, respectively).

Figure 4B: Judges’ Release Decisions by Release Recommendation
Non-Violent Felonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ROR</th>
<th>Supervised Release</th>
<th>Bail Set</th>
<th>Remand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total, All Recommendations (N=4,355)</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommended for ROR (N=3,261)</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider All Options (N=503)</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Recommended for ROR (N=591)</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ROR rates were lowest for individuals with a violent felony offense. Of those Recommended for ROR, about 44% were ROR'd; 35% had bail set and nearly 20% were released on supervised release. Among those with a recommendation of Consider all options or Not recommended for ROR, approximately 60% had bail set, with most of the remaining individuals being released on supervised release.

**Figure 4C: Judges’ Release Decisions by Release Recommendation**

**Violent Felonies**

- **Total, All Recommendations (N=4,008):**
  - ROR: 1.5%
  - Supervised Release: 35.5%
  - Bail Set: 21.0%
  - Remand: 42.0%

- **Recommended for ROR (N=2,952):**
  - ROR: 1.3%
  - Supervised Release: 43.9%
  - Bail Set: 19.7%
  - Remand: 21.0%

- **Consider All Options (N=727):**
  - ROR: 2.3%
  - Supervised Release: 23.2%
  - Bail Set: 60.8%
  - Remand: 13.6%

- **Not Recommended for ROR (N=329):**
  - ROR: 2.4%
  - Supervised Release: 27.7%
  - Bail Set: 61.1%
  - Remand: 8.8%
5) Are there racial/ethnic variations in judges’ release decisions?

Hispanic individuals were most likely to be released on recognizance (74.5%), followed by White individuals (72.0%) and Black individuals (69.4%). White and Black individuals were assigned to Supervised Release (15.5% and 14.7%, respectively) more often than Hispanic individuals (12.5%). Judges were more likely to set bail for Black individuals (15.4%) than Hispanic individuals (12.5%) and White individuals (11.9%). Rates of remand were similar across all three groups.

Future Research

CJA will continue to monitor the performance of the updated Release Assessment. In addition, with court appearances now resuming after the COVID-19 pandemic-related court closures, CJA will conduct a validation study of the Release Assessment when sufficient data accumulates on disposed cases. The ongoing monitoring and the validation study will ensure:

1) that the updated Release Assessment remains predictive of the likelihood of court appearance,
2) that judges are incorporating the updated Release Assessment into their decision-making and using it properly, and
3) that the updated Release Assessment is functioning as expected to minimize racial, ethnic, and sex disparities.
II. HOW THE RELEASE RECOMMENDATION IS CALCULATED

Whether an individual receives a recommendation of Recommended for ROR, Consider all options, or Not recommended for ROR is based on the total points scored on the assessment and the charge severity. Each person begins with a score of 25 and points are subtracted when a predictive factor is present, as shown in Table 1. There is an interactive tool that simulates how these points are calculated on CJA’s website at nycja.org/release-assessment

Table 1: Points Associated with Predictive Factors in the Updated Release Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictive Factors</th>
<th>Points Deducted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years since last warrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Within past year</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1-2 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2-5 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No prior warrant or warrant is over 5 years old</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 1 warrant in last 5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years since last misdemeanor or felony conviction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Within past year</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No conviction in past year</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misdemeanor convictions in last three years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 3 or more</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felony convictions in last 10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1 or more</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1 or more</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of time at last two addresses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No address</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Less than 3 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 3 or more years</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reachable by phone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- No phone</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Reachable by phone</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Release Assessment scores range from 0 to 25 points. Higher scores are associated with a higher likelihood of making all scheduled court appearances, while lower scores are associated with a lower likelihood of making all appearances. The updated Release Assessment report CJA provides to judges and court actors includes a table showing the expected reappearance rate by point score, highlighting the score received by the individual (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Recommendation Framework**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reappearance Score and Recommendation Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Score</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reappearance Rate (out of 100)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recommendation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All individuals with a score between 19 and 25 points are Recommended for ROR, and all individuals with a score between 0 and 11 points are Not recommended for ROR. The release recommendation for individuals who score between 12 and 18 points depends on the charge severity at arraignment.

- Individuals whose most serious arraignment charge is a misdemeanor are Recommended for ROR if their score is between 12 and 18 points.
- Individuals whose most serious arraignment charge is a non-violent felony are Recommended for ROR if their score is 16-18 points; those whose score is 12-15 points receive a Consider all options recommendation.
- Individuals whose most serious arraignment charge is a violent felony offense and who score 12-18 points receive a Consider all options recommendation.
III. DEVELOPMENT OF THE UPDATED RELEASE ASSESSMENT

The overarching goals of updating the assessment were to (1) maintain the current high court appearance rates in New York City for people released pretrial, (2) reduce the use of pretrial detention when possible, and (3) reduce racial and other disparities in pretrial settings. The following principles guided the research: the assessment must be evidence-based and informed by data science; it should be developed in conjunction with judges, court actors, advocates, and affected communities and individuals; and it must be transparent and validated.

The Research Partnership

Two independent research organizations were retained to lead the development of the updated Release Assessment: Luminosity, Inc., led by Dr. Marie VanNostrand, and the University of Chicago’s Crime Lab, led by Dr. Jens Ludwig. Engaging two independent research organizations with different areas of expertise to analyze the data provided a unique opportunity to benefit from increased transparency and independently validated results. The design firm ideas42 was also retained to ensure that the development and design processes were informed by behavioral science. Together, Luminosity, Crime Lab, ideas42, and CJA formed a Research Partnership to update the Release Assessment, with support from the Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice (MOCJ), which contracts with CJA to provide pretrial services in New York City.

The Research Partnership worked with judges, court actors, advocates, and affected communities and individuals throughout the development process. A public meeting was held at the beginning of the process to share information about the planned research and to solicit feedback. The update process further benefitted from the creation of and consultation with an expert Research Advisory Council (RAC), representing the areas of criminal justice, economics, addressing algorithmic bias, machine learning, and computer science, and who hold varied perspectives on release assessments. Partnering with the RAC – as well as extensive stakeholder engagement – had the added, intended benefit of increasing transparency when developing the updated CJA Release Assessment.

Community Engagement

To obtain input from affected communities and individuals, CJA held meetings with 16 organizations across New York City that serve people who have been arrested or are involved in the justice system. CJA presented information about the process used to update the release assessment along with the proposed changes and requested feedback from justice-involved individuals and organization staff.

Based on feedback received at the community engagement meetings, several changes were made to the Release Assessment report, the interview process, and the services and resources provided by CJA. Changes included removing references to the "defendant" in the Release Assessment report and improving how CJA staff introduce themselves at the beginning of the interview. Additionally, CJA launched new partnerships and projects to link released individuals to services provided by partners as well as by CJA’s outreach center. In response to the reported lack of information about how to navigate the arraignment and post-arraignment process, CJA now offers pretrial education workshops for the clients of community-based organizations. Finally, to ensure ongoing community engagement in the
implementation of the updated Release Assessment, CJA launched a Community Advisory Committee in January 2020. The Committee promotes cross-training and connects reentry, advocacy, victim services, and pretrial services agencies to identify gaps, create partnerships, and support people who are arrested or have pending court dates.

Dataset and Analytic Sample

Several City and State agencies contributed data to the dataset used to develop the updated Release Assessment. CJA generated an initial data file containing information for 1.6 million summary arrests (people arrested and held in custody until arraignment) between January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2015. The CJA data file included information on individuals' community ties collected through pretrial interviews, arrest information sourced from New York City Police Department (NYPD) data, and court case information (e.g., arraignment outcomes, charge resolutions, bench warrants) originating from the New York State Office of Court Administration (OCA). The CJA file was matched to Department of Correction (DOC) records of admissions and releases and New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) data on criminal history. DCJS provided the research teams with a de-identified file including information from all of the sources. The research teams collaborated to create an analysis file by removing arrests that did not continue past arraignment, and arrests where the most serious charge at arraignment was a violation, infraction, or unknown.

The final dataset used for the analysis included 1,000,169 records. The analysis file was partitioned by the research teams into five subsets: train, test, imputation, validation, and 2015. The train and imputation subsets each contained 50% of the arrests from 2009 to 2013; the test and validation subsets each contained 50% of the arrests from 2014; and the 2015 subset contained all the arrests from 2015. The partitioning allowed for the use of different subsets in developing, testing, and validating the updated CJA Release Assessment.

Identifying the Outcome and Potential Predictive Factors

In New York, the pretrial release decision is driven primarily by the need to assure that individuals appear for all required court hearings until all charges related to their court case(s) are resolved. So the outcome variable of interest is likelihood of appearance, which is tracked until all related charges are resolved or until 18 months following December 31st of the arrest year, whichever occurs first. A person fails to appear (FTA) when they do not appear for a required court hearing after arraignment and prior to the end of the tracking period, and the court issues a non-stayed bench warrant.
The two research teams worked independently to identify potential predictive factors for inclusion in the updated Release Assessment. Potential predictive factors were grouped into four domains: prior convictions, prior bench warrants, pending cases, and community ties. The community ties items available in the dataset related primarily to individuals' self-reported answers to several interview questions regarding address, employment, school/training program, with whom the person lives, and the presence of a telephone in his or her residence or a cellphone.

Approximately 2,000 potential factors were analyzed, all representing ways of measuring prior convictions, prior bench warrants, pending case(s), and community ties. Using the train subset data, the research teams independently conducted statistical tests to evaluate these 2,000 predictive factors, identifying the strongest predictors of FTA. Next, the two teams worked together to build statistical models. The collaboration yielded a Release Assessment model with eight predictive factors, with points assigned to factors based on their strength in the final statistical model. The included factors and their associated point values were presented previously in Table 1.

**Generating Release Recommendations**

CJA’s Release Assessments have always included a recommendation regarding release on recognizance. This practice was continued for the updated Release Assessment as judges and other stakeholders reported that inclusion of an explicit recommendation is helpful. Because the updated CJA Release Assessment uses a new scoring model, the Research Partnership revised the recommendation framework. They developed a strategy to balance the goals of maintaining the current high court appearance rates for people released pretrial and reducing pretrial detention when possible. The strategy is to recommend ROR for as many individuals as possible, subject to the constraint that the projected number of FTAs does not increase above previous levels.

Initially, setting a single threshold of points required for a recommendation for ROR was considered, regardless of the severity of the arraignment charge. However, the projected number of FTAs would be lower for cases whose most serious charge was a misdemeanor; substantially higher for cases whose most serious charge was a non-violent felony; and even higher for cases whose most serious charge was a VFO. As a result, the decision was made to develop the recommendation framework using different point thresholds for each charge severity. This adjustment resulted in a strategy that recommended ROR for as many individuals as possible, subject to the constraint that the projected number of FTAs for each charge severity did not increase above previous levels.
The 2003 Release Assessment

The previous CJA Release Assessment (implemented in 2003) utilized the six factors listed below, which were weighted based on the strength of the relationship between the factor and failure to appear. In some instances, the weighting varied if the information was verified. The calculated score ranged from -13 to +12, with higher scores representing lower likelihood of FTA.

1. Does the defendant have a working telephone in residence/cellphone?
2. Does the defendant report a NYC area address?
3. Is the defendant employed, or in school or a training program, full time?
4. Does the defendant expect someone at arraignment?
5. Does the prior bench warrant count equal zero?
6. Does the open case count equal zero?

The scores on the 2003 CJA Release Assessment were grouped into three recommendation categories:

- Recommended for ROR (low risk: +7 to +12 points)
- Moderate risk for ROR (+3 to +6 points)
- Not recommended for ROR (high risk: -13 to +2 points).

In addition, some individuals received a Not recommended for ROR recommendation based on a policy rationale (e.g., active bench warrant, bail jumping charge). Finally, some individuals received “No recommendation” when the assessment could not be completed or was prepared “For Information Only” due to murder or escape-related charges or offenses that occurred while the individual was in custody.

Comparing Projected Performance of the Updated Release Assessment to the 2003 Release Assessment

Using data from the analysis file, the researchers compared the projected performance of the updated CJA Release Assessment to the actual performance of the 2003 Release Assessment. They addressed three main concerns.

Predictive Validity. The predictive factors, assessment scores, and recommendation framework of the updated CJA Release Assessment demonstrated greater predictive validity than the 2003 Release Assessment. While both assessments have a 26-point scale, the scale for the updated Release Assessment had a larger amount of dispersion (greater difference between the lowest and highest scores) as did the updated recommendation framework (greater difference in appearance rates based on the release recommendations). Because of this improvement, the updated CJA Release Assessment was able to communicate more information about the likelihood of court appearance.
Recommending more individuals for ROR while maintaining high court appearance rates

Two of the overarching goals of updating the assessment were to maintain the current high court appearance rates in New York City for people released pretrial while simultaneously reducing the use of pretrial detention when possible. Determining the extent to which the updated assessment achieved these goals involved an examination of the distribution of release recommendations for both the 2003 and updated CJA Release Assessments (see Table 3 below). When using the updated CJA Release Assessment, 88.4% of all individuals were recommended for ROR, compared to 34.8% for the 2003 CJA Release Assessment. The 2003 CJA Release Assessment recommended against ROR for 46.4% of arrests, compared to 7.2% for the updated CJA Release Assessment. Because the recommendation thresholds were chosen specifically to keep the projected number of failures to appear for each charge severity the same as the number observed under recent pretrial practice, the increase in the rate of recommendations for ROR was accomplished without an increase in FTAs.

Table 3. Distribution of Recommendation Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation type</th>
<th>2003 assessment</th>
<th>Updated Assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recommended for ROR</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>88.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate risk for ROR (2003)</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider all options (Updated)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not recommended for ROR</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reducing racial/ethnic and sex disparities

The updated release assessment met another important goal, to reduce racial and other disparities in pretrial recommendations. As can be seen in Table 4 below, the updated Release Assessment was estimated to increase the rate of ROR recommendations by approximately 50 percentage points for all race/ethnicity groups and for both sexes. In addition to recommending ROR for significantly greater proportions of all race/ethnicity and sex groups, the updated Release Assessment also reduced the disparities in the recommendations. The difference in the rates of recommendation for ROR across all race/ethnicities was cut in half (from 9.4 percentage points under the 2003 CJA Release Assessment to 4.3 percentage points in the updated version), as was the difference between sexes (from 7.1 percentage points to 3.4 percentage points).

Table 4. Percentage Recommended for ROR by Race/Ethnicity and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/ethnicity</th>
<th>2003 assessment</th>
<th>Updated assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>86.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>89.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>90.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>2003 assessment</th>
<th>Updated assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>91.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taken together, these findings indicated that the updated CJA Release Assessment was projected to advance the three overarching goals identified when the research began: maintaining high court appearance rates, reducing pretrial detention, and reducing racial and other disparities in pretrial settings. These projections are largely consistent with the preliminary results presented above (see Figures 2 and 3).

**Redesigned Release Assessment Report**

The redesign of the CJA Release Assessment report (provided in hard copy to judges and court actors at arraignment) was informed by both behavioral science and the guiding principle of transparency. ideas42, a member of the Research Partnership, led the effort to redesign the report, working with judges, court actors and the Research Advisory Council. A beta version of the report was user-tested in focus groups with judges; the feedback informed the final design of the updated CJA Release Assessment report (see Appendix F of the full technical report for a sample).

The redesigned Release Assessment report has several key features:

**Scoring transparency**

The report displays each assessment factor, the individual's response to the factor, and the supporting documentation that led to the response (i.e., the convictions, prior warrants, or interview answers). It also displays the weight applied to each factor response, followed by the total score. Not only does the display of information ensure that the assessment results are transparent, it allows for the judge and court actors to inspect and challenge the results. If it is determined that an error is present, the factors and scores can be corrected during the arraignment and made available to all parties.

**Appearance rates**

The updated report also includes the estimated appearance rate, which reflects the person's likelihood of appearing for all required court hearings based on the performance of other individuals with the same score. These estimated appearance rates help court actors understand what the numerical score represents. In addition, the updated CJA Release Assessment focuses on the affirmative rates of court appearance rather than on rates of failure to appear. The updated report highlights individuals' likelihood of court appearance because a significant majority of people do appear for their future court hearings. The estimated appearance rates will be revised when sufficient data accumulates on cases assessed with the updated Release Assessment. This revision will enhance both the accuracy of the information and the legitimacy of the report in the future.

**Recommendation**

The report includes a recommendation key (shown in Table 2 above) designed to convey the recommendations for any combination of score and charge severity. This key allows judges and court actors to understand why a particular recommendation was made for any given individual. Moreover, if an error is discovered on one of the factors, this feature allows stakeholders to adjust both the score and the recommendation if necessary.
About CJA
Our work ranges from personalized support for people involved in the justice system to ground breaking research. Through these initiatives we seek to reduce unnecessary pretrial detention, provide judges and the court with evidence-based information to improve decision making and increase the likelihood that individuals return for all their court dates.
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CJA is a not-for-profit corporation that provides a variety of criminal justice services under contract with the City of New York.

CJA staff interview individuals arrested in New York City, make recommendations for pretrial release, and notify released individuals of upcoming court dates.

The Research Department conducts studies addressing a broad array of criminal justice policy concerns. The Research Brief series summarizes the results of some of these studies.

This brief is available at www.nycja.org/research