



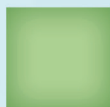
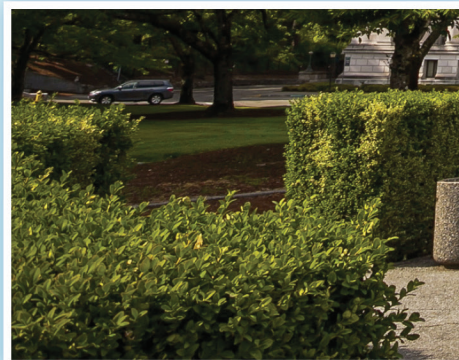
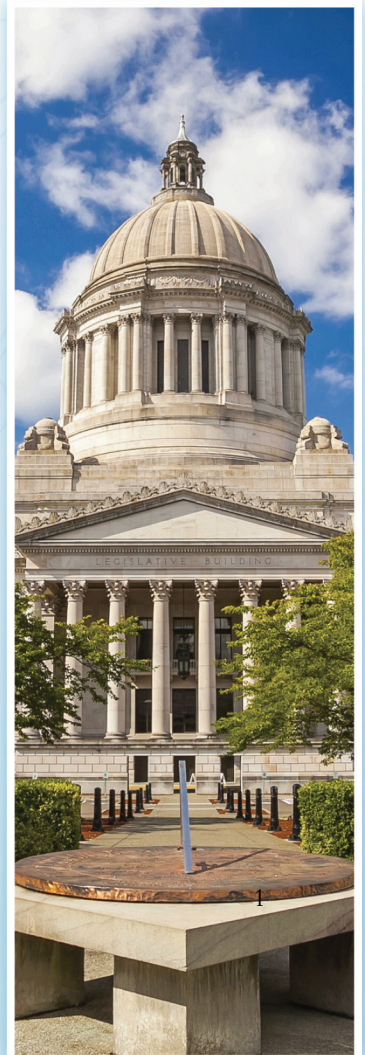
WASHINGTON STATE

# Statistical Analysis Center

Informing a data-driven justice system

## Beyond Burglary Offense Generalization and Economic Outcomes

Matthew S. Landon, M.S.



## Contents

Executive Summary .....	3
Background .....	4
Design .....	5
Results .....	6
Table 1 .....	6
Figure 1 .....	6
Figure 2 .....	7
Table 2 .....	7
Table 3 .....	8
Figure 3 .....	8
Discussion .....	8
References .....	10
Appendix 1 .....	11
Appendix 2 .....	13
Appendix 3 .....	14
Appendix 4 .....	15

### Disclaimer

This project was supported by Grant No. 2015-BJ-CX-K013 awarded by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice to the Office of Financial Management, Statistical Analysis Center. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

# Beyond Burglary Offense Generalization and Economic Outcomes

## Executive Summary

In 2016 the Statistical Analysis Center studied outcomes for Washington state property offenders. Findings from that study established baseline statistics in recidivism rates and economic outcomes for property offenders, but did not address outcomes for property offenders who also engage in violent, sex or drug offenses. Since evidence suggests that property offenders are the most likely group to generalize in offense types, the Washington Statistical Analysis Center (SAC) augmented the dataset from the 2016 study to examine economic outcomes across different additional offenses.

Property offenders with an additional sex offense generally performed worse than others in terms of employment and average wages, while those with an additional drug offense only appeared to lag in average wages. Additional violent offenses did not appear to adversely affect these outcomes. Interestingly, spending more time behind bars as opposed to the community resulted in higher average wages across all offense groups. Shorter overall sentences were also associated with increased earnings. For both of these variables, drug offenders displayed smaller effect sizes, indicating that property offenders with an additional drug offense may not be as susceptible to aspects of their correctional experience as some other offenders are. Demographic differences in earnings based on sex and race that were highlighted in the 2016 SAC study persisted across all additional offense types, but differences in earnings between men and women were notably lower for those with sex offenses.

The results from this study show that offenders who generalize rather than specialize do not necessarily suffer extreme impacts on their economic outcomes. There are observable differences for property offenders with an additional sex offense, who are slightly less likely to find employment and will receive lower wages on average when they do. Property offenders with an additional drug offense do not appear to deviate strongly from their average economic outcomes based on aspects of their correctional experience. Reentry programming aimed at property offenders may be able to use these results as a baseline when working with offenders who do not specialize in property crime.

# Beyond Burglary Offense Generalization and Economic Outcomes

## Background

In 2014, the Council of State Governments partnered with a Washington task force to implement the Justice Reinvestment Initiative. While the legislation connected to JRI was ultimately not passed, the Washington Statistical Analysis Center undertook a project to assess the post-prison outcomes of property offenders as defined in Appendix 1, a group that constitutes one of Washington's biggest criminal justice cost drivers. Among the findings of that study was the calculation that just under 60 percent of property offenders released from the Department of Corrections' (DOC) custody were employed at some point following release. Those who spent less time in confinement were also less likely to return to DOC custody after release. Employment appeared to be associated with larger decreases in recidivism among males than females, although statistically significant decreases were found for both groups.

The findings from the SAC's 2016 study largely align with national research, but do not address the full context of the relationship between experiences in custody and outcomes following release. A study of 250 Texan parolees by Tripodi, Kim, and Bender (2009) also found that employment decreased the risk of recidivism after controlled for demographic factors, but had smaller effect sizes that were not statistically significant. An earlier study on the justice systems of Florida and California by Kling (2004) found that while the time spent incarcerated initially appeared to have a negative relationship with employment, these effects deteriorated when additional controlling factors were accounted for. Both of these studies introduce some caution to the results of the SAC's 2016 study; while the results obtained are accurate for Washington's property offenders, it is important to consider the data from additional angles.

One area in particular that was left out of the prior study was an examination of involvement in multiple offense types. Offenders who stick to one primary offense type, or "specialists," may be fundamentally different from those who participate in multiple offenses, or "generalists." Criminological literature suggests that pure criminal specialization is not particularly common, even when dealing with broad categories of crime. Lo, Kim, and Cheng's (2008) interviews with 238 arrestees assessed the chances that their current offenses would match any prior offenses they had. Some of their findings showed that a prior violent offense increased the odds of their current crime being violent by 279 percent, and drug crimes increased prediction of subsequent drug crimes by 197 percent, property crimes only increased their subsequent prediction by 46 percent. This implies that property offenders may be more likely than others to generalize, and commit violent and drug offenses in addition to property offenses.

Miethe, Olson, and Mitchell (2006) highlight another offender group that is unlikely to specialize, demonstrating in their study that sex offenders of all types are more likely to be generalists than specialists. Considered alongside Lo, Kim, and Cheung's study, it is likely that there is significant overlap between property offenders and violent, sex and drug offenses. Nieuwebeerta, Blokland, Piquero and Sweeten (2010) provide additional evidence towards this

thought, as their study on the life-course of Dutch offenders shows that property crime specialization tends to appear early in the life course followed by versatility over the long term. This might make it more probable to find generalist offenders dabbling in property crime rather than any other crime type.

The SAC's 2016 study examined outcomes for property offenders in Washington, but did not consider generalization across offense types. This brief contains an additional examination of the data from the additional study, with additional categorization added to identify offenders with additional offense types besides property offenses. Continuity is maintained through the inclusion of similar economic outcome measures, but outcomes related to recidivism were not considered due to the sharp skew in the probability for re-arrest for those with more extensive criminal histories.

## Design

This study makes use of the original dataset from the 2016 property offender study conducted by the Washington SAC, which used the Criminal History Database compiled by the Washington Institute for Public Policy and linked it to DOC records and employment data from the Unemployment Insurance database. These linkages were made by a third party based on social security number, name, date of birth and inter-system identifiers prior to being passed on to SAC researchers. This allowed researchers to protect the anonymity of those included in the dataset while still enabling the SAC to connect offenses with specific individual records.

Studying outcomes related to offense necessitated the selection of specific offense types from charge records. Violent offenses were categorized as charges under RCW9a.36 as listed in Appendix 2. These primarily include forms of assault. Manslaughter and homicide were not included due to their higher severity and likelihood of carrying sentences that would outrange the study period. Sex offenses were defined as charges under RCW9a.44 as listed in Appendix 3. These include a range of minor to severe offenses. Drug offenses were classified as any charges under RCW 69.50 as listed in Appendix 4. Due to the time period of this study, those charges may relate to marijuana possession which was illegal at the time, and also include offenses related to distribution.

The variables tracking participation in certain offenses were not necessarily exclusive. This means that an offender might have committed a property offense, a violent offense and a sex offense at the time of study. By the nature of the dataset compiled, 100 percent of the 84,140 offenders included in the study had committed a property offense. From that sample, 62.8 percent also committed a drug offense, 61.3 percent committed a violent offense and 6.56 percent committed a sex offense. When calculating probabilities for economic outcomes, inclusion in each offense type is compared against property offenders that did not have that offense on their record.

In addition to variables related to offense type, this study employs measures from the 2016 study including the percentage of the sentence spent in confinement rather than the field, as well as the total length of time spent in DOC custody. The effects of these variables are then tested for interaction with the presence of additional offense types. The impacts of offense type on employment and wages across sex, race and the nature of time in custody are all considered.



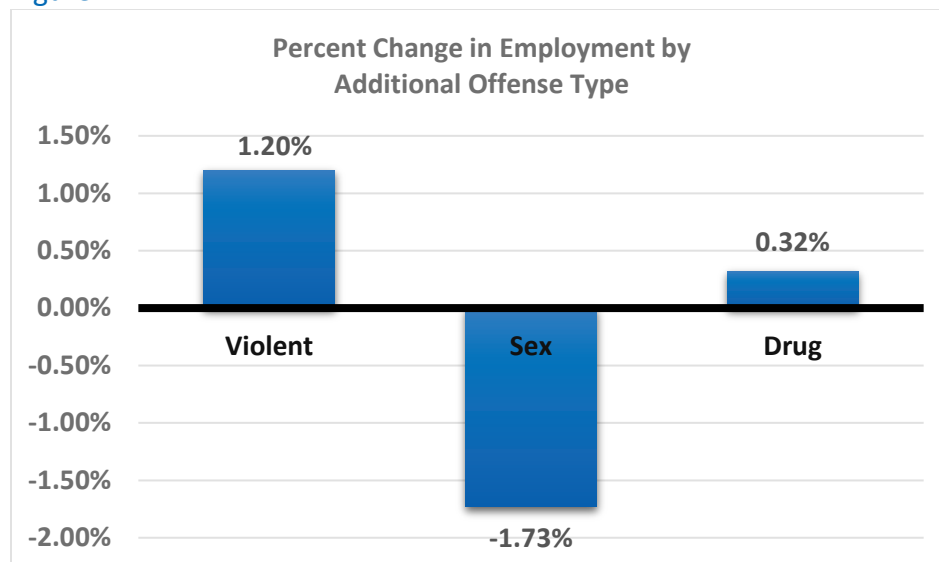
## Results

Overall, the probability of employment following incarceration does not differ greatly between property offenders with different additional offense types. As can be seen in Table 1, those offenders with both a violent and property offense are slightly more likely to be employed than others, while those with a sex offense find employment at the lowest rate (58 percent). Figure 1 illustrates this difference, showing that violent offenders are slightly more likely to find employment than property offenders without a violent offense, while those with a sex offense see a noticeable decrease. It is unlikely that violent offenses are causally related to increased employment, but might instead represent the absence of other offenses that employers avoid. Conversely, sex offenses may indeed create burdens that hinder those offenders from finding employment as easily.

Table 1

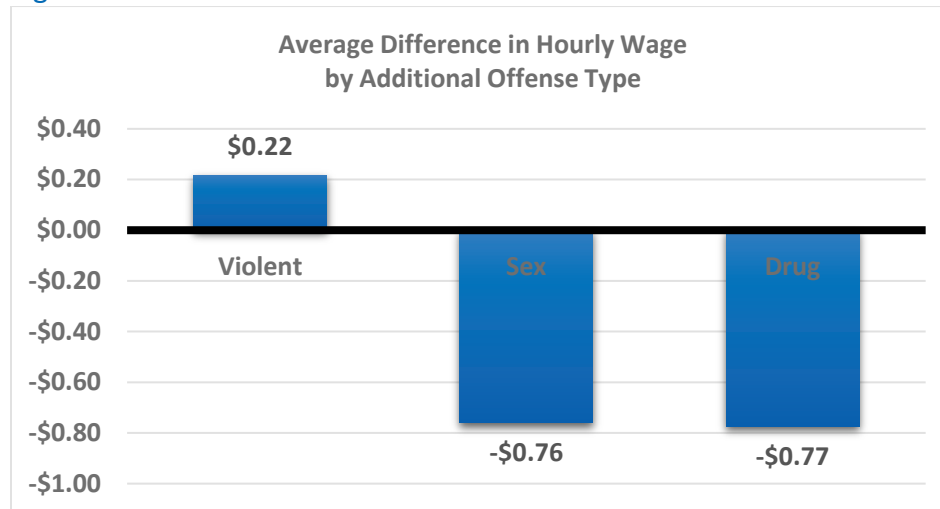
Additional Offenses of Property Offenders and Economic Outcomes				
	Total	Percent	Percent Employed	Avg. Hourly Wage
Violent	51,578	61.3	61	\$12.40
Sex	5,524	6.56	58	\$11.61
Drug	52,836	62.8	60	\$12.03

Figure 1



Average wages also varied slightly based on additional offense type, with violent offenders earnings the most and both sex and drug offenders dipping below the group average (Figure 2). All differences in these means were found to be significant at  $\alpha=.05$ . Once again, it is probable that violent offenses do not directly influence wages, but represent the absence of other factors that may depress earnings. Even so, these base figures provide a group average by which to gauge the effects of other variables and demonstrate that economic outcomes are not consistent across all property offenders with additional offenses.

Figure 2



In the original 2016 SAC study, the amount of time spent in confinement was associated with a significant difference in post-release outcomes. Those spending the entirety of their sentence in the field had higher employment rates and average wages than those who spent most or all of their time in prison (Landon, 2016). Spending less time in DOC custody had a similar effect.

Table 2 shows the first of these relationships, comparing those with some amount of time behind bars against those who spent their entire sentence in the field. Interestingly, all additional offense types earn higher wages if they spend 100 percent of their time in DOC custody behind bars, with the greatest effects seen by sex offenders. This may be connected to programming available in prison facilities, or may reflect aspects of these cases that are invisible in the data. The effect sizes for drug offenders are fairly muted, suggesting that time in or out of prison may not greatly influence their later economic outcomes.

Table 2

Mean Difference in Earnings with 0 percent Time Spent in Confinement				
Percent Time Confined	Violent	Sex	Drug	Ungrouped
1-24	\$0.82	\$0.81	\$0.30	\$0.56
25-49	\$0.81	\$0.87	\$0.02	\$0.51
50-74	\$0.67	\$0.77	-\$0.03	\$0.47
75-99	\$0.72	\$0.00	\$0.30	\$0.65
100	\$1.60	\$2.29	\$0.90	\$1.36

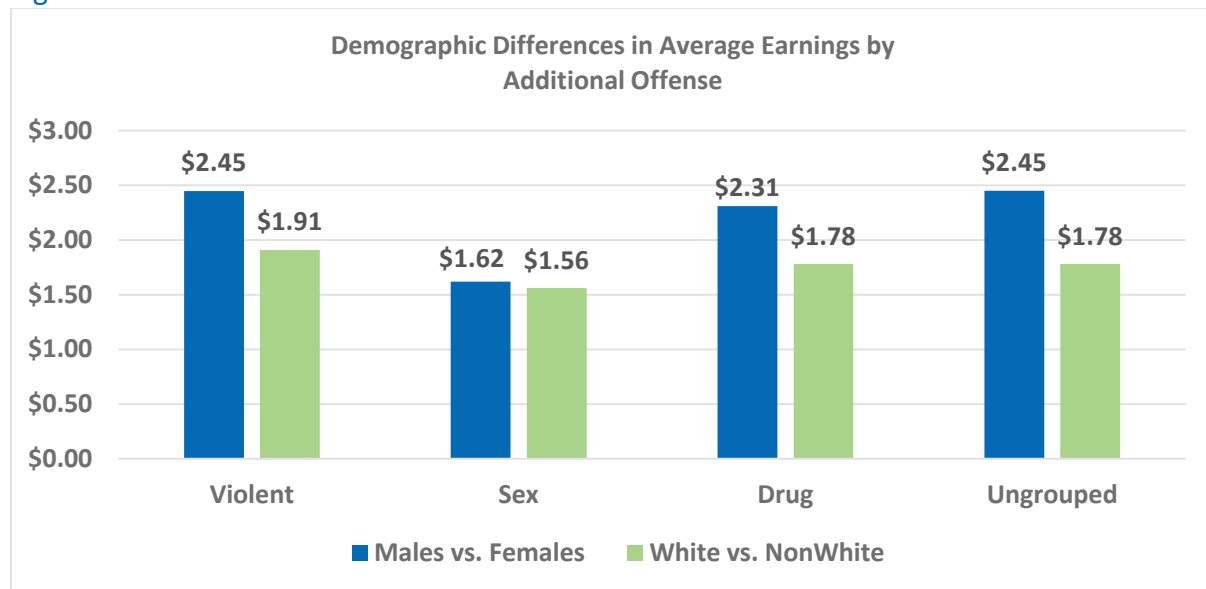
For the length of time spent in prison, Table 3 demonstrates similar measures comparing offenders who were in custody for less than a year against those with longer sentences. For each offense type, longer amounts of time are associated with lower average earnings after release. Once again, these effects appear to be muted for drug offenders, suggesting that specific aspects of time in custody may not impact property-drug offenders in the same way that they do those with violent or sex offenses. None of the effect sizes associated with additional sex offenses were statistically significant, due in part to their smaller group size.

Table 3

Mean Difference in Earnings with Less than 1 Year Total Time in Custody				
Time in Custody	Violent	Sex	Drug	Ungrouped
1-2 Years	-\$0.49	-\$0.78	-\$0.37	-\$0.49
2-5 Years	-\$0.53	-\$0.30	-\$0.53	-\$0.59
5+ Years	-\$0.85	-\$0.61	-\$0.77	-\$0.87

In the Washington SAC’s prior study, property offenders showed significant differences in average earnings between demographic groups. These differences remain persistent for those property offenders convicted of any additional offense type, but the difference between the means does vary. Figure 3 displays the differences in means by offense type, subtracting the average earnings of females from males and non-whites from whites. Both male and female sex offenders earn less overall, and the difference between their average earnings is lower. Interestingly, while those with violent offenses largely follow the overall average, White offenders with a violent offense have a greater difference in average earnings, more than that of the ungrouped total.

Figure 3



## Discussion

This study follows the original 2016 study in expanding a baseline understanding of the post-prison earning outcomes of property offenders, this time with additional offense types. Drug offenses appear to be the most common additional offense, followed closely by violent offenses. Property offenders who commit a violent offense are more likely to be employed and earn higher wages than those who commit sex offenses or drug offenses. Property offenders with an additional sex offense are the least likely to be employed and earn the lowest average wages in this study, but even then the deviation from the group average is not extreme. While the effects on this group are observable, they are also marginal.



While drug offenses and violent offenses did not appear to greatly alter the overall economic outcomes for property offenders in this study, analyses of correctional variables showed greatly reduced effect sizes for drug offenders. This finding in particular warrants further study, as it implies that aspects of prison and parole do not alter outcomes for these drug offenders in the same way that they do other property offenders. Considering that 62.8 percent of the property offenders in the study also had a drug offense, there may be a large population that responds differently to their time in prison than other offenders do.

Results from this study may be used as a baseline to assess the economic outcomes of property offenders who have committed additional offenses. This study does not use many control variables and does not seek to establish causation; rather, the effects shown are intended to be a starting point for further inquiry or a figure against which to measure future efforts. Property crime continues to be a cost driver in Washington's criminal justice system, and this information may assist agencies, lawmakers, and policy in the years to come.

## References

- Kling, J. R. (2004). Incarceration length, employment, and earnings. *American Economic Review*, 96(3), 863-876.
- Landon, M. S. (2016). Of jobs and jail: Outcomes for Washington state property offenders. *Washington SAC*, [http://sac.ofm.wa.gov/sites/default/files/public/pdf/jobs\\_and\\_jail\\_report.pdf](http://sac.ofm.wa.gov/sites/default/files/public/pdf/jobs_and_jail_report.pdf)
- Lo, C. C., Kim, Y. S., & Cheng, T. C. (2008). Offense specialization of arrestees. *Crime & Delinquency*, 54(3), 341-365.
- Miethe, T. D., Olson, J., & Mitchell, O. (2006). Specialization and persistence in the arrest histories of sex offenders: A comparative analysis of alternative measures and offense types. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 43(3), 204-229.
- Nieuwbeerta, P., Blokland, A. A. J, Piquero, A. R., & Sweeten, G. (2010). A life-course analysis of offense specialization across age: Introducing a new method for studying individual specialization over the life course. *Crime & Delinquency*, 57(1), 3-28.
- Tripodi, S., Kim, J. S., & Bender, K. (2009). Is employment associated with reduced recidivism? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 54(5), 706-720.

## Appendix 1

Property Offenses as Defined by SB 5755 and HB 1885
(i) Counterfeiting (RCW 9.16.035(4));
(ii) Identity Theft 1 (RCW 9.35.020(2));
(iii) Theft of Livestock 1 (RCW 9A.56.080);
(iv) Trafficking in Stolen Property 1 (RCW 9A.82.050);
(v) Unlawful Factoring of a Credit Card or Payment Card Transaction (RCW 9A.56.290(4)(b));
(vi) Burglary 2 (RCW 9A.52.030);
(vii) Organized Retail Theft 1 (RCW 9A.56.350(2));
(viii) Retail Theft with Special Circumstances 1 (RCW 9A.56.360(2));
(ix) Theft of Livestock 2 (RCW 9A.56.083);
(x) Theft with the Intent to Resell 1 (RCW 9A.56.340(2));
(xi) Trafficking in Stolen Property 2 (RCW 9A.82.055);
(xii) Unlawful Hunting of Big Game 1 (RCW 77.15.410(3)(b));
(xiii) Commercial Fishing Without a License 1 (RCW 77.15.500(3)(b));
(xiv) Counterfeiting (RCW 9.16.035(3));
(xv) Engaging in Fish Dealing Activity Unlicensed 1 (RCW 77.15.620(3)(b));
(xvi) Health Care False Claims (RCW 48.80.030);
(xvii) Identity Theft 2 (RCW 9.35.020(3));
(xviii) Malicious Mischief 1 (RCW 9A.48.070);
(xix) Organized Retail Theft 2 (RCW 9A.56.350(3));
(xx) Possession of Stolen Property 1 (RCW 9A.56.150);
(xxi) Possession of a Stolen Vehicle (RCW 9A.56.068);
(xxii) Retail Theft with Special Circumstances 2 (RCW 9A.56.360(3));
(xxiii) Scrap Processing, Recycling, or Supplying Without a License (second or subsequent offense) (RCW 19.290.100(2)(b));
(xxiv) Theft 1 (RCW 9A.56.030);
(xxv) Theft of a Motor Vehicle (RCW 9A.56.065);
(xxvi) Theft of Rental, Leased, Lease-purchased, or Loaned Property (valued at five thousand dollars or more) (RCW 9A.56.096(5)(a));
(xxvii) Theft with the Intent to Resell 2 (RCW 9A.56.340(3));
(xxviii) Trafficking in Insurance Claims (RCW 48.30A.015);
(xxix) Unlawful Factoring of a Credit Card or Payment Card Transaction (RCW 9A.56.290(4)(a));

## Appendix 1 (continued)

Property Offenses as Defined by SB 5755 and HB 1885 continued
(xxx) False Verification for Welfare (RCW 74.08.055);
(xxxii) Forgery (RCW 9A.60.020);
(xxxiii) Malicious Mischief 2 (RCW 9A.48.080);
(xxxiv) Possession of Stolen Property 2 (RCW 9A.56.160);
(xxxv) Reckless Burning 1 (RCW 9A.48.040);
(xxxvi) Taking Motor Vehicle Without Permission 2 (RCW 9A.56.075);
(xxxvii) Theft 2 (RCW 9A.56.040);
(xxxviii) Theft of Rental, Leased, Lease-purchased, or Loaned Property (valued at seven hundred fifty dollars or more but less than five thousand dollars) (RCW 9A.56.096(5)(b));
(xxxix) Unlawful Issuance of Checks or Drafts (RCW 9A.56.060);
(xl) Unlawful Possession of Fictitious Identification (RCW 9A.56.320(4));
(xli) Unlawful Possession of Instruments of Financial Fraud (RCW 9A.56.320(5));
(xlii) Unlawful Possession of Payment Instruments (RCW 9A.56.320(2));
(xliii) Unlawful Possession of a Personal Identification Device (RCW 9A.56.320(3));
(xliv) Unlawful Production of Payment Instruments (RCW 9A.56.320(1));
(xlv) Unlawful Trafficking in Food Stamps (RCW 9.91.142);
(xlvi) Unlawful Use of Food Stamps (RCW 9.91.144);

## Appendix 2

Violent Offenses as Defined by RCW 9a.36	
9A.36.011	Assault in the first degree.
9A.36.021	Assault in the second degree.
9A.36.031	Assault in the third degree.
9A.36.041	Assault in the fourth degree.
9A.36.045	Drive-by shooting.
9A.36.050	Reckless endangerment.
9A.36.060	Promoting a suicide attempt.
9A.36.070	Coercion.
9A.36.078	Malicious harassment—Finding.
9A.36.080	Malicious harassment—Definition and criminal penalty.
9A.36.083	Malicious harassment—Civil action.
9A.36.090	Threats against governor or family.
9A.36.100	Custodial assault.
9A.36.120	Assault of a child in the first degree.
9A.36.130	Assault of a child in the second degree.
9A.36.140	Assault of a child in the third degree.
9A.36.150	Interfering with the reporting of domestic violence.
9A.36.160	Failing to summon assistance.
9A.36.161	Failing to summon assistance—Penalty.

## Appendix 3

Sex Offenses as Defined by RCW 9a.44	
9A.44.040	Rape in the first degree.
9A.44.045	First degree rape—Penalties.
9A.44.050	Rape in the second degree.
9A.44.060	Rape in the third degree.
9A.44.073	Rape of a child in the first degree.
9A.44.076	Rape of a child in the second degree.
9A.44.079	Rape of a child in the third degree.
9A.44.083	Child molestation in the first degree.
9A.44.086	Child molestation in the second degree.
9A.44.089	Child molestation in the third degree.
9A.44.093	Sexual misconduct with a minor in the first degree.
9A.44.096	Sexual misconduct with a minor in the second degree.
9A.44.100	Indecent liberties.
9A.44.105	Sexually violating human remains.
9A.44.115	Voyeurism.
9A.44.132	Failure to register as sex offender or kidnapping offender—Refusal to provide DNA.
9A.44.160	Custodial sexual misconduct in the first degree.
9A.44.170	Custodial sexual misconduct in the second degree.
9A.44.196	Criminal trespass against children.



## Appendix 4

Drug Offenses as Defined by RCW 69.50	
69.50.401	Prohibited acts: A—Penalties.
69.50.4011	Counterfeit substances—Penalties.
69.50.4012	Delivery of substance in lieu of controlled substance—Penalty.
69.50.4013	Possession of controlled substance—Penalty—Possession of useable marijuana, marijuana concentrates, or marijuana-infused products—Delivery.
69.50.4014	Possession of forty grams or less of marijuana—Penalty.
69.50.4015	Involving a person under eighteen in unlawful controlled substance transaction—Penalty.
69.50.4016	Provisions not applicable to offenses under RCW 69.50.410.
69.50.402	Prohibited acts: B—Penalties.
69.50.403	Prohibited acts: C—Penalties.
69.50.404	Penalties under other laws.
69.50.405	Bar to prosecution.
69.50.406	Distribution to persons under age eighteen.
69.50.407	Conspiracy.
69.50.408	Second or subsequent offenses.
69.50.410	Prohibited acts: D—Penalties.
69.50.412	Prohibited acts: E—Penalties (as amended by 2012 c 117).
69.50.412	Prohibited acts: E—Penalties (as amended by 2013 c 3).
69.50.4121	Drug paraphernalia—Selling or giving—Penalty.
69.50.413	Health care practitioners—Suspension of license for violation of chapter.
69.50.414	Sale or transfer of controlled substance to minor—Cause of action by parent—Damages.
69.50.415	Controlled substances homicide—Penalty.
69.50.416	Counterfeit substances prohibited—Penalties.
69.50.420	Violations—Juvenile driving privileges.
69.50.430	Additional fine for certain felony violations.
69.50.435	Violations committed in or on certain public places or facilities—Additional penalty—Defenses—Construction—Definitions.
69.50.438	Cathinone or methcathinone—Additional fine.
69.50.440	Possession with intent to manufacture—Penalty.
69.50.445	Opening package of or consuming marijuana, useable marijuana, marijuana-infused products, or marijuana concentrates in view of general public or public place—Penalty.
69.50.450	Butane or other explosive gases.
69.50.455	Synthetic cannabinoids—Unfair or deceptive practice under RCW 19.86.020.
69.50.460	Cathinone or methcathinone—Unfair or deceptive practice under RCW 19.86.020.
69.50.465	Conducting or maintaining marijuana club—Penalty.