

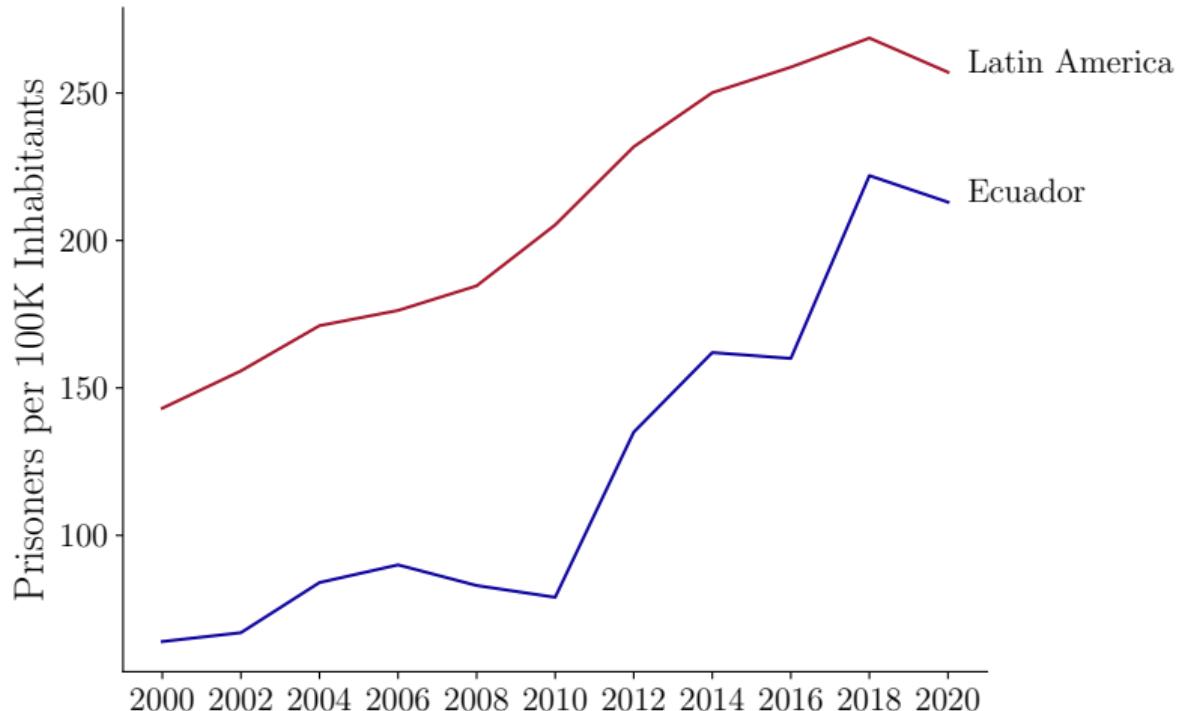
The Spillover Effects of Prisoner Releases

Evidence from Ecuador

Daniel Jaramillo Calderon
UBC

November 4, 2024

Prison Population Rate, 2000 - 2020



Source: World Prison Brief (2024)

Motivation

- **Recidivism** is a primary policy concern about prisoner releases.
 - Reoffending contributes to higher crime rates.
 - The one-year recidivism rate is 39% in Latin America and 44% in the US (Doleac, 2023; Yukhnenko, et al., 2020).

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- Criminal traits can spread through **social connections**.
 - Criminal peer effects are observed among individuals in shared environments (Stevenson, 2017; Billings et al., 2019; Bayer et al., 2009).

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Do released offenders influence the criminal behavior of individuals in the neighborhoods they rejoin?

Theoretically, the Effect is Ambiguous

- Released offenders may **discourage criminal involvement.**
 - Rehabilitated offenders can share knowledge of the negative consequences of crime.
 - Examples of NGOs: Canada ([Unlocking the Gate](#)), US ([Prison Fellowship](#)), Ecuador ([Vida en Libertad](#)).

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 - Examples of NGOs: Canada ([Unlocking the Gate](#)), US ([Prison Fellowship](#)), Ecuador ([Vida en Libertad](#)).
- Former inmates may also **increase crime rates.**
 - Prison exposes inmates to hardened peers, gang recruitment, and deteriorates their human capital (Sviatschi, 2022; Aizer & Doyle, 2015; Mueller-Schmidt, 2015).

Empirical Challenges

Data Requirement: Records on prison releases, arrests, and the residence of **all potentially affected individuals**.

- Existing studies focus on interactions between released offenders and individuals with prior criminal experience (Billings and Schnepel, 2022; Kirk, 2015).

This Paper

Presents the first estimation of criminal spillover effects from released offenders to their neighbors.

- Builds a **novel dataset** covering the universe of arrests, prison releases, and places of residence for all men (18+) in Ecuador.

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Presents the first estimation of criminal spillover effects from released offenders to their neighbors.

- Builds a **novel dataset** covering the universe of arrests, prison releases, and places of residence for all men (18+) in Ecuador.
- Uses a **mass pardon** (February, 2022) in an event-study design to compare the likelihood of arrest between individuals in neighborhoods that received an offender and those that did not.

This Paper

- Released offenders **increase the likelihood of arrest** of their neighbors by 0.005 p.p. (6.8% of the mean).
 - Individuals without prior criminal experience account for 42% of the main effect.

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- Released offenders **increase the likelihood of arrest** of their neighbors by 0.005 p.p. (6.8% of the mean).
 - Individuals without prior criminal experience account for 42% of the main effect.
- **Mechanisms:**
 1. *Peer effects*: Direct contagion to peers and family members.
 2. *Incarceration*: i) Potential criminogenic effects of incarceration, ii) access to rehabilitation programs can mitigate the effects.

Contributions to the Literature

1. Add to the knowledge about **prisoner reentry and neighborhood crime** by studying all potentially affected individuals.
 - The existing literature studies the behavior of releasees (Billings and Schnepel, 2022; Kirk, 2015)

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 - Existing papers focus on peer effects between criminals (Billings and Schnepel, 2022; Damm and Gorinas, 2020; Stevenson, 2017; Kirk, 2015; Bayer et al., 2009)

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3. Complement the knowledge of **spillover effects of incarceration** following prisoner reentry.
 - Existing work concentrates on removal of criminal (Norris et al., 2021; Arteaga, 2021; Dobbie et al. 2019; Bhuller et al., 2018; Huttunen et al., 2019)

Roadmap

Setting and Data

Empirical Strategy and Results

Mechanisms

Conclusions

Institutional Background



NEWS

Ecuadorian authorities concerned about overcrowding in prisons

ECUADOR >

From barbarism to abuse: The ongoing problem of Ecuador's prisons

Inmates at Guayaquil's Litoral penitentiary, the country's most notorious prison, recount the humiliations they have been subjected to since the military took control of the facility

How Ecuador went from tourist haven to a nation in the grip of gangs

10 April 2024

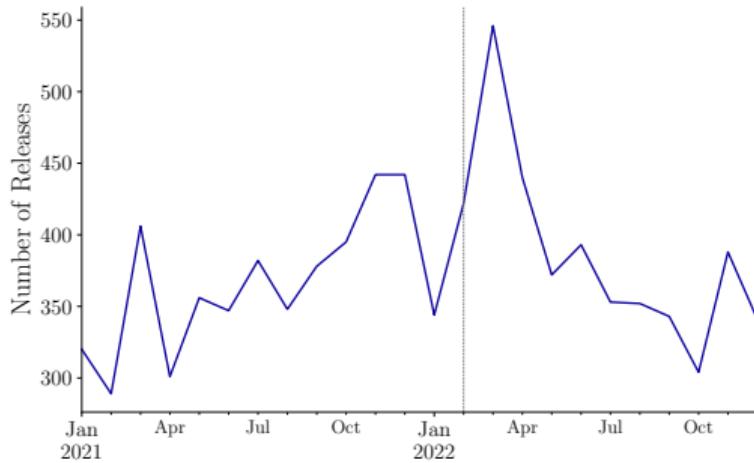
Ana María Roura, Daniel Wittenberg & Blanca Moncada
BBC News Mundo, Guayaquil

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Homicides in 2021

Ecuador's 2022 Mass Pardon

- Signed in February 2022 to reduce prison overcrowding.
- Targeted individuals convicted of robbery, theft, and fraud who had served at least 40% of their sentence.
- Reduced the prison population by 17% within two months.



Data Sources

1. Universe of released offenders (2016 - 2022) [Website](#)
 - Information: Name, ID number, crime, time served, date of release, and type of release.
 - Data extracted from unstructured text using OpenAI's LLM optimized with RAG. [Example](#)
2. Universe of arrests at the individual level (2010 - 2022)
 - Information: Name, ID number, date, and offense. [Example](#)
 - Excludes: Minors, sexual crimes, violence against women, and crimes against national security.

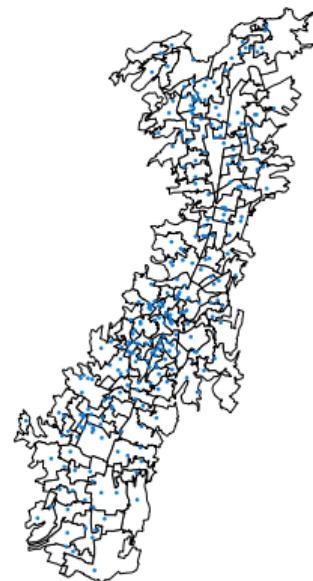
Data Sources

3. National Electoral Registry (2002 - 2021) [Description](#)

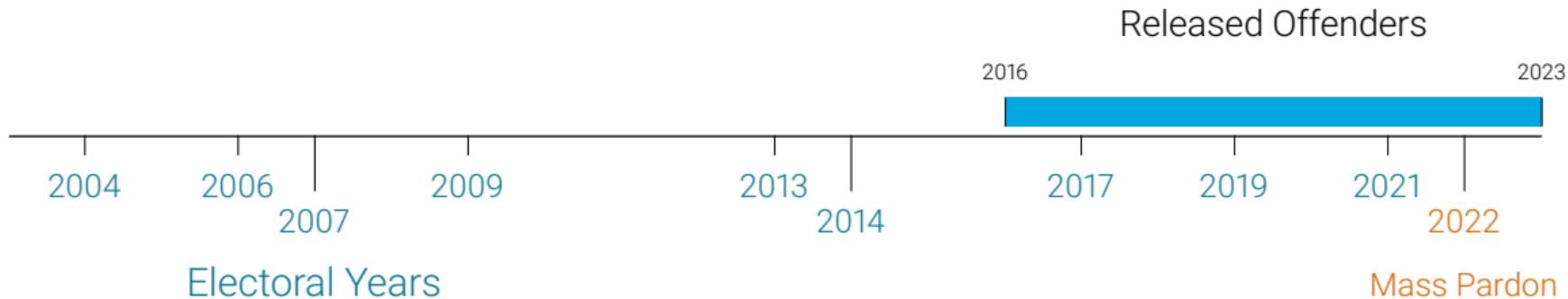
- Voting is compulsory for people between 18 and 65 years old.
- People vote in the closest school to their *registered* address.
- Information: Name, ID number, voting location, date of birth, and gender.

Sample: Men between 18 and 40 years old living in urban areas.

Neighborhoods in Quito



Data Matching



- I assume individuals remain in the same place within each electoral cycle.
- I use the residence at the time of arrest to match released offenders.
 - 95% of released offenders return to the same neighborhood between 2016 and 2021.

Summary Statistics

	Mean	SD	p50	N
Age	28.242	6.33	27.87	30,574,516
Previous Arrest = 1	0.065	0.25	0.00	30,574,516
Pr(Arrest) × 1000	0.739	27.18	0.00	30,574,516
Number of Arrests × 1000	0.766	28.74	0.00	30,574,516

Notes: Unit of observation, person-by-month between September 2021 and August 2022.

- All individual variables [Table](#)
- Released offenders summary statistics [Pardon Sample](#) [All Releases](#)
- Neighborhood characteristics [Table](#)

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Empirical Strategy

TWFE model with neighborhood and month fixed effects

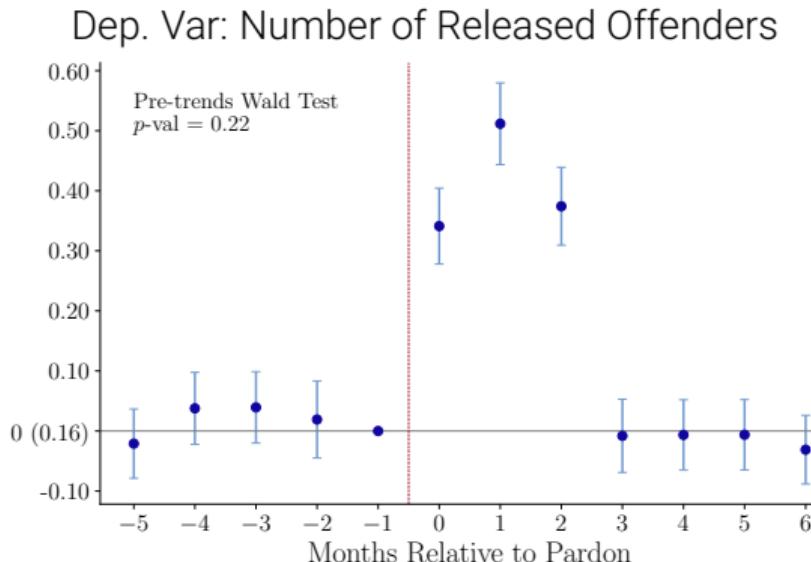
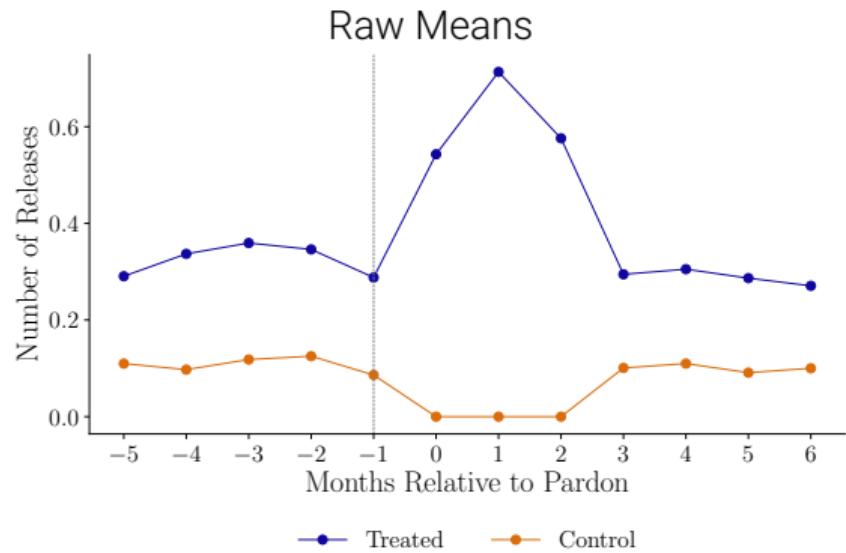
$$y_{int} = \sum_{k=-5}^{6} \beta_k \mathbf{1}\{t = t^* + k\} \times \text{With Offender}_n + \alpha_n + \delta_t + \mu_{int}$$

where,

- y : probability of arrest (multiplied by 1,000) for individual i , residing in neighborhood n , at month t .
- $\text{With Offender}_{nt}$: indicator equal to one if neighborhood n has a released offender within two months of the pardon ($t \in [0, 2]$).
- $\mathbf{1}\{t = t^* + k\}$: event-time dummies relative to the date of the pardon (t^*).
- α_i and δ_t : are neighborhood and time fixed effects.

Remove neighborhoods that never received a released offender. [Map](#)

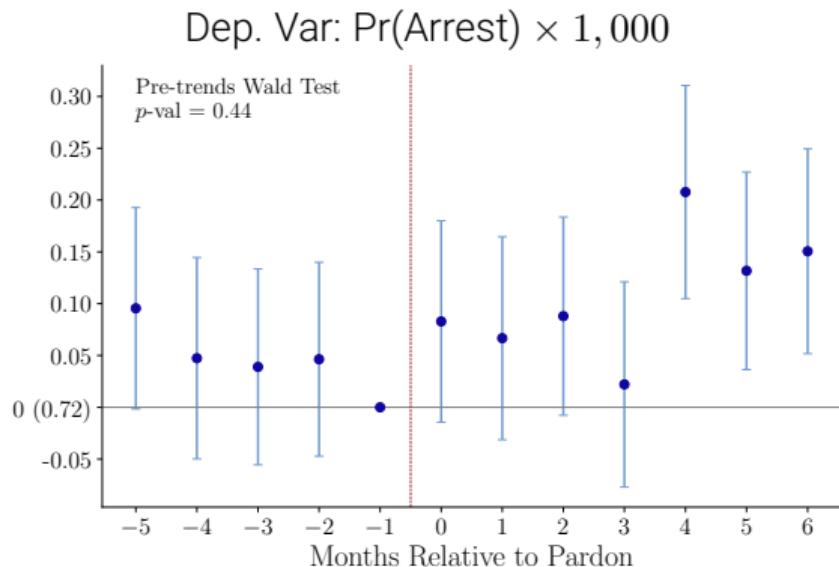
Pardon and Number of Released Offenders



On average, the number of released offenders in treated neighborhoods increased by **0.14 (78% relative to the mean)** compared to control neighborhoods.

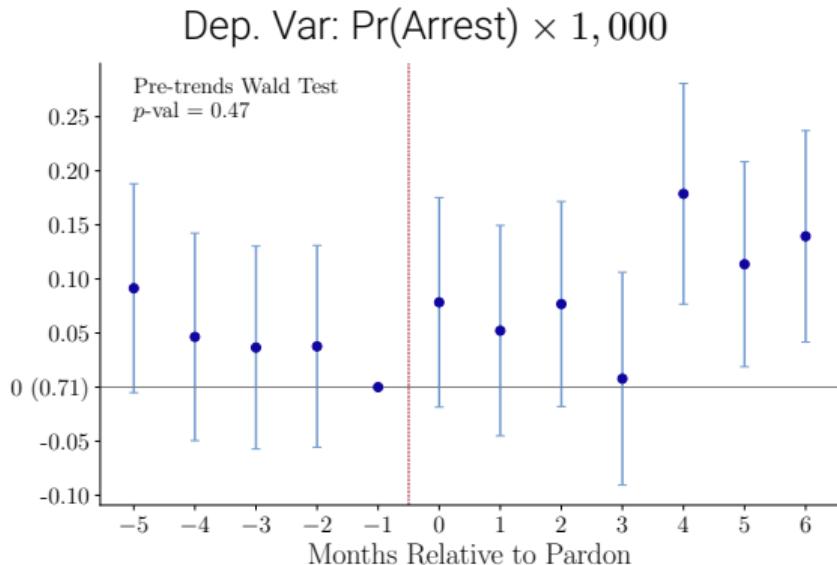
Release Rate

Impact of the Mass Pardon on Arrests - All Individuals



On average, the likelihood of arrest for individuals in treated neighborhoods increased by **0.006 p.p.** (**8.2% relative to the mean**) compared to people in control. [Table](#)

Impact of the Mass Pardon on Arrests - Without Recidivism



On average, the likelihood of arrest for individuals in treated neighborhoods increased by **0.005 p.p.** (**6.8% relative to the mean**) compared to people in control. [Table](#)

Making Sense of the Magnitude of the Effect

- The coefficients imply a monthly **elasticity** of arrests with respect to releases of **0.18**.

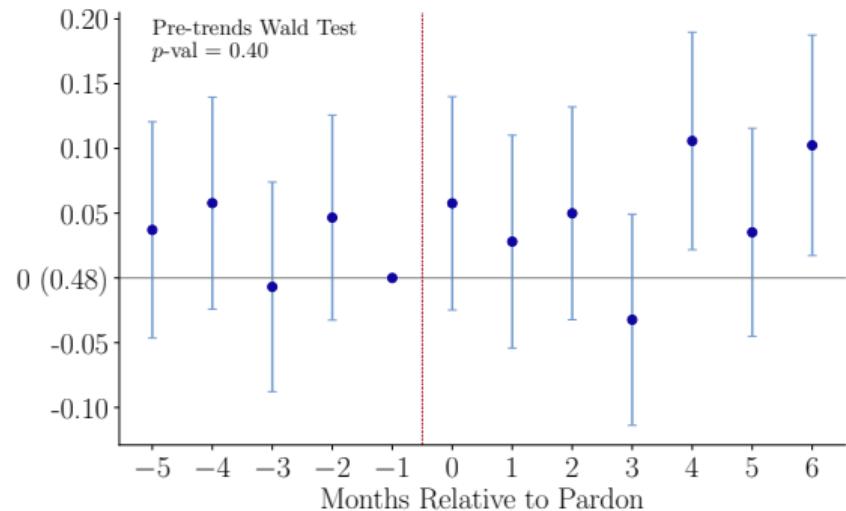
$$\epsilon = \frac{\Delta \% N. Arrests}{\Delta \% N. Releases} = \frac{0.14}{0.78}$$

- On average, **one additional** released offender generates **0.85 new monthly arrests**.

Effects by Criminal Experience

Without Criminal Records

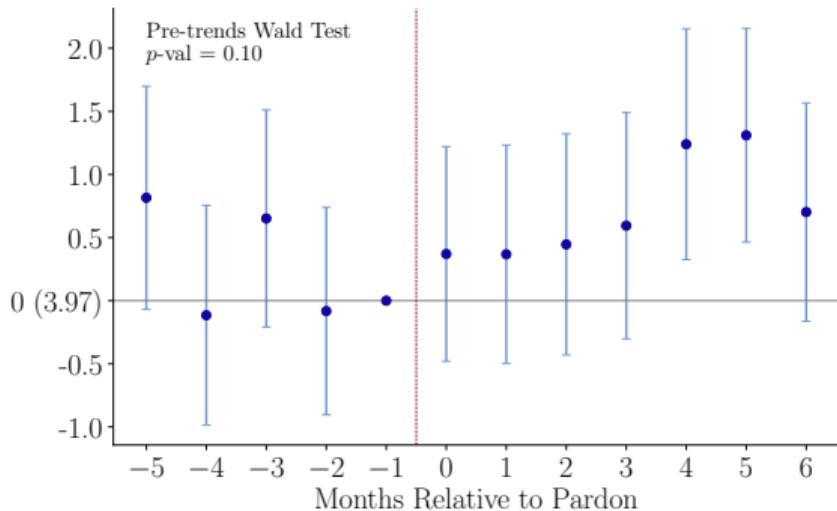
Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



$\beta = 0.02 (0.01)$. $N = 28,587,505$

With Criminal Records

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



$\beta = 0.42 (0.19)$. $N = 1,987,011$

Individuals **without criminal records made 42%** of the overall increase in the probability of arrest.

Heterogeneous Effects & Robustness

Heterogeneity

- Same effects between pardoned and non-pardoned releasees [Results](#)
- No differences with age [Results](#)
- Neighborhood's characteristics [Results](#)

Robustness

- Effect not driven by police stations [Results](#)
- Matching difference-in-difference [Figures](#)
- Staggered Treatment [Results](#)
- Continuous treatment [Results](#)

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What is Driving the Effects?

Summing up: Released offenders increase the probability of arrest for individuals in neighborhoods they rejoin.

- The elasticity of arrests with respect to releases is 0.18.

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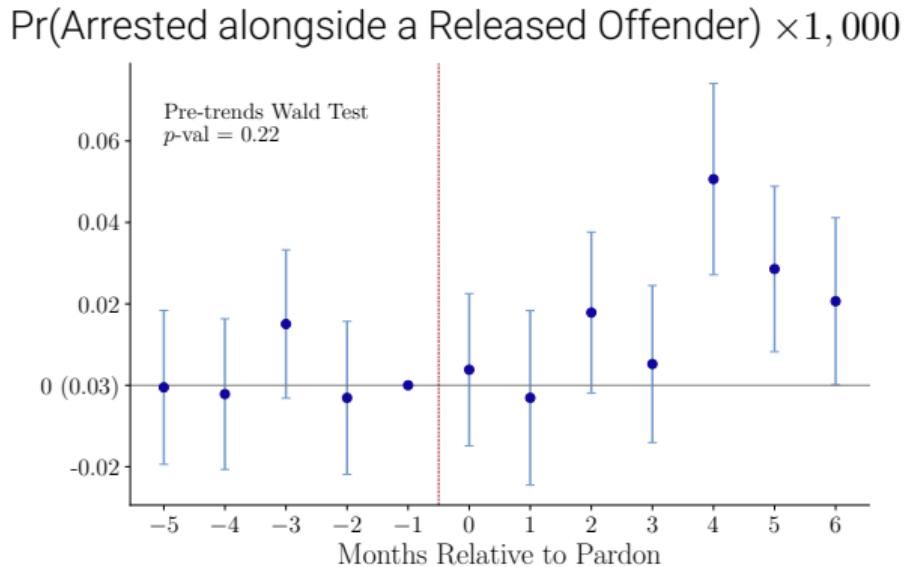
What is driving these effects?

1. *Peer Effects*: i) Increase in criminal partnerships, ii) higher arrest rates among offenders' family members, and iii) indirect evidence.
2. *Incarceration*: i) Stronger effects with longer time served, and ii) possible mitigating effects from job training programs.

Criminal Partnerships

- The most direct way of measuring peer effects is by observing joint arrests.
- Focus on:
 1. Criminal partnerships: indicator for a joint arrest
 2. Criminal partnerships with a released offender: indicator for arrest with a former offender released within the last year

Criminal Partnerships with Released Offenders



- Magnitude of the effect: $\sim 49\%$ of the mean
- New criminals represent 47% of the total effect [Figure](#)
- Recidivism rate among released offenders [Figure](#)

Family Connections

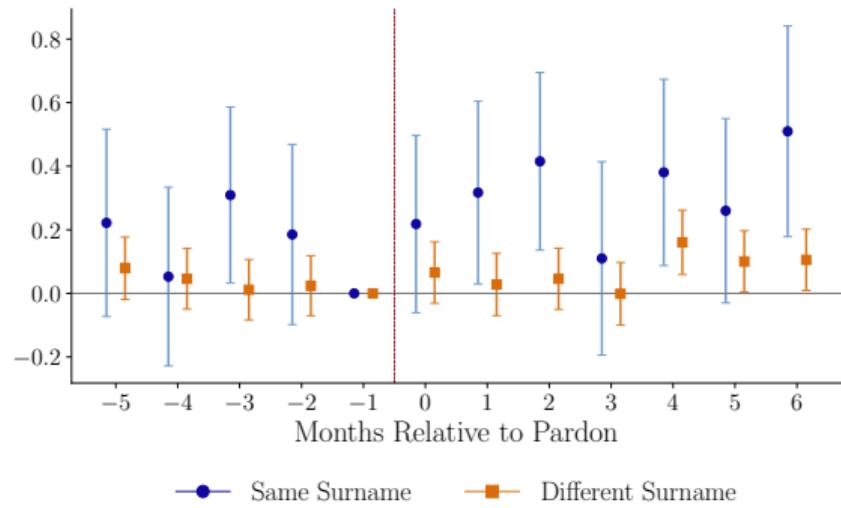
Use Spanish naming structure to approximate family ties:

Daniel Dario Jaramillo Calderon
Father's Surname Mother's Surname

- Both last names in common: brothers.
- One common last name: parents, grandparents, cousins, uncles, aunts, ...
- **Hypothesis:** Spillovers transmit more easily with closer connections.
- On average, less than 3% of individuals in a neighborhood are related to the released offender.

Family Connections

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$

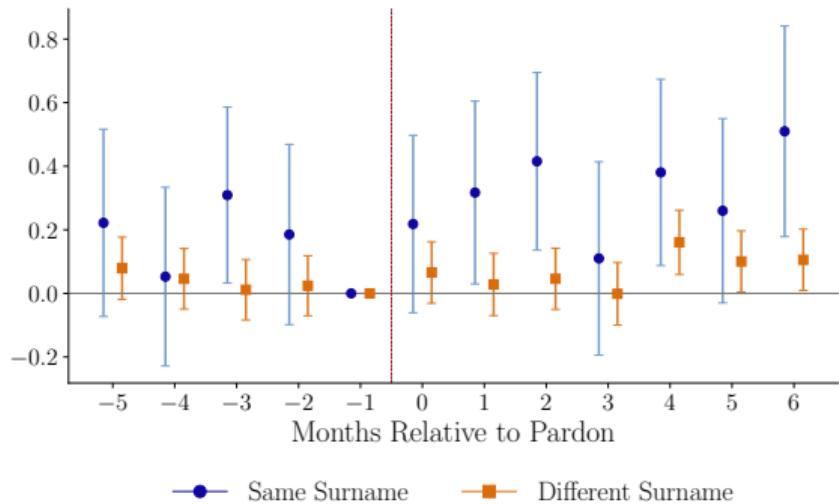


$$\beta_S: 0.16 (0.01) \rightarrow 23\% \text{ mean}; \beta_D: 0.04 (0.06) \rightarrow 6\% \text{ mean}$$

p -value of interaction: 0.002

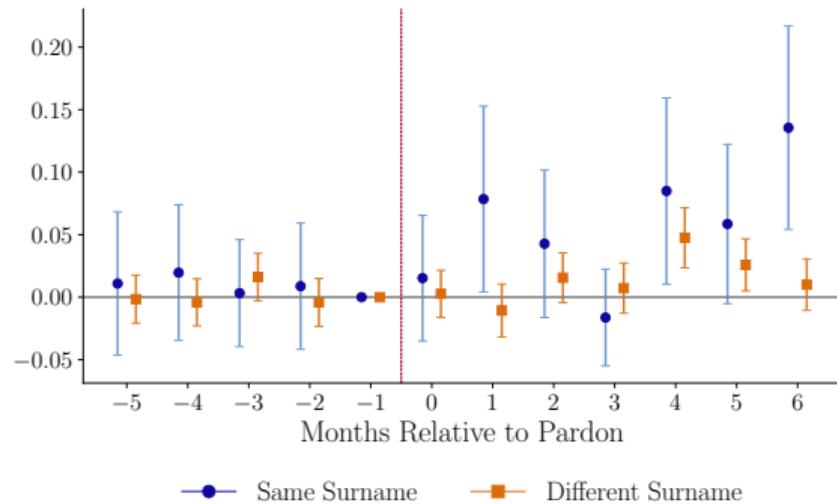
Family Connections

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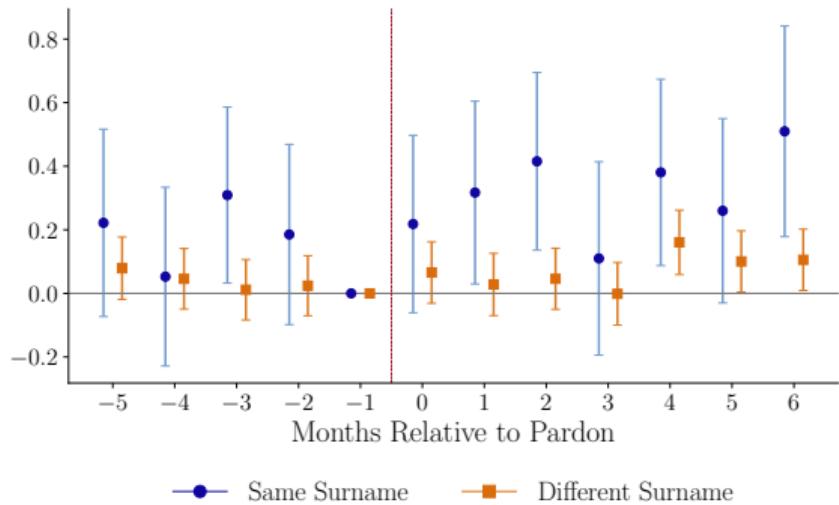
Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest with Released Offender}) \times 1,000$



$\beta_S: 0.05 (0.00) \rightarrow 157\% \text{ mean}; \beta_D: 0.01 (0.00) \rightarrow 42\% \text{ mean}$
 $p\text{-value of interaction: } 0.01$

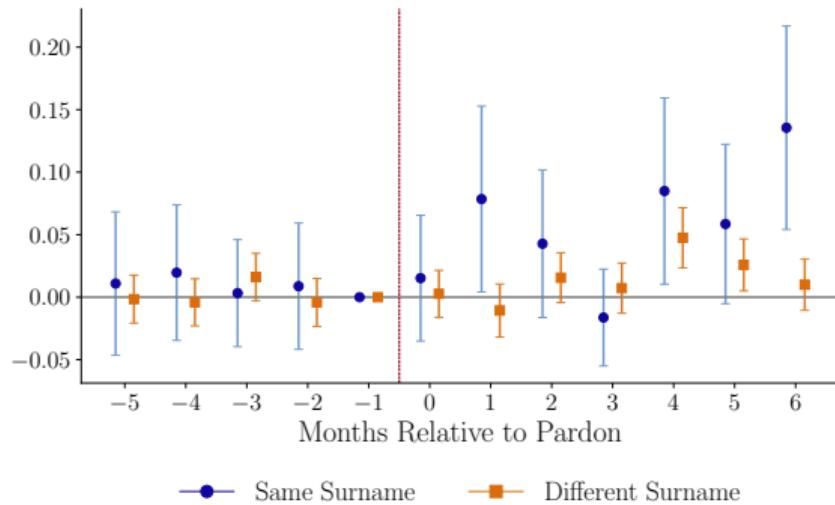
Family Connections

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



$\beta_S: 0.16 (0.01) \rightarrow 23\% \text{ mean}; \beta_D: 0.04 (0.06) \rightarrow 6\% \text{ mean}$
 $p\text{-value of interaction: } 0.002$

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest with Released Offender}) \times 1,000$



$\beta_S: 0.05 (0.00) \rightarrow 157\% \text{ mean}; \beta_D: 0.01 (0.00) \rightarrow 42\% \text{ mean}$
 $p\text{-value of interaction: } 0.01$

- Transmission through family networks explains 25% of the effects. It explains 41% of the increase for people with no criminal experience, and 19% for those with arrest records.

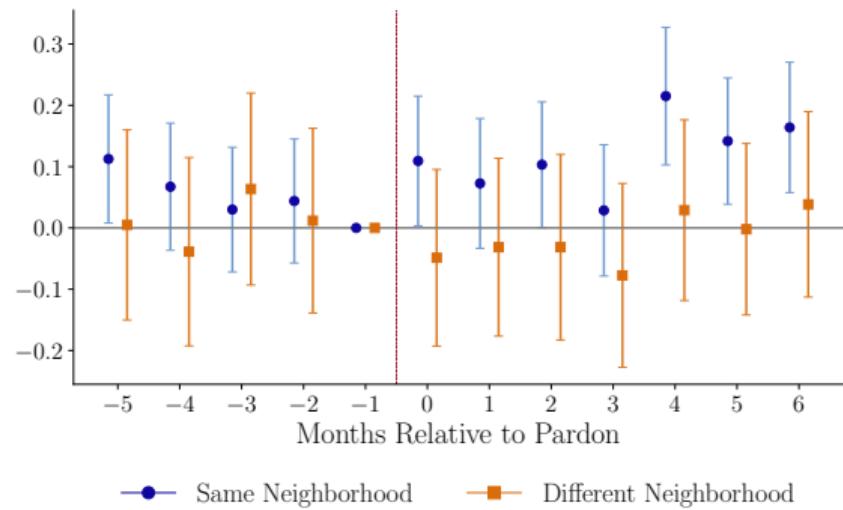
Figure

Longer Exposure to One Neighborhood

- Individuals appear in the electoral registry for the first time at age 16.
- I compare individuals who were arrested while still living in the same neighborhood as when they first appeared in the registry.
- **Hypothesis:** Longer exposure to a community fosters stronger social connections.

Lived Always in Same Neighborhood

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$

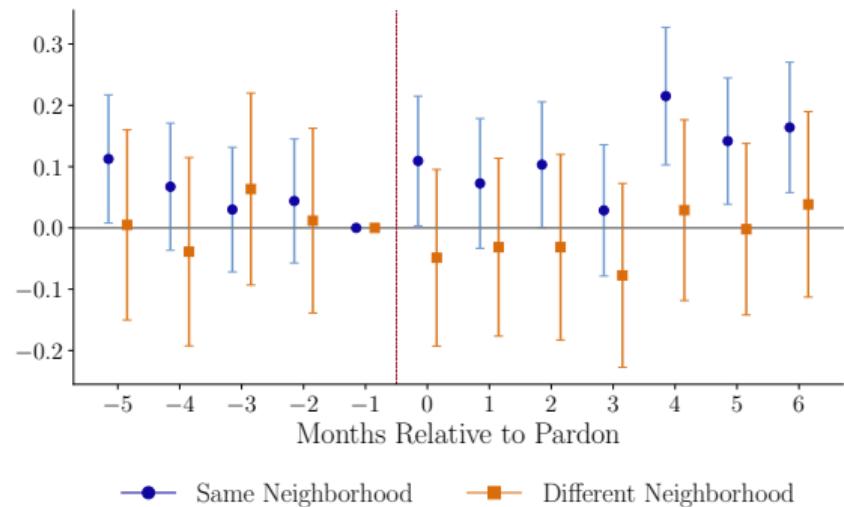


—●— Same Neighborhood —■— Different Neighborhood

β_{SN} : 0.07 (0.004) \rightarrow 9% of mean; β_{DN} : -0.02 (0.37)
 p -value of interaction: 0.004

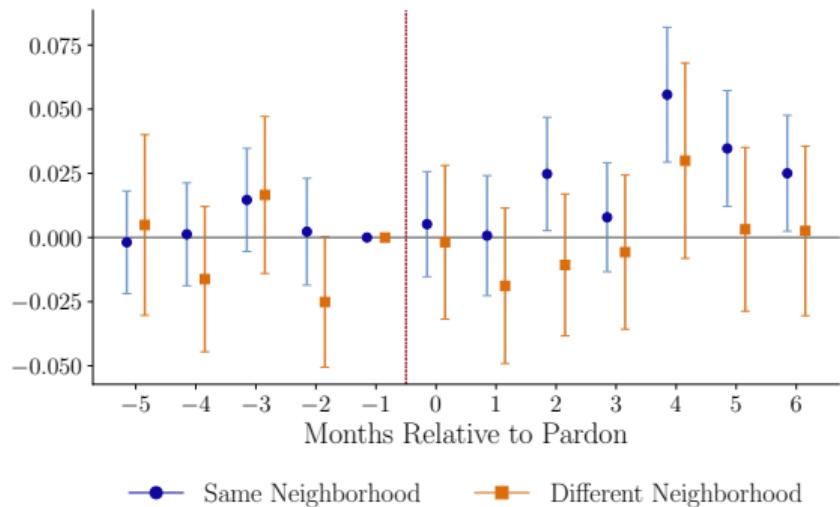
Lived Always in Same Neighborhood

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



β_{SN} : 0.07 (0.004) \rightarrow 9% of mean; β_{DN} : -0.02 (0.37)
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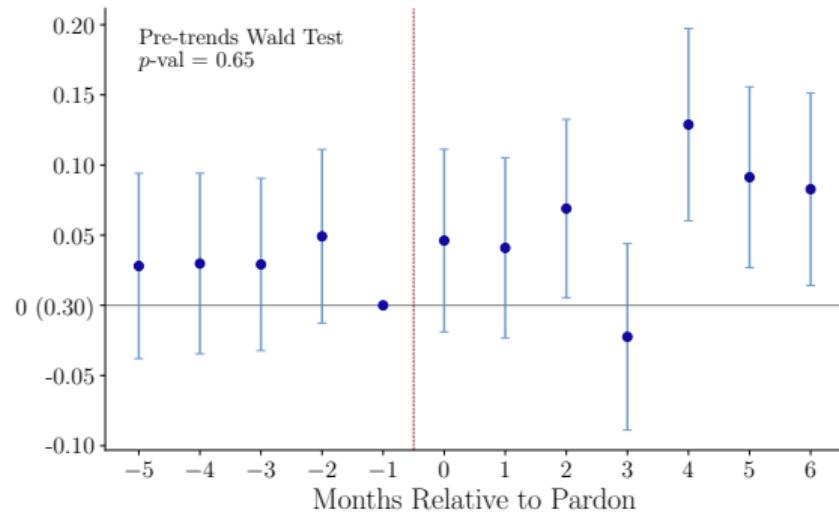
Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest with Released Offender}) \times 1,000$



β_{SN} : 0.02 (0.00) \rightarrow 56% of mean; β_{DN} : 0.003 (0.55)
 p -value of interaction: 0.04

Criminal Partnerships

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest in Group}) \times 1,000$



- Magnitude of the effect: $\sim 11\%$ of the mean
- New criminals represent 65% of the total effect

Prison Experience

What we know so far:

1. Released offenders increase the probability of arrest for individuals in neighborhoods they rejoin.
 - The elasticity of arrests with respect to releases is 0.18.
2. Criminal partnerships and family networks explain **40%** of the increase in arrests.

Prison Experience

What we know so far:

1. Released offenders increase the probability of arrest for individuals in neighborhoods they rejoin.
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What about the role of incarceration?

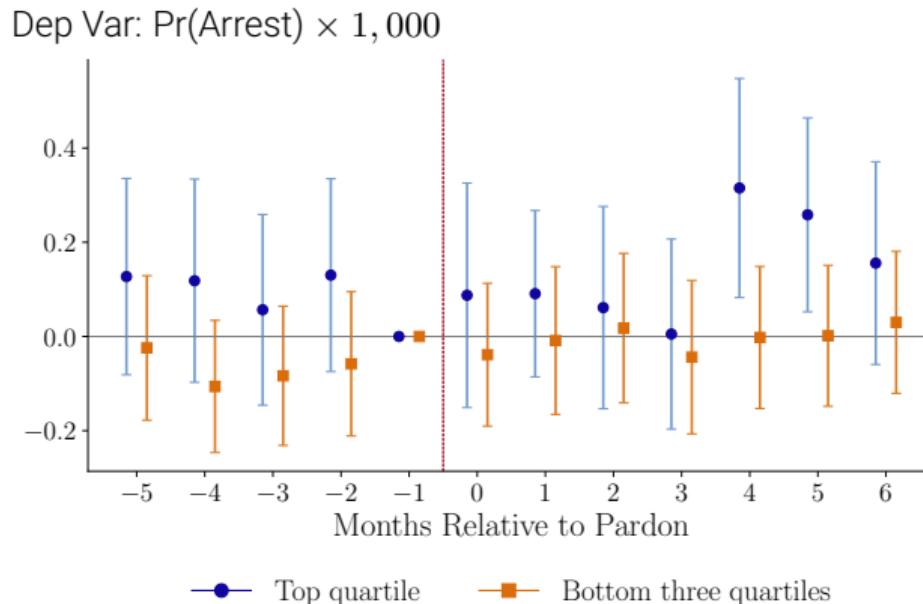
- Time in prison is criminogenic.
- Access to rehabilitation programs can mitigate the effects.

Time Served in Prison

Compare outcomes for individuals exposed to **pardoned** inmates who served different sentence lengths.

- Directly comparing inmates by time served can confound incarceration effects with offender's characteristics.
- The time effectively served by pardoned individuals depends on the timing of their arrest, not on their prior criminality.
- Distribution of time served in prison [Figure](#)

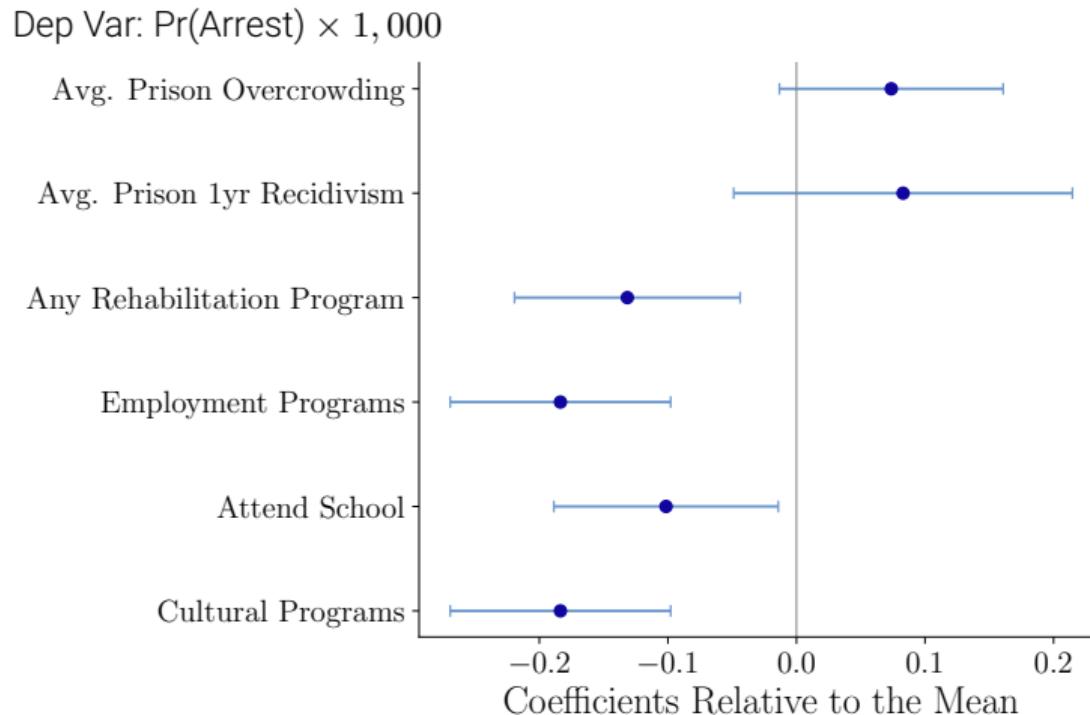
Time Served in Prison



Walt test: $\beta_{k \in [0,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.15$. $\beta_{k \in [4,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.08$

- Magnitude of effect ($t \in [4, 6]$): $\sim 30\%$ of the mean
- No difference on number of previous arrests [Figure](#)

Prison Characteristics



Roadmap

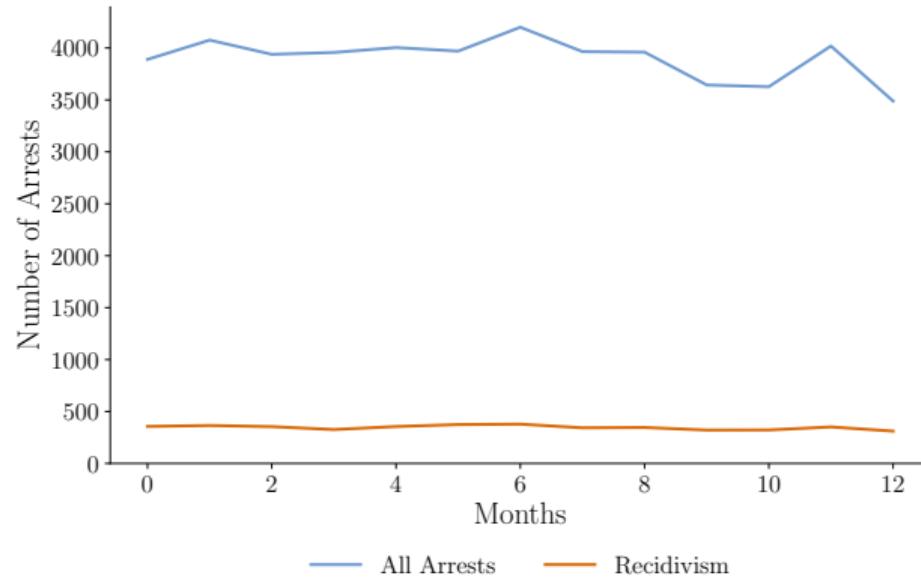
Setting and Data

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Mechanisms

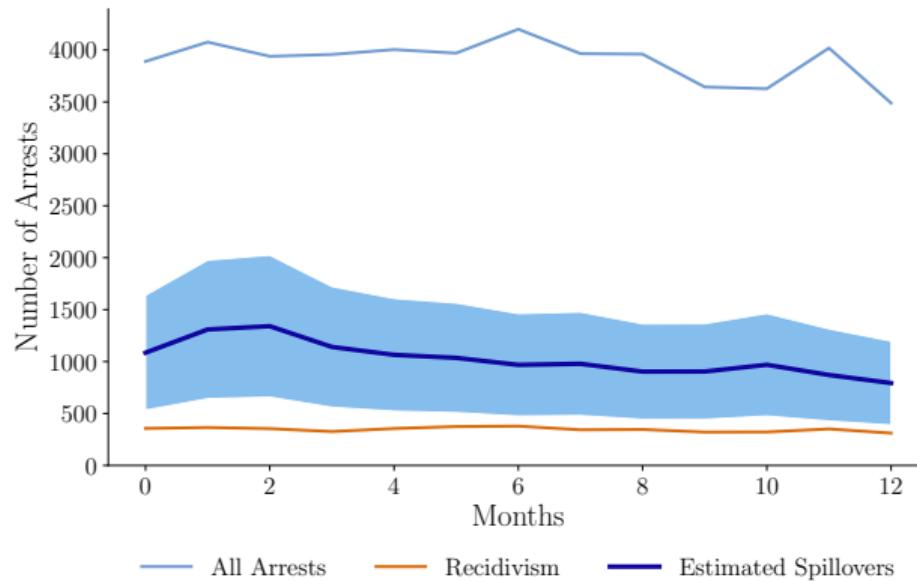
Conclusions

What Did We Learn?



Recidivism represents 9% of all reported arrests.

What Did We Learn?



Recidivism represents 9% of all reported arrests. **Released offenders' spillovers account for approximately one-quarter of all arrests.**

Conclusions

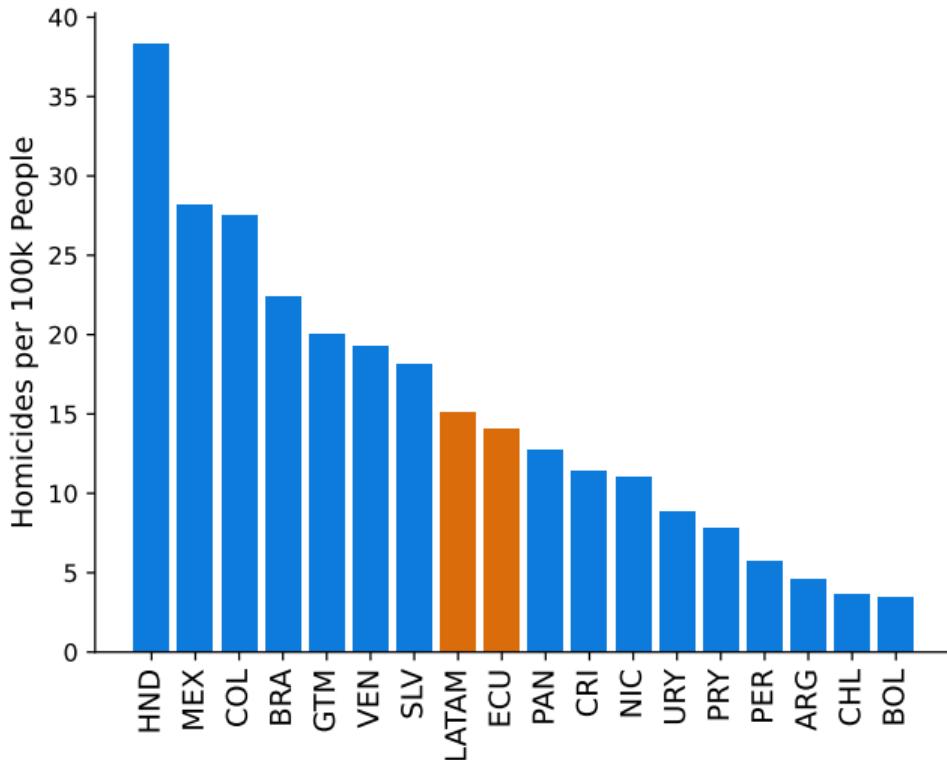
- The findings reveal an overlooked cost of incarceration: negative spillovers through released offenders.
- The results are a lower bound. The real impact can be larger due to the inclusion of minors.
- These results may extend to other Latin American countries with similar contexts of violence and incarceration policies.
- Policy implication: Increase access to rehabilitation programs to reduce negative spillovers from released offenders.

Thanks!

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Homicide Rate in Latin America, 2021

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Source: World Bank (2023)

Where do People Live?

National Electoral Registry

[Back](#)

General Population Residence

- Voting is compulsory for people between 18 and 65 years old
- People vote in the closest school to their *registered* home address
- The first voting place is tied to school records or parents' address at birth
- People can change their voting location by providing a proof of address
- Neighborhood = polling station area



Where do People Live?

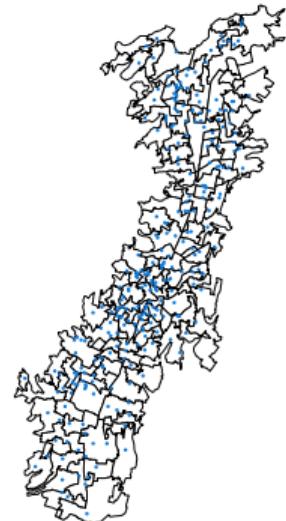
National Electoral Registry [Back](#)

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Released Offenders' Residence

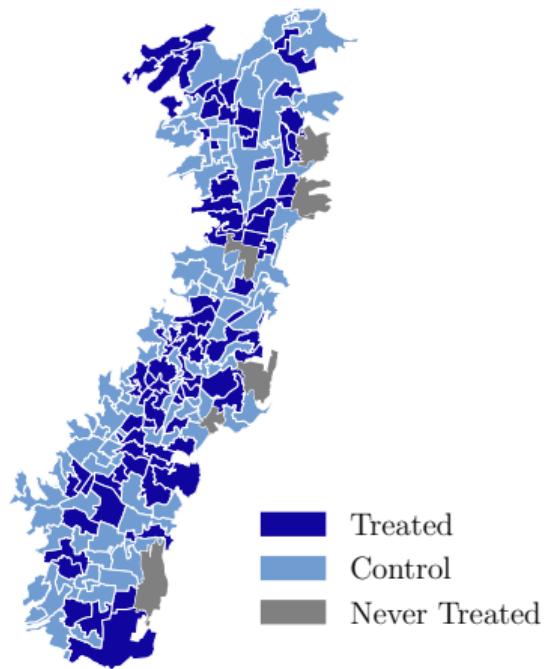
- I assign offenders to their registered neighborhood before imprisonment, i.e. where they lived when arrested. [Description](#)



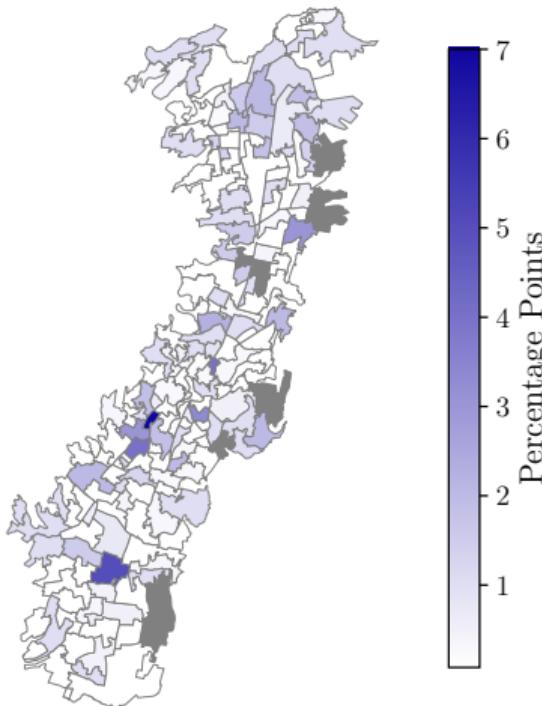
Spatial Distribution of Releases and Arrests

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Neighborhoods with Released Offenders



Variation in Arrest Rate



03282 – 2020 – 00189
CourtID *Year* *Seq.Num.*

E-SATJE 2020 - CONSULTA DE PROCESOS JUDICIALES ELECTRÓNICOS

Búsqueda avanzada

Número de proceso

Ingrese el códigoDependencia-Año-Secuencial

Actor / Ofendido

Cédula/RUC/Pasaporte

Ingrese la identificación del Actor/Ofendido

Apellido(s)/Nombre(s)

Ingrese los apellidos y nombres del Actor/Ofendido

Demandado / Procesado

Cédula/RUC/Pasaporte

Ingrese la identificación del Demandado/Procesado

Apellido(s)/Nombre(s)

Ingrese los apellidos y nombres del Demandado/Procesado

Noticia del delito

Ingrese la noticia del delito

Text Extraction

Back

N. 15 del COIP. SEIS. RESOLUCIÓN: Para el cumplimiento integral de la pena privativa de libertad impuesta al ahora PPL **CARLOS AUGUSTO MALDONADO RODRIGUEZ**, con C.I.N. **0301198131**, se desprende que ha sido sancionado mediante sentencias emitidas por los órganos de justicia en primera instancia, han sido acumuladas a **trece meses de prisión** correccional, pues en materia del Garantías Penitenciarias y en razón de anteceder a esta mediante resolución de ACUMULACIÓN de pena y el COMPUTO DE PENA, se tiene la fecha en la que recobraría la libertad el sentenciado, por las sanciones impuestas en las causas penales N. 03281-2019-00349 y 03281-2019-0351. Por las consideraciones expuestas, el Suscrito Juez de la Unidad Judicial Penal Multicompetente del Cantón Cañar, con competencia para resolver asuntos relacionados con Garantías Penitenciarias, dispone que **CARLOS AUGUSTO MALDONADO RODRIGUEZ**, hasta el **20 de junio del año 2020** cumpliría en su totalidad la pena a él impuesta, y en atención a lo indicado en el Art. 72 N. 1 del COIP, por el cumplimiento integral de la pena se declara a partir de la fecha antes indicada EXTINGUIDA la misma, por lo que se emitirá la respectiva boleta de excarcelación al tiempo del cumplimiento de la pena y por consiguiente se procederá a ponerse inmediatamente en libertad a **CARLOS AUGUSTO MALDONADO RODRIGUEZ** en la fecha antes indicada; esto únicamente en lo que refiere a las causas por las que se deja indicado, sin perjuicio de que pueda continuar privado de su libertad en caso de que hubieren otras órdenes de privación de libertad en su contra, por lo que previamente deberá verificarse el particular el funcionario que corresponde en el CPLPAC. Para que surta efecto se librará la correspondiente Boleta de Excacelación, la misma que será dirigida al señor Coordinador del Centro de Privación de Libertad de Personas Adultas en Conflicto con la Ley de la ciudad de Cañar. Tómese nota de esta resolución para los libros físicos respectivos. NOTIFIQUESE.

Arrest Information

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E-SATJE 2020 - CONSULTA DE PROCESOS JUDICIALES ELECTRÓNICOS

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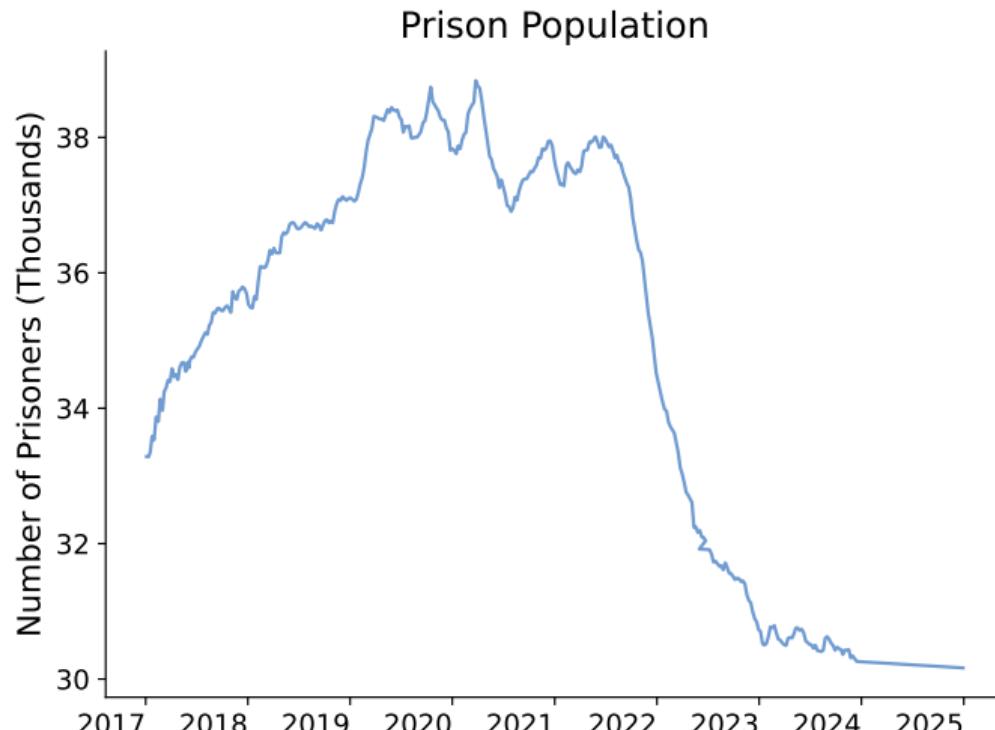
Nombres y Apellidos del Demandado/ GLAS ESPINEL JORGE
Procesado:

[Datos generales](#)

Número de proceso	177212019000336	Fecha ingreso	25/07/2019 07:38
Materia	PENAL COIP	Tipo de acción	ACCIÓN PENAL PÚBLICA
Delito/Asunto	278 PECULADO	Judicatura	SALA ESPECIALIZADA DE LO PENAL, PENAL MILITAR, PENAL POLICIAL, TRÁNSITO, CORRUPCIÓN Y CRIMEN ORGANIZADO DE LA CORTE NACIONAL DE JUSTICIA
Actor/Ofendido:	Consejo De Participación Ciudadana Y Control Social, Contraloría General Del Estado, Procuraduría General Del Estado, Fiscalía General Del Estado, Cárdenas Aguilar Priscila Vanessa		
Demandado/Procesado:	Pablo Ernesto Ortiz Hidalgo, Glas Espinel Jorge David, Solis Valarezo Walter Hipólito, Bernal Alvarado Carlos Andrés		

Number of Incarcerated Individuals

Mass Pardon in Ecuador [Back](#)



Source: SNAI (2024)

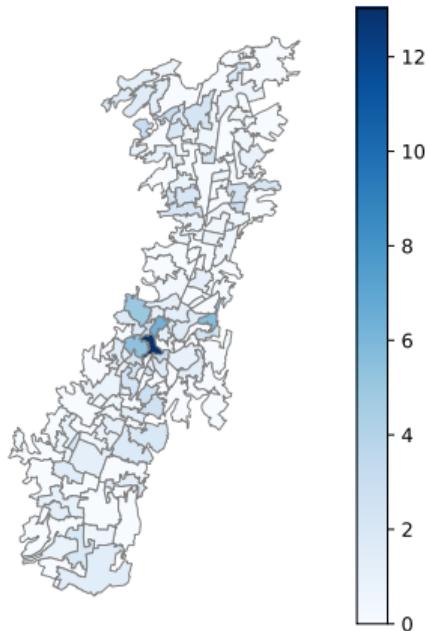
Prisoners' Residence

[Back](#)

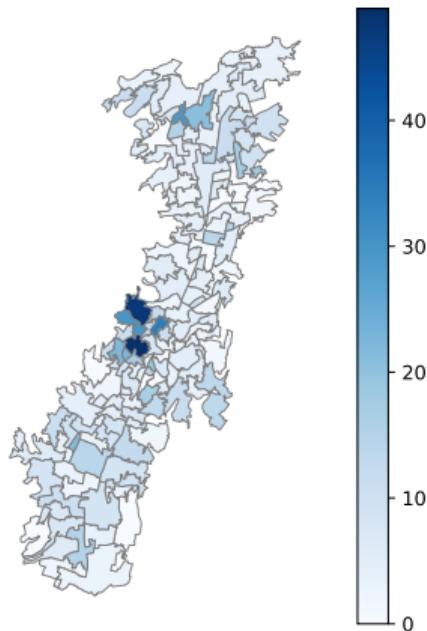
- While at prison they vote inside the jail
- Upon release they are assigned a place to vote based on their new registered address
 - Conditional Release: They have to live at a known place with family support.
 - Served Sentence: Free to live wherever they want

Release and Arrest Rates in Quito

Release Rate per 1,000 people



Arrest Rate per 1,000 people



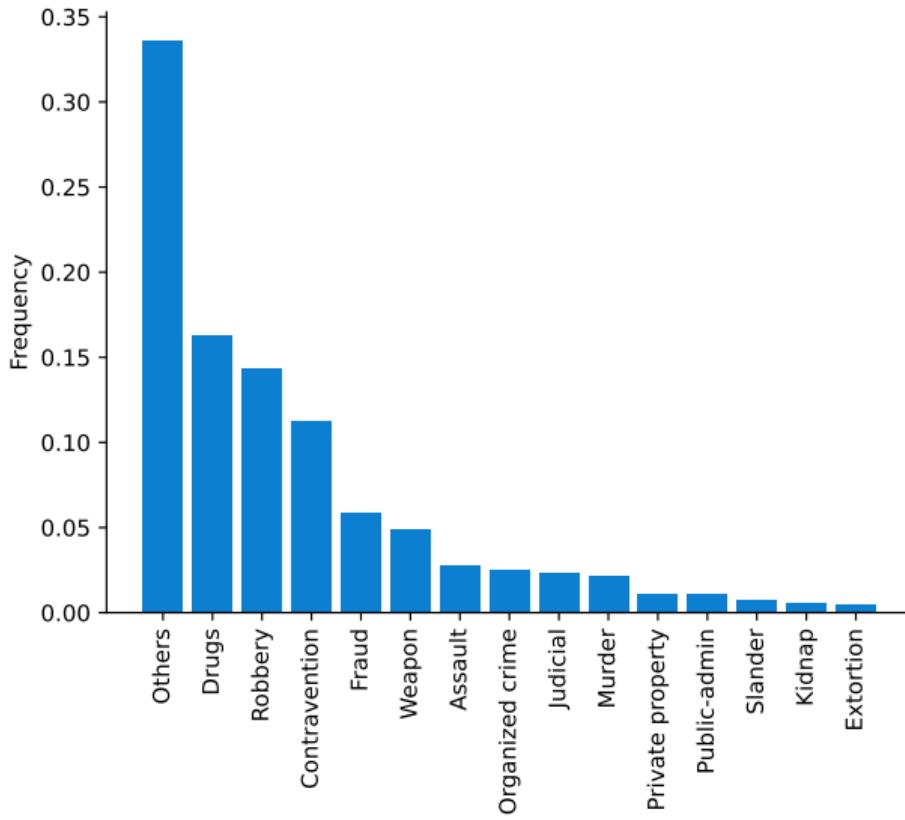
Summary Statistics

Men between 18 and 40 years old, living in urban areas [Back](#)

	Mean	SD	Min	p50	Max	N
Age	28.090	6.344	18.000	27.600	40.000	19,655,082
Previous Arrest = 1	0.066	0.248	0.000	0.000	1.000	19,655,082
Last Name Freq. in Neighborhood	0.029	0.048	0.000	0.012	1.216	19,655,082
Same cohort as RO	0.188	0.391	0.000	0.000	1.000	19,655,082
Same Last Name as RO	0.066	0.248	0.000	0.000	1.000	19,655,082
Same Criminal Network as RO	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.000	1.000	19,655,082
Pr(Arrest) × 1000	0.778	27.889	0.000	0.000	1,000.000	19,655,082
N. Arrests × 1000	0.807	29.592	0.000	0.000	9,000.000	19,655,082
Pr(Group Arrest) × 1000	0.261	16.160	0.000	0.000	1,000.000	19,655,082
Pr(Arrest with 1yr RO) × 1000	0.037	6.044	0.000	0.000	1,000.000	19,655,082

Notes: Unit of observation, person-by-month between September 2021 and August 2022.

Crime Distribution by Categories



Summary Statistics by Neighborhood

All Neighborhoods in Sample [Back](#)

	Mean	SD	Min	p50	Max	N
N. Men (18-40)	1,060.657	917.268	50.000	853.000	8,402.000	29,592
Any Release	0.133	0.339	0.000	0.000	1.000	29,592
N. Releases	0.165	0.470	0.000	0.000	5.000	29,592
Release Rate	0.139	0.534	0.000	0.000	16.393	29,592

Summary Statistics by Released Offenders

All Releases between 2016-2022 [Back](#)

	N	Mean	SD	Min	p50	Max
Male	50,270	0.883	0.321	0.000	1.000	1.000
Age at Release	50,279	33.902	10.035	18.096	32.085	64.995
Age at Entry	50,279	31.585	9.718	18.011	29.636	64.975
Time in Jail (months)	50,279	28.188	30.782	0.033	19.100	400.300
Conditional Release=1	50,279	0.501	0.500	0.000	1.000	1.000
Same Neighborhood	33,724	0.954	0.208	0.000	1.000	1.000
Nh Release = 1st Neighborhood	33,967	0.735	0.441	0.000	1.000	1.000

Summary Statistics by Released Offenders

Releases between Sept 2021- August 2022 [Back](#)

	N	Mean	SD	Min	p50	Max
Male	4,552	0.893	0.309	0.000	1.000	1.000
Age at Release	4,552	33.103	9.899	18.164	31.012	64.953
Age at Entry	4,552	30.909	9.608	18.033	28.790	64.230
Time in Jail (months)	4,552	26.691	25.610	0.033	20.267	266.100
Conditional Release=1	4,552	0.363	0.481	0.000	0.000	1.000
Nh Release = 1st Neighborhood	4,460	0.745	0.436	0.000	1.000	1.000

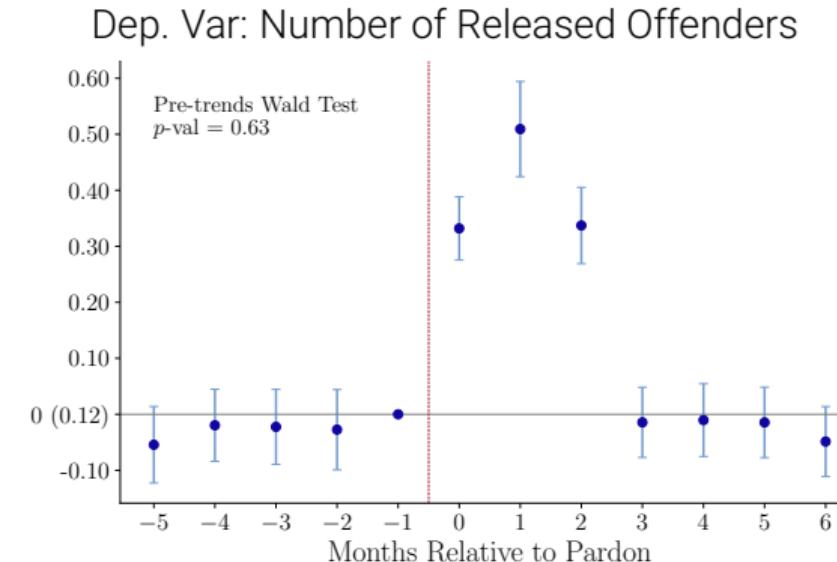
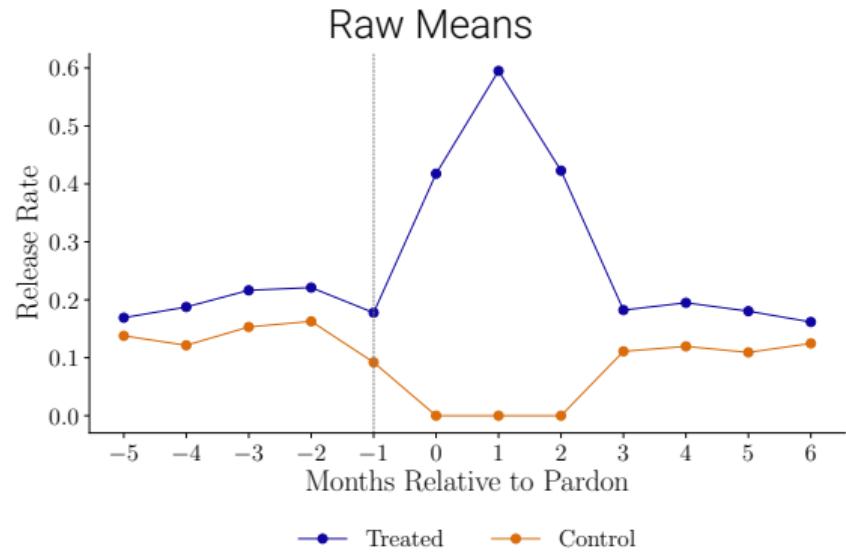
Mean Comparison between treatment and control

Back

	Treated		Control		t-stat
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	T - C
Age	27.857	6.344	28.919	6.278	-6.936
Previous Arrest = 1	0.067	0.250	0.062	0.241	7.335
Last Name Freq. in Neighborhood	0.026	0.042	0.038	0.065	-7.781
Pr(Arrest) × 1000	0.831	28.821	0.590	24.291	2.177
N. Arrests × 1000	0.861	30.456	0.615	26.288	-1.215
Pr(Group Arrest) × 1000	0.286	16.920	0.172	13.102	4.195
Pr(Arrest with 1yr RO) × 1000	0.042	6.484	0.017	4.113	2.443

Pardon and Release Rate

[Back](#)



On average, the number of released offenders by 1,000 residents in treated neighborhoods increased by **0.17 (113% relative to the mean)** compared to control neighborhoods.

Effect of Mass Pardon on Releases

TWFE Estimation [Back](#)

$$y_{nt} = \beta \text{Mass Pardon}_{nt} + \alpha_n + \delta_t + \mu_{nt}$$

	Release Rate	Number of Releases	Any Release
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mass Pardon	0.1217*** (0.0100)	0.1051*** (0.0120)	0.0930*** (0.0078)
N. Neighborhoods	1,665	1,665	1,665
Mean Dep. Var	0.1214	0.1759	0.1356
Observations	19,980	19,980	19,980

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect of Mass Pardon on Releases

All Neighborhoods [Back](#)

	Release Rate (1)	Number of Releases (2)	Any Release (3)
After Feb-2022	0.0258** (0.0111)	0.0469*** (0.0097)	0.0269*** (0.0072)
N. Neighborhoods	2,466	2,466	2,466
Mean Dep. Var	0.1395	0.1649	0.1329
Observations	29,592	29,592	29,592

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Matched Neighborhoods - Balance Test

Back

	Treated		Control		T - C	
	Mean (1)	SD (2)	Mean (3)	SD (4)	Diff (5)	p-value (6)
Release Rate ($t = [-11, -6]$)	1.05	1.34	1.01	2.02	0.04	0.74
Arrest Rate ($t = [-11, -6]$)	7.95	4.56	7.61	5.09	0.34	0.29
Number of People	8,025	7,429	8,075	6,591	-51	0.80
Share of Formal Employment	0.20	0.07	0.21	0.07	-0.00	0.47
Share of Men	0.48	0.01	0.48	0.01	0.00	0.97
Years of Education	4.06	0.15	4.04	0.15	0.02	0.11
Access to Public Services	0.11	0.86	0.18	0.73	-0.07	0.21
N. Neighborhoods	775		775			

Impact of the Mass Pardon on Arrests

Back

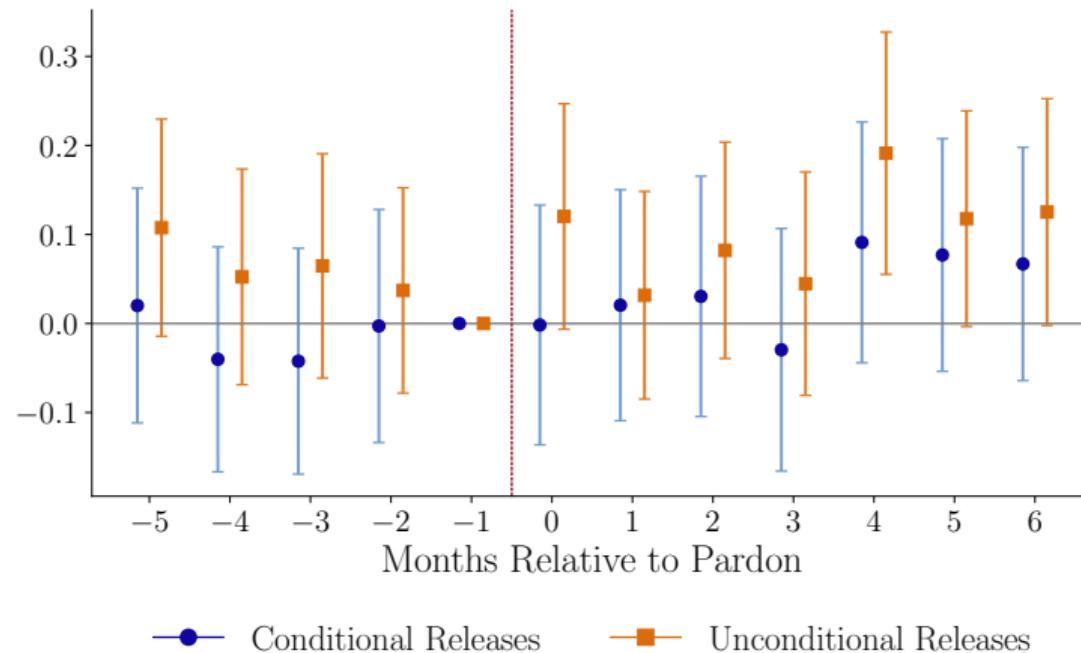
	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated & Post Pardon = 1	0.0616*** (0.0215)	0.0502** (0.0212)	0.0621*** (0.0228)	0.0506** (0.0225)
Neighborhood FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	Yes	No	Yes	No
N. Neighborhoods	2,195	2,195	2,195	2,195
Mean Dep. Var.	0.7506	0.7390	0.7780	0.7661
Observations	30,591,926	30,574,516	30,591,926	30,574,516

Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-month pair. The time span goes between September 2021 and August 2022. Robust standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Heterogeneity by Type of Release

[Back](#)

Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$

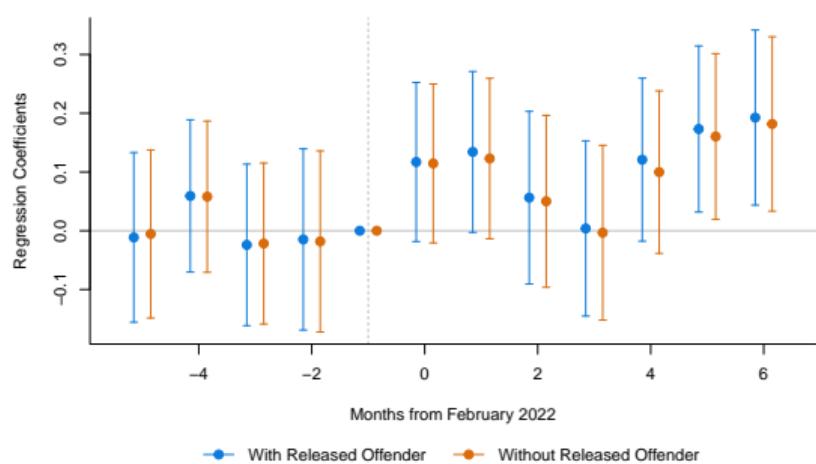


Walt test: $\beta_{k \in [0,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.85$. $\beta_{k \in [4,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.70$

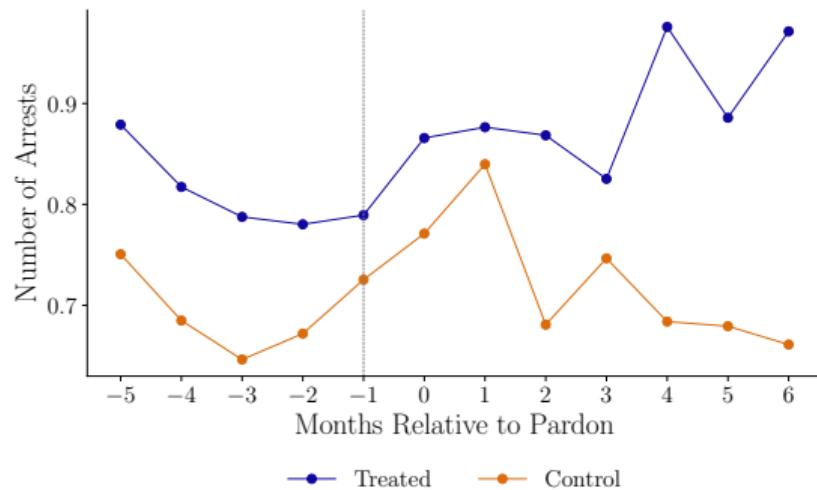
Impact of the Mass Pardon on Arrests

[Back](#)

Dep. Var: Probability of Arrest (x 1000)



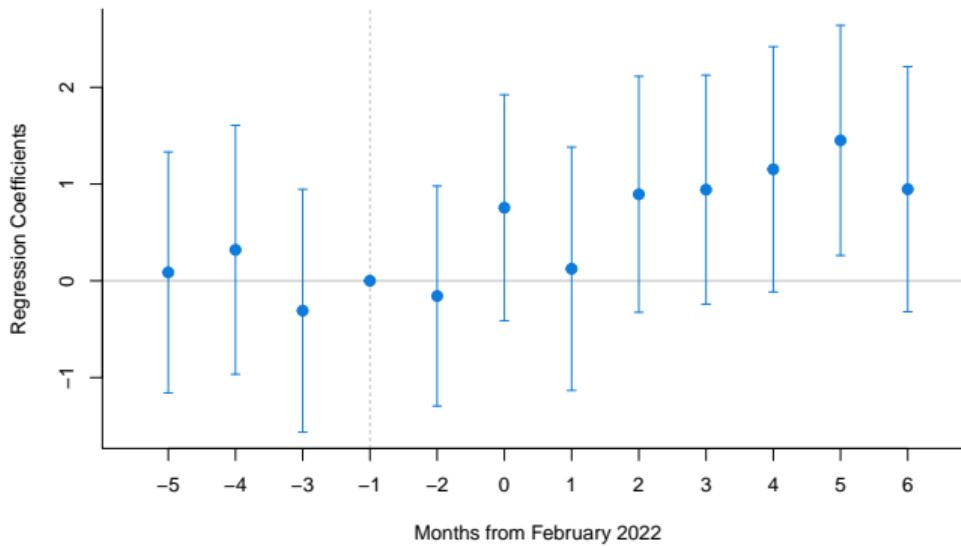
Raw Means - Only Spillovers



Heterogeneity by Criminal Records

Back

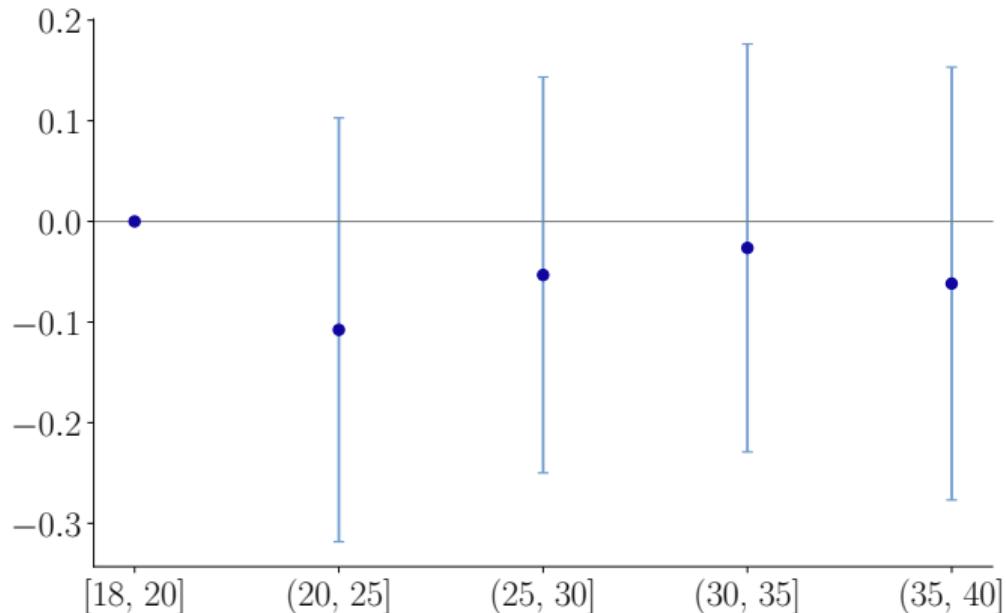
$$y_{int} = \beta \text{Criminal Record}_i \times \text{Mass Pardon}_{nt} + X'_{int} \gamma + \alpha_n + \delta_t + \mu_{int}$$



- Table with estimates [Table](#)
- Event study plots by sub-sample [Figures](#)

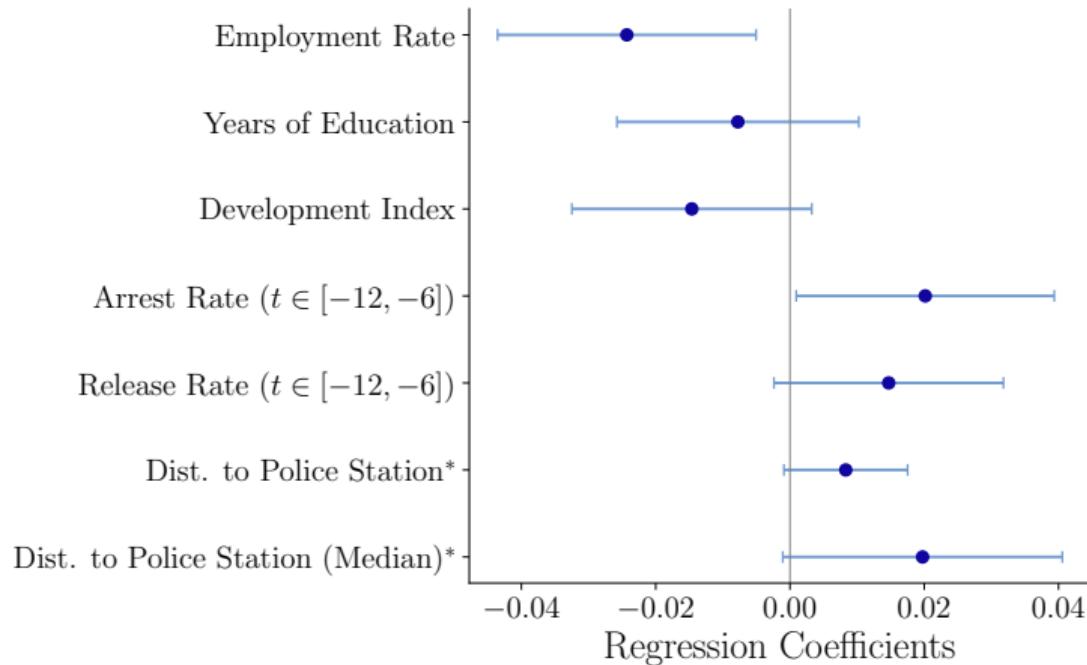
Arrests by Residents' Age

[Back](#)



Neighborhoods' Characteristics

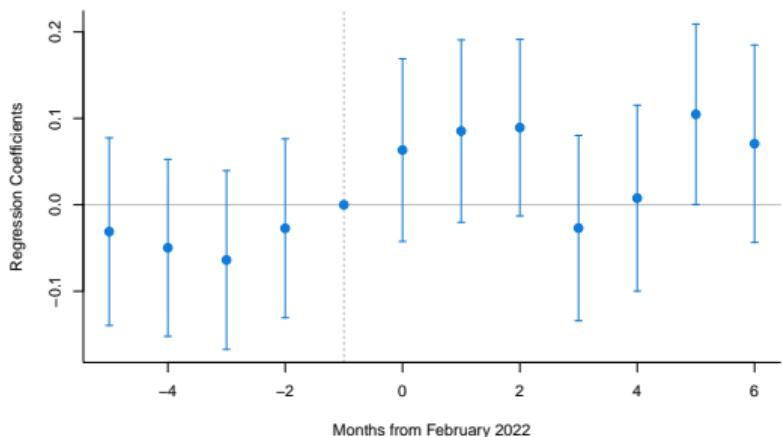
[Back](#)



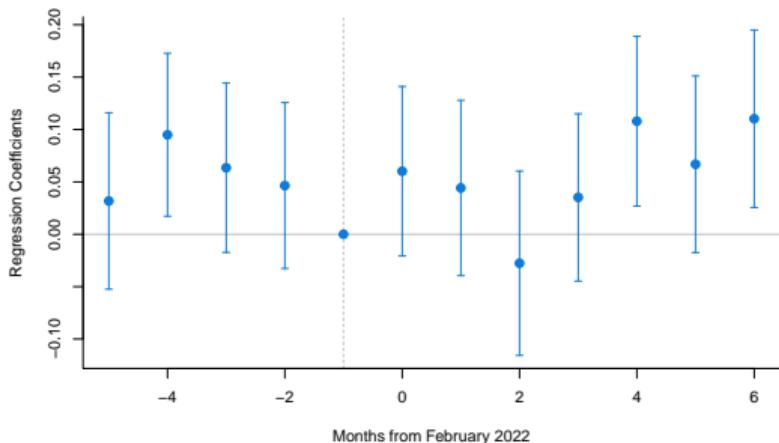
Effects by Type of Crime

[Back](#)

Economic Motivated Crimes

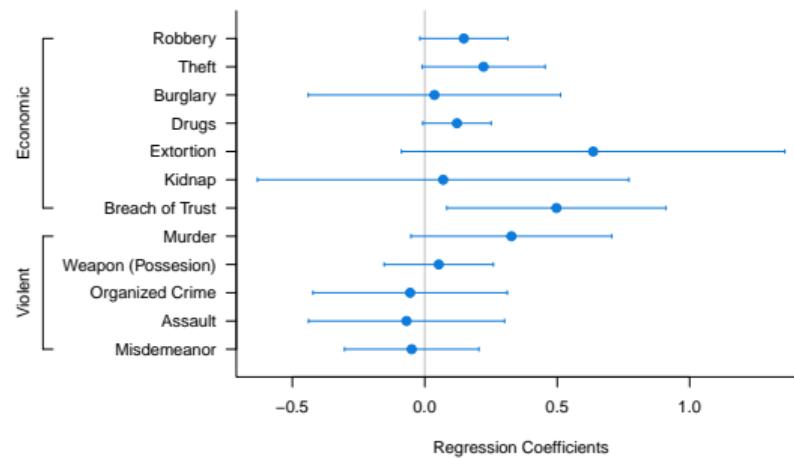


Violent Crimes



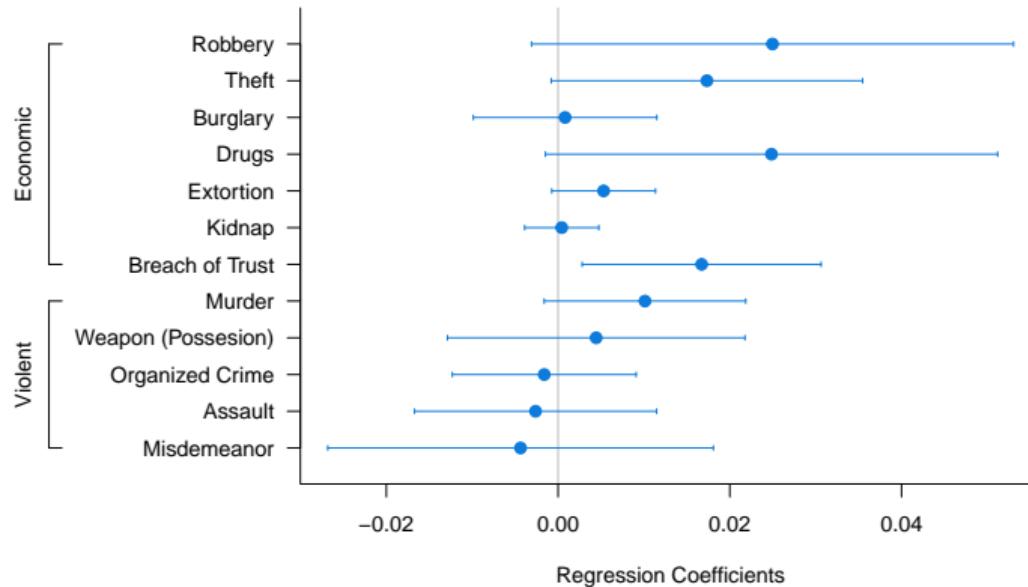
Effects by Type of Crime Relative to the Mean

[Back](#)



What Crimes responded?

Dependent Variables: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest by Crime}) \times 1000$ [Back](#)



- Event-Study plots for economic and violent crimes [Figures](#)
- Effects relative to the mean [Figure](#)

Heterogeneity by Criminal Experience

Back

	P(Arrest) (1)	P(Group Arrest) (2)	P(Arrest RO) - 1yr (3)
Post Feb22 × Criminal Experience	-0.3841* (0.1979)	0.0780 (0.1240)	-0.1486** (0.0656)
Criminal Experience × treated = 1	0.7401*** (0.2193)	0.5220*** (0.1158)	-0.0197 (0.0649)
Criminal Experience	3.218*** (0.1840)	0.7436*** (0.0956)	0.3189*** (0.0586)
Mass Pardon	0.0474* (0.0249)	0.0500*** (0.0139)	0.0056** (0.0028)
Mass Pardon × Criminal Experience	0.9053*** (0.2430)	0.2266 (0.1505)	0.2932*** (0.0772)
Neighborhood-Event FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

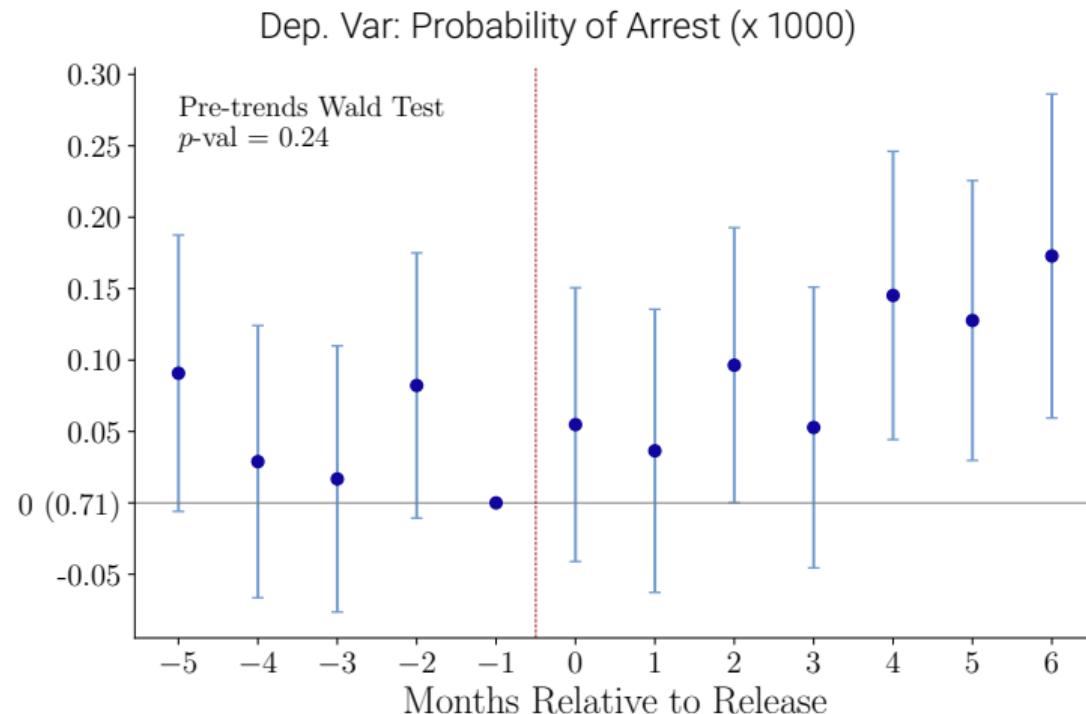
Staggered Treatment [Back](#)

	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mass Pardon	0.1053*** (0.0303)	0.1166*** (0.0306)	0.1061*** (0.0327)	0.1177*** (0.0329)
Neighborhood-Event FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	No	Yes	No	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7932	0.7932	0.8219	0.8219
Observations	18,821,329	18,833,967	18,821,329	18,833,967

Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between August 2021 and August 2022, a bandwidth of six months around the pardon date. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect size: ~ 13% of the mean

Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests - Staggered Outcome



Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

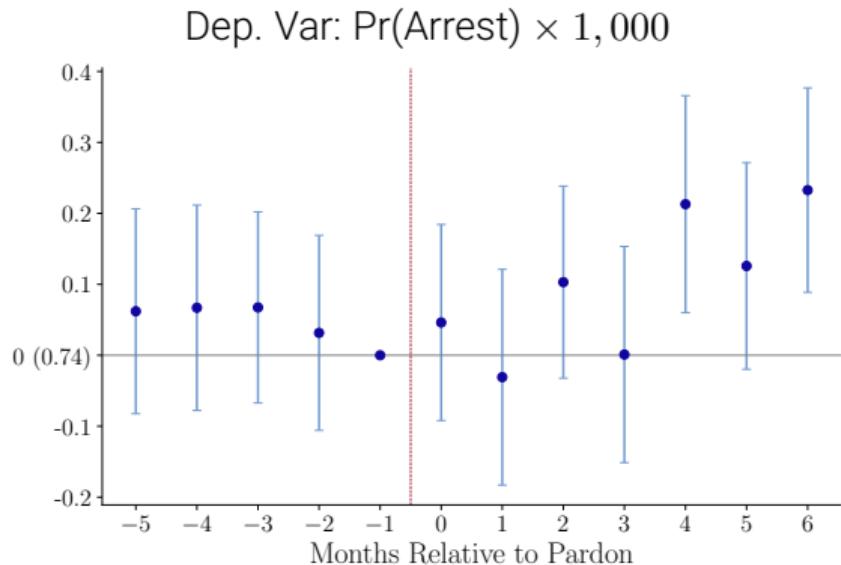
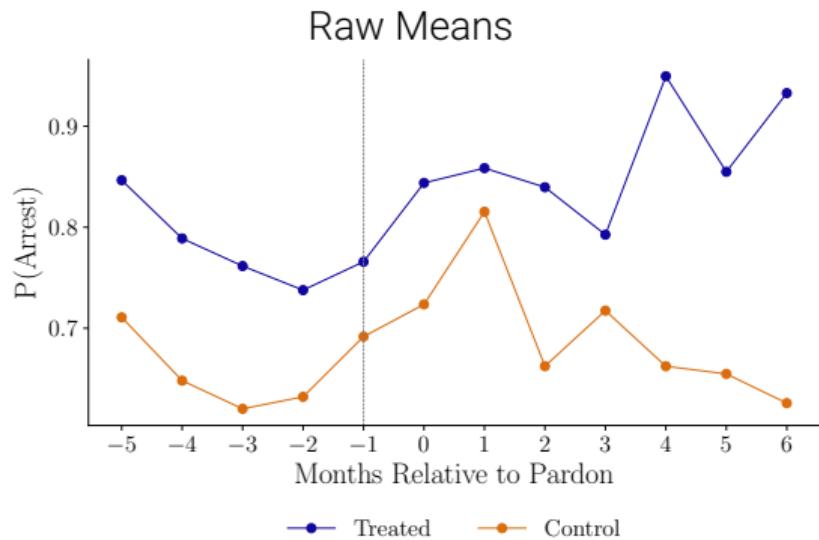
Matching to Any Neighborhood [Back](#)

	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mass Pardon	0.0543** (0.0265)	0.0644** (0.0267)	0.0487* (0.0283)	0.0590** (0.0284)
Neighborhood FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	No	Yes	No	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7713	0.7713	0.7984	0.7984
Observations	20,791,129	20,804,234	20,791,129	20,804,234

Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between August 2021 and August 2022, a bandwidth of six months around the pardon date. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect size: $\sim 8\%$ of the mean

Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests - Matched Sample

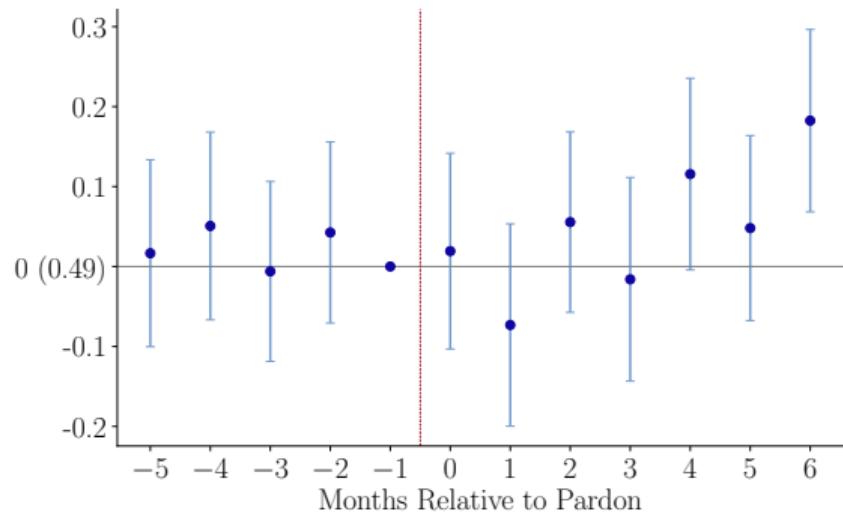


Back

Effects by Criminal Experience - Matched Sample

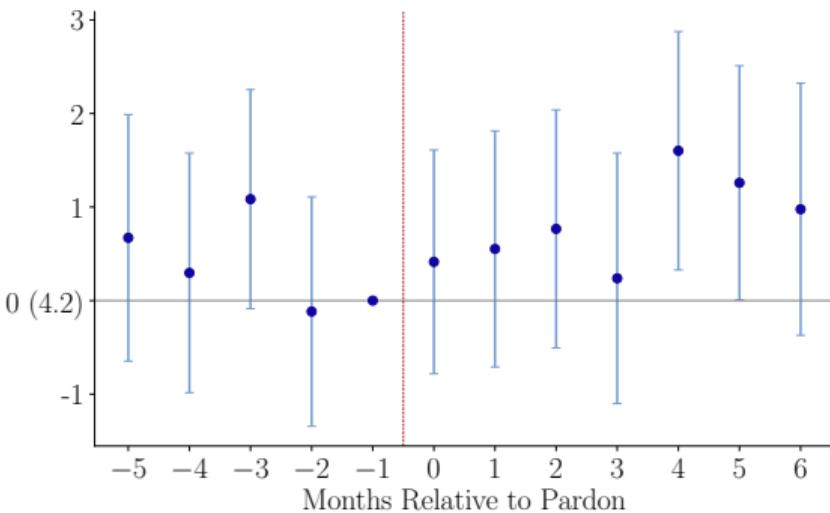
Without Criminal Records

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



With Criminal Records

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



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Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

Matching to Neighborhood Outside City [Back](#)

	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mass Pardon	0.0542** (0.0255)	0.0643** (0.0257)	0.0485* (0.0272)	0.0588** (0.0273)
Neighborhood FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	No	Yes	No	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,665	1,665	1,665	1,665
Mean Dep. Var	0.7599	0.7599	0.7864	0.7864
Observations	21,363,345	21,376,461	21,363,345	21,376,461

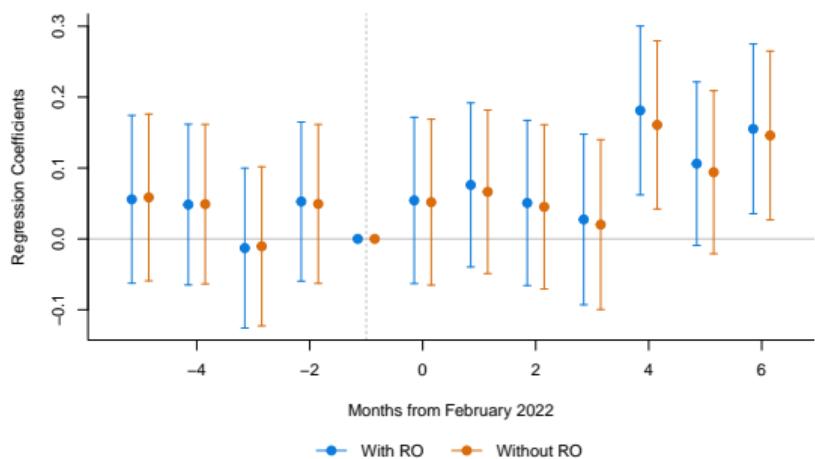
Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between August 2021 and August 2022, a bandwidth of six months around the pardon date. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect size: $\sim 7\%$ of the mean

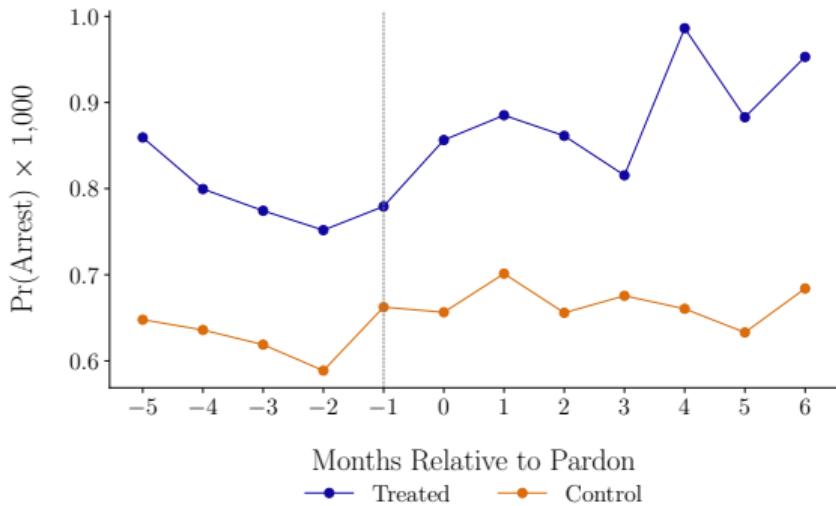
Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

Matching to Neighborhood Outside City [Back](#)

Dep. Var: Probability of Arrest (x 1000)



Raw Means - Only Spillovers



Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

All crimes [Back](#)

	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mass Pardon	0.1027*** (0.0315)	0.1139*** (0.0317)	0.0994*** (0.0338)	0.1107*** (0.0339)
idgroup FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	No	Yes	No	Yes
N. Neighborhoods				
Mean Dep. Var	0.8604	0.8604	0.8919	0.8919
Observations	19,655,082	19,668,186	19,655,082	19,668,186

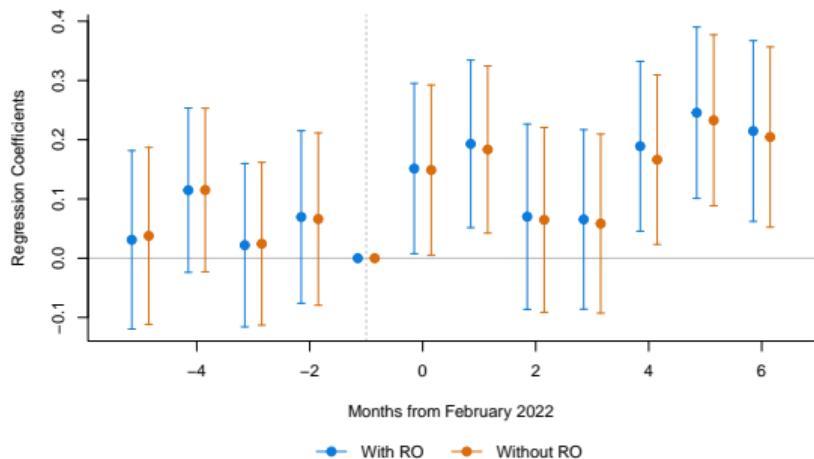
Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between August 2021 and August 2022, a bandwidth of six months around the pardon date. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect size: ~ 12% of the mean

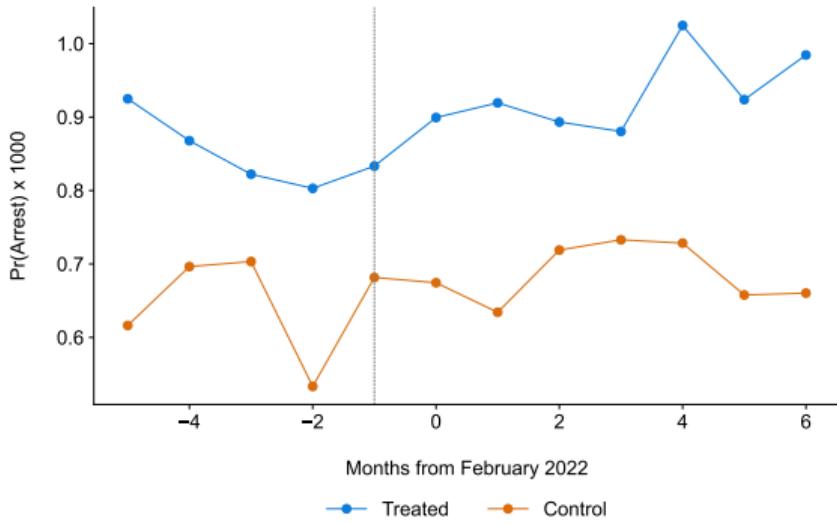
Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

All crimes [Back](#)

Dep. Var: Probability of Arrest (x 1000)



Raw Means - Only Spillovers



Mass Pardon's Effects on Arrests

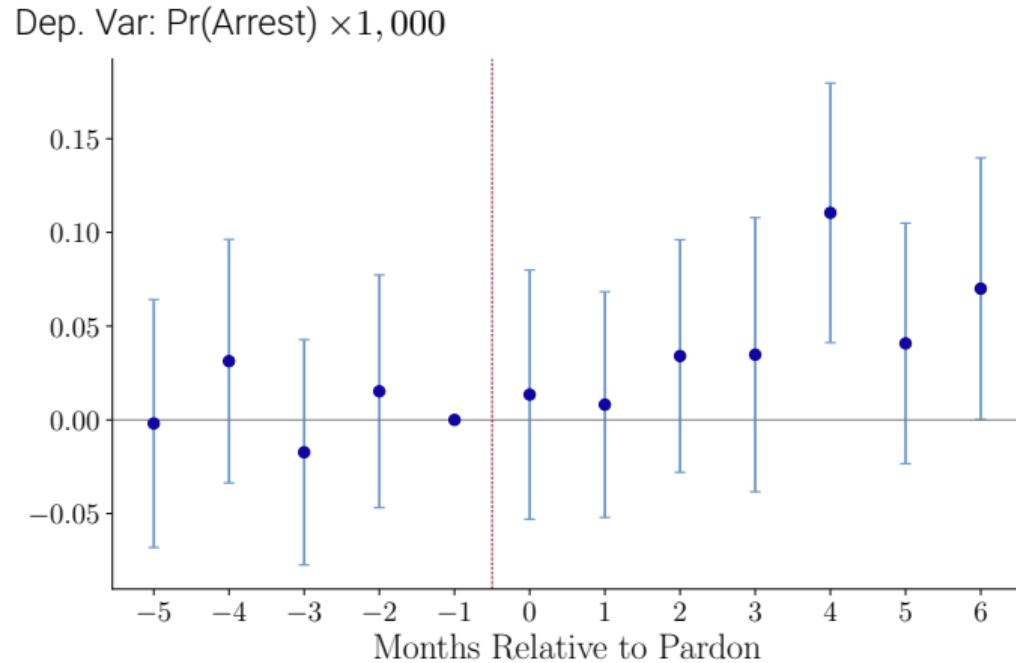
Continuous Treatment [Back](#)

	P(Arrest) x 1000		N. Arrests x 1000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mass Pardon	0.0511*** (0.0175)	0.0646*** (0.0181)	0.0575*** (0.0186)	0.0716*** (0.0191)
idgroup FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Includes Offenders	No	Yes	No	Yes
N. Neighborhoods				
Mean Dep. Var	0.7926	0.7926	0.8213	0.8213
Observations	19,655,082	19,668,186	19,655,082	19,668,186

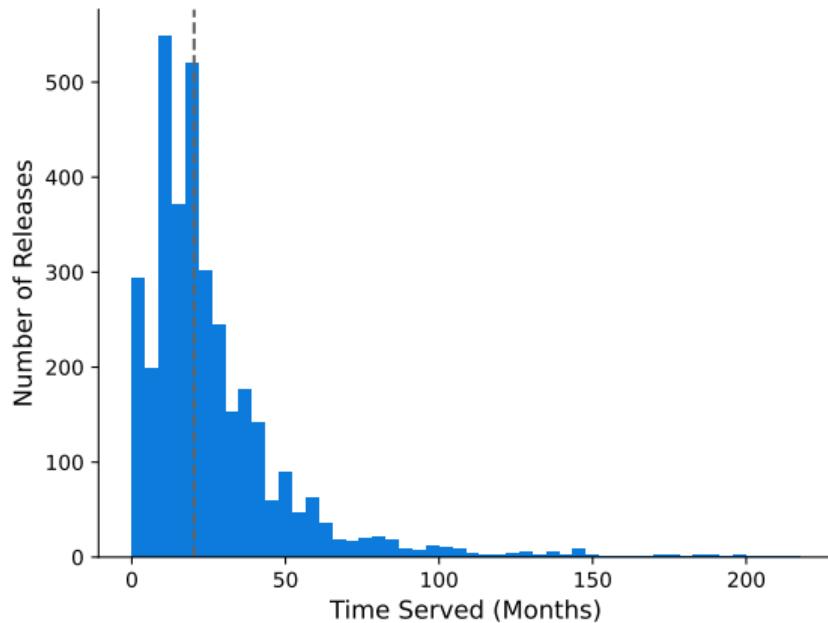
Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Effect size: ~ 6% of the mean

Treatment: Release Rate per 1,000 People



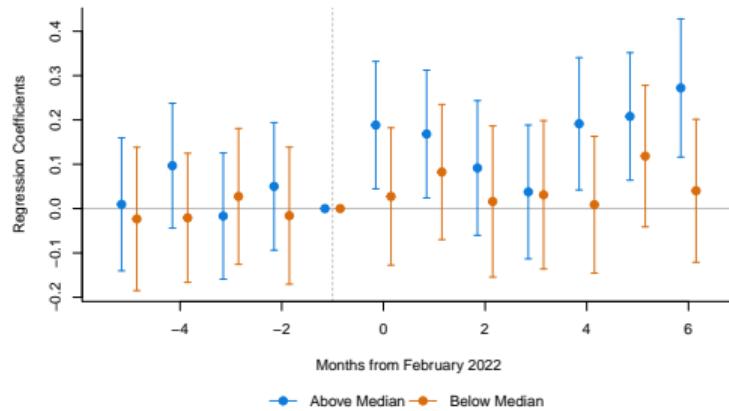
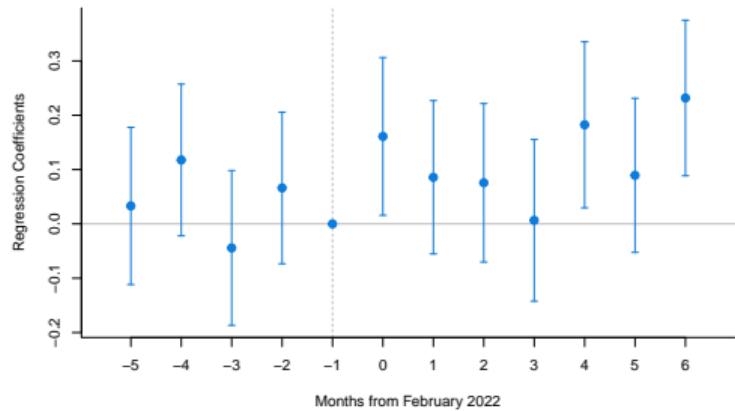
Distribution of Time Served in Prison



Back

Pr(Arrests) by Time in Prison

Sum of Tenure Across Released Offenders [Back](#)



Pr(Arrests) by Time in Prison

Sum Tenure of Released Offenders [Back](#)

	Arrest (1)	Group Arrest (2)	With RO (1yr) (3)
Mass Pardon	0.0529 (0.0342)	0.0573*** (0.0197)	0.0259*** (0.0068)
edad	-0.0335*** (0.0015)	-0.0142*** (0.0008)	-0.0029*** (0.0003)
prev_arrest	4.105*** (0.0829)	1.352*** (0.0430)	0.3614*** (0.0192)
Mass Pardon × Above Median	0.0846** (0.0331)	0.0120 (0.0191)	-0.0027 (0.0070)
Neighborhood-Event FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and

* $p < 0.1$.

Pr(Arrests) by Time in Prison

Max Tenure of Released Offenders [Back](#)

	Arrest (1)	Group Arrest (2)	With RO (1yr) (3)
Mass Pardon	0.0510 (0.0346)	0.0448** (0.0197)	0.0277*** (0.0069)
edad	-0.0335*** (0.0015)	-0.0142*** (0.0008)	-0.0029*** (0.0003)
prev_arrest	4.105*** (0.0829)	1.352*** (0.0430)	0.3614*** (0.0192)
Mass Pardon × Above Median	0.0921*** (0.0334)	0.0344* (0.0191)	-0.0060 (0.0071)
Neighborhood-Event FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and

* $p < 0.1$.

Family Connections

Back

	Dep. Var.: Prob(Arrest) x 1000				
	With a Released Offender				
	Any (1)	In Group (2)	1 year (3)	6 moths (4)	3 months (5)
Same Surname	0.2744*** (0.0408)	0.1438*** (0.0289)	0.0348*** (0.0111)	0.0096 (0.0066)	0.0073* (0.0038)
Treated Nh × Same Surname	-0.1604** (0.0737)	-0.0970* (0.0517)	-0.0215 (0.0164)	-0.0076 (0.0125)	-0.0020 (0.0057)
Mass Pardon	0.0941*** (0.0297)	0.0599*** (0.0164)	0.0212*** (0.0057)	0.0130*** (0.0038)	0.0073*** (0.0024)
Mass Pardon × Same Surname	0.1178* (0.0625)	0.0561 (0.0424)	0.0370*** (0.0141)	0.0073 (0.0096)	0.0048 (0.0057)
Neighborhood FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var.	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365	0.0163	0.0078
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Family Connections

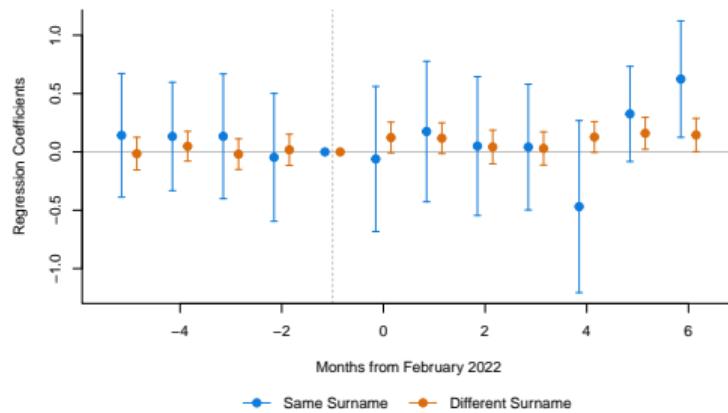
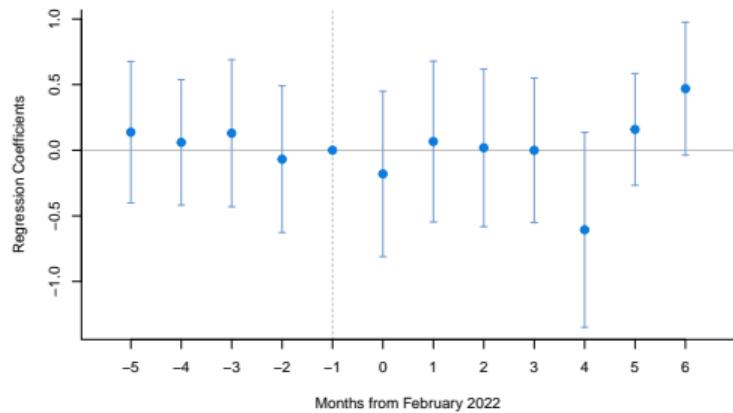
Input Surnames to Matched Controls [Back](#)

	Dep. Var.: Prob(Arrest) x 1000				
	With a Released Offender				
	Any (1)	In Group (2)	1 year (3)	6 moths (4)	3 months (5)
Same Surname	0.2744*** (0.0408)	0.1438*** (0.0289)	0.0348*** (0.0111)	0.0096 (0.0066)	0.0073* (0.0038)
Treated Nh × Same Surname	-0.1604** (0.0737)	-0.0970* (0.0517)	-0.0215 (0.0164)	-0.0076 (0.0125)	-0.0020 (0.0057)
Mass Pardon	0.0941*** (0.0297)	0.0599*** (0.0164)	0.0212*** (0.0057)	0.0130*** (0.0038)	0.0073*** (0.0024)
Mass Pardon × Same Surname	0.1178* (0.0625)	0.0561 (0.0424)	0.0370*** (0.0141)	0.0073 (0.0096)	0.0048 (0.0057)
Neighborhood FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var.	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365	0.0163	0.0078
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

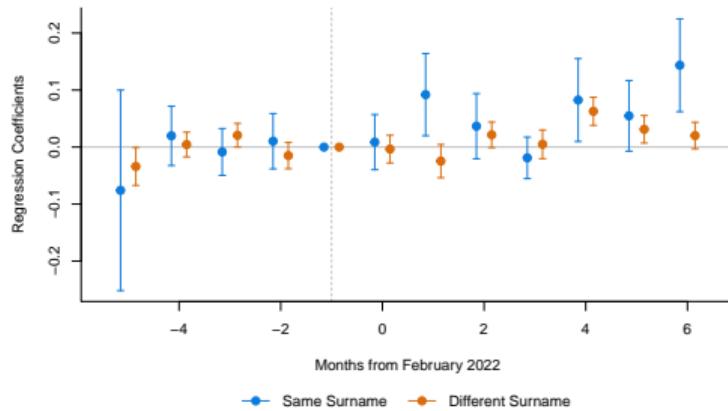
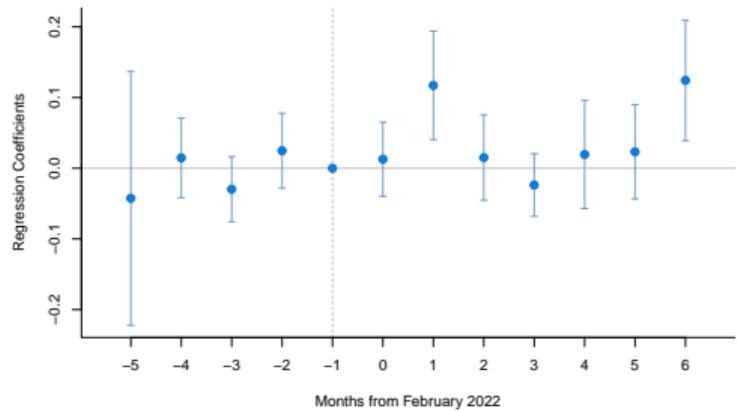
Family Connections

Input Surnames to Matched Controls [Back](#)



Family Connections

Input Surnames to Matched Controls [Back](#)



Lived Always in the Same Neighborhood

Back

	Arrest (1)	Group Arrest (2)	With RO (1yr) (3)
Mass Pardon	0.0264 (0.0355)	0.0177 (0.0209)	0.0122* (0.0072)
edad	-0.0335*** (0.0015)	-0.0142*** (0.0008)	-0.0029*** (0.0003)
prev_arrest	4.105*** (0.0829)	1.352*** (0.0430)	0.3614*** (0.0192)
Mass Pardon × Same Neighborhood	0.0965*** (0.0324)	0.0584*** (0.0195)	0.0151** (0.0070)
Neighborhood-Event FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var	0.7784	0.2612	0.0365
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between September 2021 and August 2022. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Likelihood of Group Arrests

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	Arrest with a Released Offender			
	No (1)	1 year (2)	6 months (3)	3 months (4)
Mass Pardon	0.0646*** (0.0163)	0.0243*** (0.0057)	0.0136*** (0.0038)	0.0077*** (0.0024)
Neighborhood-Event FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550
Mean Dep. Var. Dep	0.2612	0.0365	0.0163	0.0078
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082

Notes: The unit of observation is an individual-by-time pair. The time span goes between September 2021 and August 2022. Standard errors clustered by neighborhood in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.1$.

Neighborhoods' Characteristics

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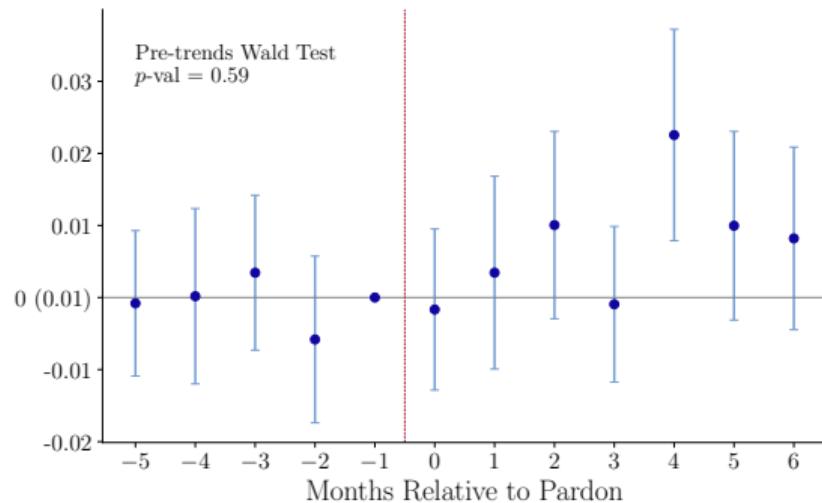
	Pr(Arrests) × 1000				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dev. Index	0.0274 (0.0292)				
Years of Education		0.0284 (0.0290)			
Any Employment			-0.0147 (0.0307)		
Formal Employment				0.0010 (0.0272)	
Dist. Police (ln+1)					-0.0592*** (0.0176)
Neighborhood-Event FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. Neighborhoods	1,550	1,550	1,550	1,550	474
Mean Dep. Var	0.7784	0.7784	0.7784	0.7784	0.7784
Observations	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	19,655,082	8,716,201

Criminal Partnerships

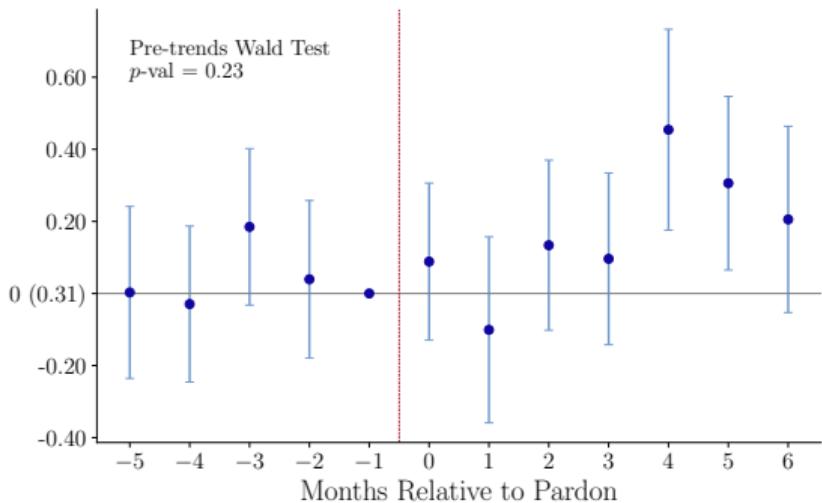
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Outcome: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrested with a Released Offender})$

Without Criminal Experience



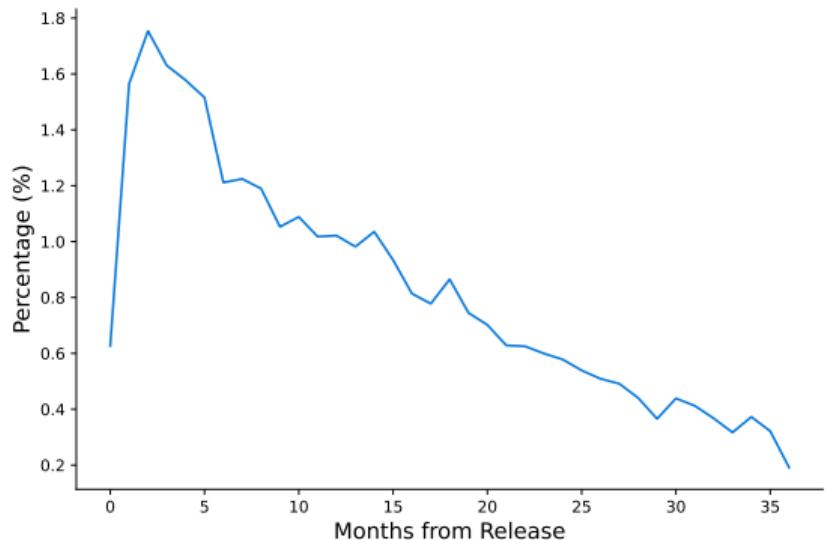
With Criminal Experience



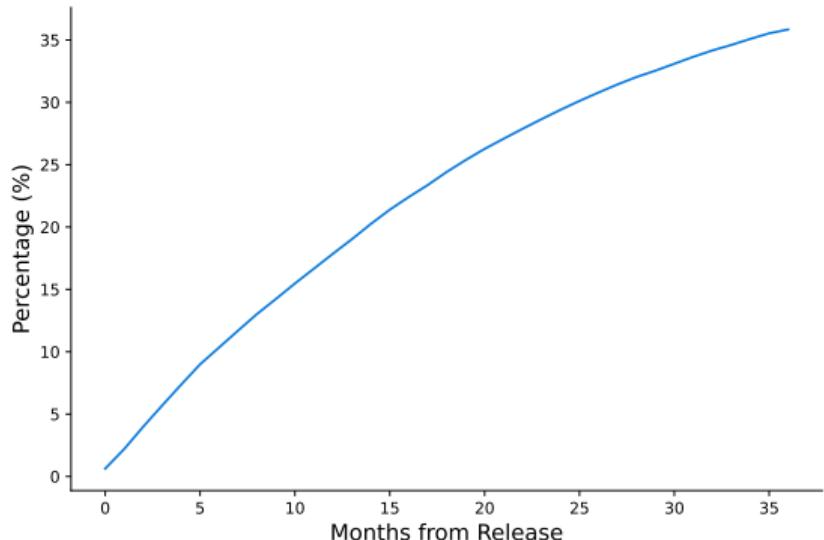
Recidivism among Released Offenders

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Monthly Probability



Cumulative Probability

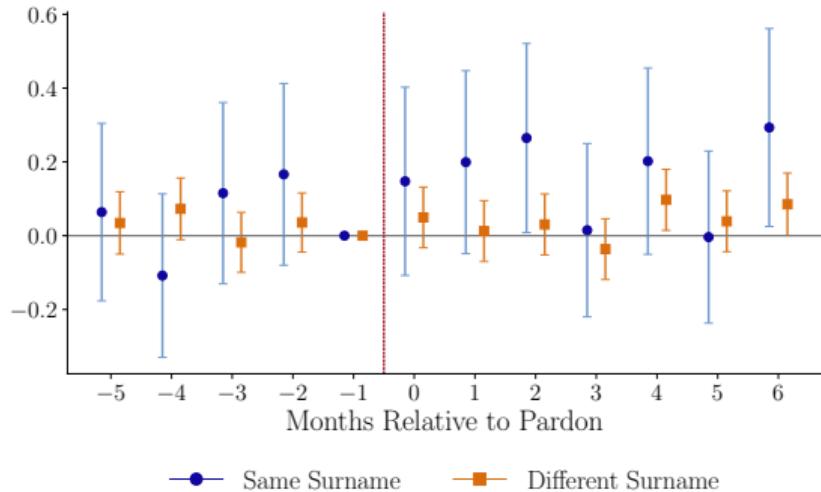


Are people committing crimes together with released offenders?

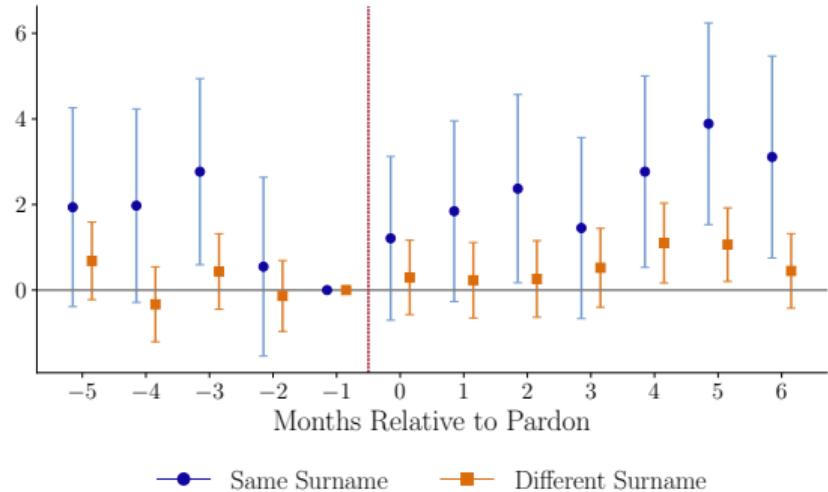
Family Networks

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$

Without Arrest Records



With Arrest Records

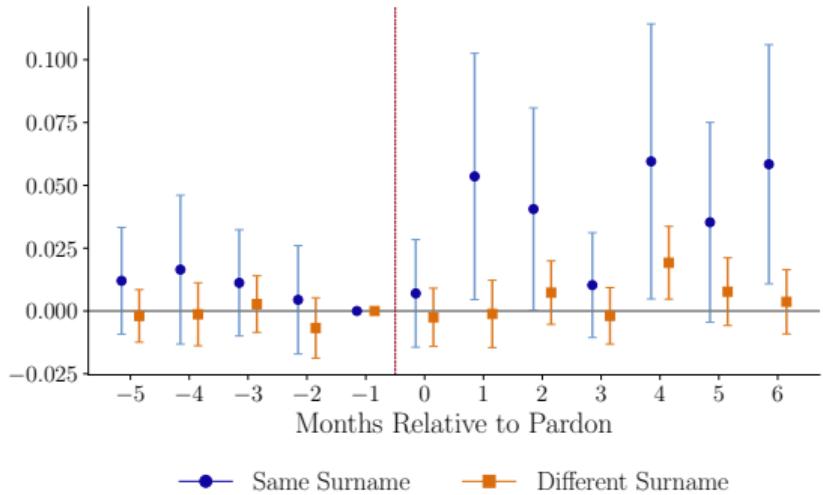


Back

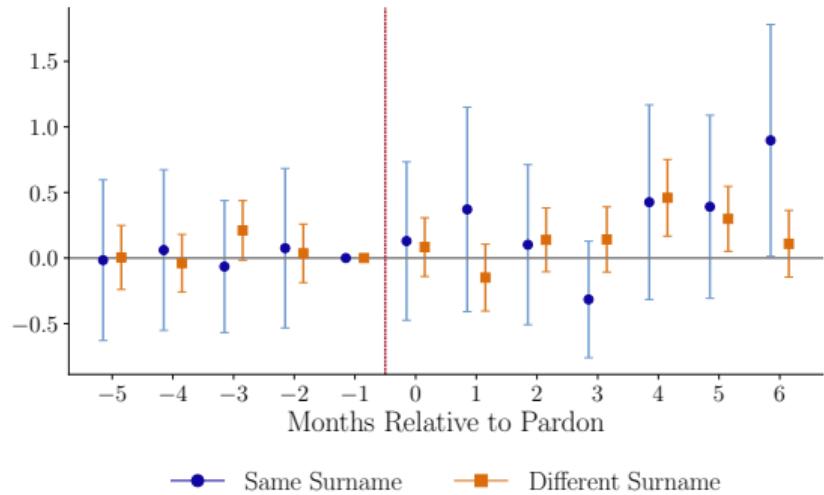
Family Networks

Dep. Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest with Released Offender}) \times 1,000$

Without Arrest Records



With Arrest Records

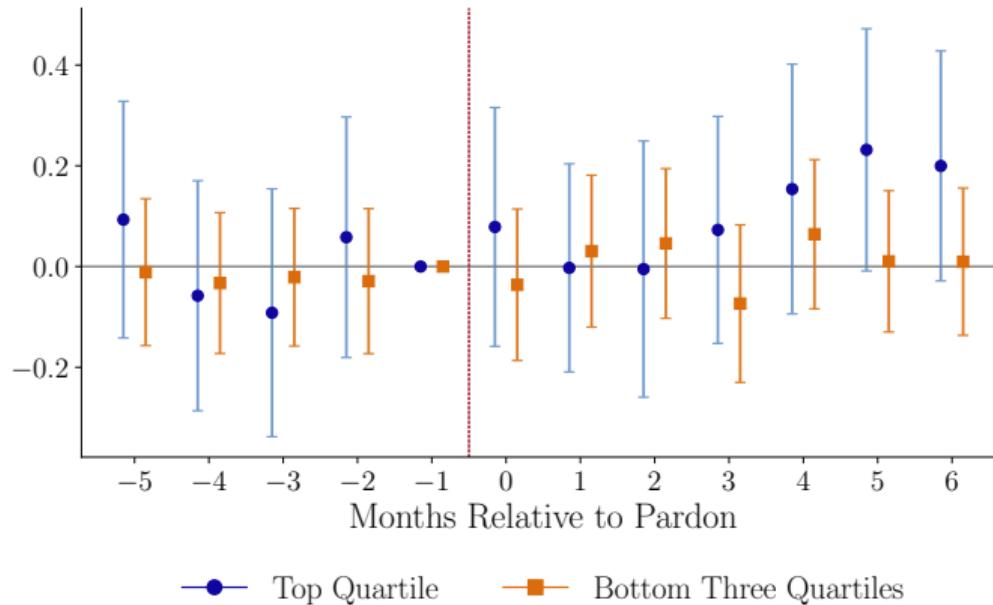


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Number of Previous Arrests

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Dep Var: $\text{Pr}(\text{Arrest}) \times 1,000$



Walt test: $\beta_{k \in [0,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.24$. $\beta_{k \in [4,6]} p\text{-value} = 0.25$