

Predicting recidivism in Georgia using lasso regression models with several new constructs

Report from the Duddon Evidence to Policy Research Team
to the NIJ Recidivism Forecasting Challenge Team

I. Introduction

Probation and parole have been the primary tools that U.S. criminal justice officials use to supervise convicted offenders within communities for more than 100 years, with the goal of reducing recidivism among offenders¹ and making communities safer (Bonta et al., 2008). Yet the effectiveness of these tools, particularly in reducing recidivism, is still being questioned. Further, criminal justice systems in the U.S. have higher rates of community supervision than their European counterparts and U.S. parole and probation practices still demonstrate significant racial disparities (Bradner, 2020). As one researcher wrote, “While probation and post-release supervision serve important purposes in many cases, they are often imposed on the wrong people and executed in ways that predictably lead to revocation” (Klinge, 2013, p. 1015). Given the significant public resources that are spent on community supervision, researchers and government officials are continuing to assess the practice and its impact on reducing recidivism.

In this report, I summarize the factors associated with recidivism, prior research on the role of these factors in predicting recidivism, and the research design I undertook to develop recidivism predictions as part of the National Institute of Justice’s (NIJ) Recidivism Forecasting

¹ For the sake of brevity in this report, I use the term “offender” to mean an individual who has been convicted of a misdemeanor or felony crime and who is under some form of community supervision within a criminal justice system. However, I recognize that the term “offender” may not be preferred or appropriate in many contexts.

Challenge. I submitted an entry with predictions for the third period of the challenge only; the entry placed fourth in the Male Parolees category for that period.

A. Factors influencing recidivism

Prior research has focused primarily on the individual characteristics of offenders that affect their probability of recidivism. Individual-level factors that influence recidivism include age, gender, race and ethnicity, levels of education and employment, past criminal behavior, family and housing characteristics, substance abuse and mental health history, and behaviors during treatment programs (e.g. Bonta & Andrews, 2016; Huebner, DeJong, & Cobbina, 2010; Mulder et al., 2011; Tillyer & Vose, 2011).

Other influential factors, however, are not characteristics of offenders themselves but rather of the people who supervise offenders following their prison release. For example, an extensive body of research indicates that human service interventions, delivered in the communities in which released offenders live, can be effective in reducing recidivism. In particular, interventions appear to be most effective when they adhere to a set of principles, first articulated in 1990, that fall under the headings of Risk, Need, and Responsivity (RNR). The RNR principles dictate that the level of community supervision should be matched to the risk level of the offender, that any accompanying interventions should be directly related to the offending itself, and that interventions should be delivered in a manner accessible to the offender (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990).

More recent work has emphasized a range of additional problem-solving, interpersonal skills that should form the foundation for training of community supervision officers (Bonta & Andrews, 2016). Studies indicate that when offenders are assigned to probation officers who received training in these skills and principles, the odds of recidivism tend to be lower than the

odds of offenders assigned to officers who did not receive the training (Chadwick, Dewolf, & Serin, 2015). Thus, the supervision officer's skills and training, and the strength of the officer's relationship with the offender, may help reduce recidivism.

Subsequent studies moved beyond individual-level factors to examine contextual and environmental characteristics that influence recidivism. For example, researchers have found that offenders who return to neighborhoods with high levels of poverty and other measures of inequality and disadvantage recidivate at higher rates than those who return to more advantaged communities, even after controlling for individual-level factors (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). Additional work, however, examined whether environmental factors moderated individual-level characteristics, finding that individual-level factors appear to be more influential (Tillyer & Vose, 2011).

B. Predicting recidivism

Research on the predictive value of these individual- and contextual-level characteristics has been ongoing for decades. Early studies led to the development of a group of assessment tools in the 1980s that incorporated both individual and contextual characteristics to appraise recidivism risk. In succeeding years, these tools, generally referred to as Level of Service (LS) scales, have been revised and improved to become the most frequently used risk assessment tools both in the U.S. and abroad (Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2014). Regardless, LS scales have been criticized for not capturing gender-based variation and for being poorly predictive for female offenders (Gobeil, Blanchette, & Stewart, 2016). Similar arguments have been made with respect to racial and ethnic minorities, particularly minorities in the U.S. (Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2014).

In general, the wide variation in practices and training among local criminal justice officials in the U.S. presents challenges for researchers in evaluating recidivism prediction tools (Phelps, 2020). At the same time, a growing body of research raises concerns about the fairness and accuracy of these tools (Klinge, 2020), although many researchers argue that computer-based prediction algorithms outperform human predictions (Slobogin, 2020; Zhiyuan et al., 2020)

Newer techniques for analyzing data, along with refinements of classical statistical approaches, could improve the effectiveness of recidivism prediction (Hester, 2019; Tollenaar & Van der Heijden, 2019) and, by extension, of community supervision itself. Some studies have estimated the risk of recidivism using traditional statistical approaches. These approaches include logistic regression models that incorporate various psychometric scales (Bernman et al., 2019), survival models (Hester, 2019), and factor analyses of various criminal risk assessment instruments, including one of the LS scales (Kroner, Mills, & Reddon, 2005).

In contrast to the goals of these and other approaches within inferential statistics, other methods, such as those using machine learning and data mining, are purely predictive (see Zeng, Ustun, & Rudin, 2017). For the goal of predicting recidivism, it is not yet clear that one approach is better than another (Tollenaar & Van der Heijden, 2013; 2019). Some recidivism prediction experts recommend the use of both approaches to obtain an optimal model, noting that even small improvements in predictive accuracy can translate into meaningful reductions in crime in some communities (Tollenaar & Van der Heijden, 2019).

Investigative journalists have argued, however, that some computer algorithm models using machine learning methods are inherently racially biased, stemming from systemic biases in the judicial systems that generate the underlying data and possibly in the algorithms themselves.

These arguments have not yet been validated (Wang & Han, et al. 2020). Nevertheless, efforts are ongoing to develop machine learning techniques that outperform both inferential statistics and humans.

Machine learning techniques used in recidivism prediction include use of increasingly complex decision tree models incorporating, for example, random forests, as well as logistic regression models with penalty terms added to prevent over-fitting (Duwe & Kim, 2017; Wang & Han, et al. 2020). In evaluating these options, at least one study indicated that random forest modeling may not be living up to its promise as a broadly-applicable predictive tool and that penalized logistic regression models may slightly outperform other approaches for predicting some types of recidivism (Tollenaar & Van der Heijden, 2019).

This prior research shows that traditional statistical approaches and more recent machine learning techniques may both be useful in predicting recidivism. Thus, I decided to attempt at least one approach in each category as part of my entry in the Recidivism Forecasting Challenge.

C. Team information

I entered the Challenge in my capacity as the Executive Director of Duddon Evidence to Policy Research, a law and policy research and consulting business that I operate as a sole proprietorship. In developing my models and subsequent predictions, I consulted with an experienced quantitative psychologist and psychometrician and with a Georgia attorney who had previously served as a public defender for DeKalb County. Additional information on these individuals is at the end of this report.

Time and financial constraints limited my entry to predicting recidivism for the third Challenge period only. Thus, the descriptions regarding the variables and models I used in my

than models without the interactions. As Tollenaar & Van der Heijden (2013) noted, “If variables are suitably transformed and included in the model, there seems to be no additional predictive performance by searching for intricate interactions and/or non-linear relationships” (p. 582)².

D. Lasso-selected variables

The half-joking warnings in Stata 16’s Lasso Reference Manual caution against placing importance on the lasso’s selection or lack of selection of any one variable. The lasso selects variables that either belong in the “true” model or that are correlated with variables that belong in the “true” model. Thus, the manual cautions, the researcher should not be overly concerned with the exact variables selected, since it is the group of variables selected as a whole, and their predictive power, that is important.

Despite these warnings, Stata 16 offers commands for displaying the lasso’s selected variables and their penalized coefficients. Tables 1-3 show these results for the lasso models I used in my recidivism forecasts. Table 1 shows the lasso-selected variables for the best-fitting models for Black male parolees, Table 2 for White male parolees, and Table 3 for female parolees, each estimated using the respective models described previously. Although my predicted probabilities for female parolees did not place among the top four entries in the Challenge, I include the information for females in Table 3 for comparison purposes. As the tables show, the best-fitting model for predicting recidivism among Black male parolees selected 103 variables, while only 60 variables were selected for White male parolees and 12 for females under the more parsimonious adaptive lasso approach.

² The authors softened their stance somewhat in a later study, allowing that some machine learning approaches may be helpful in determining whether important interactions may be missing from a given model (Tollenaar & Van der Heijden, 2019).

The purpose of presenting these tables is not to impose on readers the task of examining the 175 variable descriptions and coefficients. Rather, the tables are useful in showing how the associations indicated by most of the variable coefficients comport with prior research on factors influencing recidivism risk. Positive coefficients indicate that the variable may be associated with an increase in the odds of recidivism, while negative coefficients indicate the opposite result. As the tables show, variables with positive coefficients tend to be those that measure younger age groups, lower education levels, less active employment histories, and greater prior involvement in serious crimes. Variables with negative coefficients tends to be those measuring older age groups, adherence to the conditions of probation or parole, and lower prior criminal involvement. Location also appears to be influential.

In truth, these associations do not reveal insights beyond what prior research has shown. Additional insights, however, may be possible from the results showing that the lasso selected many of the additional variables I constructed, indicating that some of these measures may be useful in predicting recidivism. However, because the purpose of the lasso regression used in this context is to build good models for prediction, no assumptions can be made about the statistical significance of any associations between the constructs I added and the recidivism outcome.

IV. Future considerations

The primary contribution, if any, of my Challenge entry to the research on predicting recidivism may be the finding indicating that additional data on plea bargaining could be helpful in accounting for some of the variation in recidivism rates. Plea bargaining may distort existing prediction models that use data on prior criminal involvement because plea agreements may lead to outcomes that do not accurately reflect the nature and level of that involvement. Data on plea agreements are difficult to obtain, however, though efforts are underway to address the lack of

data. In the meantime, proxy measures could be developed and tested for their usefulness, particularly proxy measures that are more refined than the ones I used here.

In addition, several of my measures of age during incarceration appear to show some promise in accounting for variation in recidivism outcomes. This information is probably already available within most criminal justice systems and could therefore be refined into an appropriate metric for testing, if not already in use.

Overall, the results from these lasso models suggest that future significant developments in recidivism prediction may not come from improvements in methodologies but rather from improvements in the breadth and reliability of the data on which the predictions are made. Unfortunately, systemic racial biases and a lack of transparency in criminal justice processes tend to produce unreliable data and faulty predictions that even complex statistical and machine learning methods cannot overcome.

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Table 1. Variables and corresponding penalized coefficients for lasso probit model used to predict recidivism probabilities for Black male parolees.

Variable Description	Coefficient
<i>Variables with positive coefficients (associated with increased odds of recidivism)</i>	
% days employed - 4th decile	0.0793
age at prison release = 18-22	0.0527
no college education	0.0356
# of prior felony arrests = 10 or more	0.0339
# of prior misdemeanor arrests = 6 or more	0.0319
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 8	0.0305
% days employed - 3rd decile	0.0290
age at prison release = 23-27	0.0286
# of prior misdemeanor convictions = 4 or more	0.0284
# felony arrests - convict < 0	0.0273
# of prior arrests for property crimes = 4	0.0270
# of prior arrests for property crimes = 5 or more	0.0258
first parole supervision risk score = 8	0.0235
# unexcused absences from program = 1	0.0218
primary prison conviction = violent non-sex offense	0.0217
# parole delinquency reports = 1	0.0201
not in (age=43-47 & prison > 3yr) category	0.0199
years in prison prior to release < 1	0.0195
# felony arrests - convict = 7	0.0190
first parole supervision risk score = 9	0.0186
# felony arrests - convict = 2	0.0183
# of prior arrests for a probation or parole violation = 5 or more	0.0182
not in (age=43-47 & prison=2-3yr) category	0.0180
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 5	0.0176
first parole supervision risk score = 6	0.0175
age at prison release = 28-32	0.0150
# of program attendances = 5	0.0140
not in (age=38-42 & prison > 3yr) category	0.0135
residence changes during parole = 3 or more	0.0132
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 18	0.0131
# of prior arrests on violent charge = 2	0.0126
no prior felony arrests	0.0113
# felony arrests - convict = 8	0.0112
jobs per year while on parole = 2	0.0112
jobs per year while on parole = 4	0.0095
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 7th quantile	0.0072
# of prior arrests for property crimes = 2	0.0062
# of prior arrests on a drug charge = 3	0.0060
# misdemeanor arrests - convict = 1	0.0057
# of parole delinquency reports = 3	0.0048

missing data on first parole supervision risk score	0.0040
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 15th quantile	0.0039
# unexcused absences from program = 3 or more	0.0036
# of prior felony arrests = 6	0.0035
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 16th quantile	0.0028
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 20th quantile	0.0018
# of prior misdemeanor arrests = 5	0.0015
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 3	0.0007
% drug tests positive for THC = 8th decile	0.0007
# of program attendances = 7	0.0007

Variables with negative coefficients (associated with decreased odds of recidivism)

constant	-0.9486
missing data on jobs per year	-0.3091
no gang affiliation	-0.0832
age at prison release = 48 or older	-0.0754
no prior arrest for a probation or parole violation	-0.0658
missing data on days btwn drug tests	-0.0484
% days employed - 8th decile	-0.0436
no prior misdemeanor convictions	-0.0359
first parole supervision risk score = 2	-0.0316
not in (age=23-27 & prison 1-2 yrs) category	-0.0316
% drug tests positive for meth - 1st decile	-0.0304
# felony arrests - convict = 1	-0.0302
no violations for not following instructions	-0.0286
no prior felony arrests	-0.0284
no parole release condition for mental health or substance abuse program	-0.0269
no violations for moving without permission	-0.0240
no prior parole revocation	-0.0213
first parole supervision level not assigned as high	-0.0205
no prior misdemeanor convictions	-0.0203
% drug tests positive for THC = 1st decile	-0.0196
age at prison release = 43-47	-0.0195
no dependents	-0.0190
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 20	-0.0189
% days employed -7th decile	-0.0180
no prior arrest on a gun charge	-0.0171
no violations for electronic monitoring	-0.0152
residence changes during parole = 1	-0.0137
first parole supervision risk score = 3	-0.0122
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 17	-0.0102
no prior arrests for property crimes	-0.0099
# of prior arrests on a drug charge = 1	-0.0093
# of prior convictions on a drug charge = 0	-0.0091
% drug tests positive for other drug - 10th decile	-0.0091

avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests - 11th quantile	-0.0090
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 22	-0.0075
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests = 10th quantile	-0.0068
not in (age=38-42 & prison=2-3yr) category	-0.0057
# of program attendances = 10 or more	-0.0043
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 11	-0.0043
primary prison conviction = violent sex offense	-0.0043
not in (age=18-22 & prison < 1yr) category	-0.0035
# of prior felony arrests = 5	-0.0030
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 10	-0.0028
not in (age=33-37 & prison < 1yr) category	-0.0027
# felony arrests - convict = 0	-0.0027
# misdemeanor arrests - convict < 0	-0.0012
# of prior arrests for property crimes = 1	-0.0006
no unexcused absences from program	-0.0002

Table 2. Variables and corresponding penalized coefficients for lasso probit model used to predict recidivism probabilities for White male parolees.

Variable Description	Coefficient
<i>Variables with positive coefficients (associated with increased odds of recidivism)</i>	
% days employed - 4th decile	0.0818
# felony arrests - convict = 7	0.0393
not in (age=43-47 & prison > 3yr) category	0.0306
# of prior arrests for property crimes = 4	0.0297
first parole supervision risk score = 9	0.0283
years in prison prior to release < 1	0.0276
not in (age=48+ & prison 2-3 yrs) category	0.0233
# of prior felony arrests = 10 or more	0.0217
# felony arrests - convict = 8	0.0195
# of program attendances = 5	0.0191
age at prison release = 23-27	0.0186
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 5	0.0178
primary prison conviction not a violent sex offense	0.0178
first parole supervision risk score = 6	0.0173
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 25	0.0171
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests - 15th quantile	0.0166
% drug tests positive for meth - 10th decile	0.0164
# of prior arrests for a probation or parole violation = 5 or more	0.0155
# of prior arrests on a drug charge = 2	0.0126
# of prior misdemeanor arrests = 6 or more	0.0112
no college education	0.0101
# of dependents = 1	0.0093
% days employed - 3rd decile	0.0092

# of prior arrests on a drug charge = 3	0.0062
first parole supervision risk score = 8	0.0060
# felony arrests - convict = 2	0.0056
# misdemeanor arrests - convict = 3	0.0046
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests - 8th quantile	0.0046
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 18	0.0044
# of program attendances = 8	0.0040
# of parole delinquency reports = 3	0.0039
# unexcused absences from program = 1	0.0010

Variables with negative coefficients (associated with decreased odds of recidivism)

constant	-0.9469
missing data on jobs per year	-0.1963
no prior arrest for a probation or parole violation	-0.0929
age at prison release = 48 or older	-0.0797
no gang affiliation	-0.0780
no prior misdemeanor arrests	-0.0462
no violations for moving without permission	-0.0455
no prior misdemeanor convictions	-0.0429
no violations for not following instructions	-0.0381
primary prison conviction = violent sex offense	-0.0364
# felony arrests - convict = 1	-0.0261
no unexcused absences from program	-0.0226
age at prison release = 43-48	-0.0219
% days employed - 8th decile	-0.0202
jobs per year while on parole = 5	-0.0175
not in (age=28-32 & prison < 1yr) category	-0.0157
avg # of days on parole btwn drug tests - 11th quantile	-0.0141
# of prior felony arrests = 1	-0.0118
% drug tests positive for meth - 1st decile	-0.0106
residence changes during parole = 1	-0.0106
# of prior felony arrests = 7	-0.0105
first parole supervision risk score = 2	-0.0101
% drug tests positive for THC = 1st decile	-0.0080
no electronic monitoring violations	-0.0065
# of prior arrests on a drug charge = 1	-0.0036
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 11	-0.0032
not in NIJ combined PUMA group 10	-0.0031
years in prison prior to release > 3	-0.0029
no parole release condition for mental health or substance abuse program	-0.0012

Table 3. Variables and corresponding penalized coefficients for adaptive lasso probit model used to predict recidivism probabilities for female parolees.

Variable Description	Coefficient
<i>Variables with positive coefficients (associated with increased odds of recidivism)</i>	
# of program attendances = 5	0.1096
# of prior felony arrests = 10 or more	0.0875
# of parole delinquency reports = 4 or more	0.0807
# of prior arrests for a probation or parole violation = 5 or more	0.0395
<i>Variables with negative coefficients (associated with decreased odds of recidivism)</i>	
constant	-1.2771
missing data on jobs per year	-0.4320
# misdemeanor arrests - convict = 0	-0.1647
years in prison prior to release > 2-3	-0.1333
first parole supervision level = standard	-0.1140
no prior misdemeanor convictions	-0.0934
no prior arrests for property crimes	-0.0840
no prior misdemeanor arrests	-0.0838
first parole supervision level not assigned as high	-0.0485

Appendix: Answers to specific questions from the NIJ Challenge Team.

- Were variables added to the data set? If so, detail the variables.

No. See the rationale in Section II.A of the report.

- What variables were constructed? How were the variables constructed?

Yes, I constructed other variables. See the discussion in Sections II.B and II.C of the report.

- Which variables were statistically significant?

See the discussion in Section III.D of the report.

- What variables were not statistically significant? How was this handled? For example, were they dropped from the overall model?

See the discussion in Section III.D of the report.

- What type of model was used?

See the discussion in Section III of the report.

- Did you try other models? Were they close in performance? Not at all close?

Yes, I tried other models. See the discussion in Section III.A of the report.

- What other evaluation metrics should have been considered/used for this Challenge? For example, using false negatives in the penalty function.

I appreciated both the straightforward nature of the Challenge's existing evaluation metric and the logic behind using false positives in the penalty function. However, I would be interested in hearing arguments supporting the use of false negatives.

- Did the 0.5 threshold affect anything? Would your team recommend a different threshold?

No, the threshold did not affect my analyses. See the discussion in Section III.D of the report.

- Did the fact that the fairness penalty only considered false positives affect your submission?

No. I considered examining the false positive results in my predictions prior to submitting my entry. But this examination would have involved a manual review of each false positive observation, which runs counter to the Challenge goal of improving recidivism prediction models. Also, I ran out of time.

- Are there practical/applied findings that could help the field based on your work? If yes, what are they?

Maybe. I hope. See the discussion in Section IV of the report.

- What should NIJ have considered changing (other than metrics) to improve this Challenge?

My consultant colleagues and I thought the Challenge was very well-designed – my colleagues commented to me on this point several times. I appreciated the focus on a discrete, non-subjective outcome and the opportunity it provided to individuals and small businesses like mine to test our research mettle.

I will note that I did not receive information on the Challenge until the relative last minute and thus, was only able to submit an entry for the third year period. I subscribe to a range of DoJ email lists (news from BJS, BJA, etc.) and follow NIJ on Twitter. But I missed announcements relating to the Challenge and, in fact, only heard about it through an email notification from the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management. Thus, I was wondering whether notifications regarding the Challenge were widely disseminated.

Also, as I noted in an email to the Challenge team, it would have been helpful to know how my Brier scores compared to other scores in categories in which I did not place in the top four. I could use this information to further identify weaknesses in my analysis and better understand why my approach performed relatively well in one category but not in others. Could future Challenges post additional top scores without identifying the associated teams?

- For future Challenges, what should NIJ consider changing to improve Challenges? For example, more/less time, different topic, or data issues (missing data)?

By its very nature, academic and scholarly work has to build on previous academic and scholarly research. But that process tends to inhibit unconventional approaches and inventiveness, and often stifles research with practical implications. That's why the idea of allowing anyone to enter the Challenge, even high school students and those who work outside of academia, is so appealing. I hope NIJ continues to provide these types of opportunities that allow interested people from across the country– including those who work in small businesses and who are not directly affiliated with an academic institution – to participate.

I think future challenges should maintain the category for high school students and consider ways to encourage students to participate (I realize that NIJ is already working on this issue). Could future challenges somehow encourage more established researchers to partner with high school classes or individual students, with a category for teams comprised in that manner?