2015 Blueprints for Change:
Criminal Justice Policy Issues in Virginia

Virginia Felony Larceny Threshold:
35 Years Later
Issue

Every state classifies crimes of theft as either misdemeanors or felonies based on the monetary value of what was stolen—known as the “felony threshold.” A misdemeanor offense is usually punishable by a maximum of one year in a local jail, and sometimes by only a fine and/or community supervision. However, a felony offense is punishable by one or more years in a state prison. A felony conviction can create life-long barriers to employment, education, housing and other opportunities.

Felony threshold amounts vary greatly from state to state. Wisconsin has the highest felony threshold in the nation, at $2,500. Thirty states have thresholds of $1,000 to $2,000, and another 15 states have thresholds of $500 to $950. Virginia and New Jersey have the lowest felony threshold amount in the nation - $200 (Figure 1 shows how Virginia’s felony threshold compares to other states).

Pursuant to the Code of Virginia, § 18.2-95, grand larceny is a felony and the threshold amount is set at $200 or more. Grand larceny in Virginia is punishable by confinement in a state correctional facility for one year to twenty years. Section 18.2-95 also gives the jury or court trying the case the discretion to set the sentence at confinement in jail for a period not exceeding twelve months or a fine of not more than $2,500, or both; however, it remains a felony conviction with all of the civil ramifications intact.

Many of the states with higher felony thresholds enacted statutes over time to raise the dollar amount of their threshold to compensate for inflation’s gradual reduction in the value of a dollar. Since 2009, at least 14 states have increased their felony thresholds. For example, in 2011 Nevada raised its threshold from $250 to $650. In 2012, South Carolina raised its threshold from $1,000 to $2,000. Arkansas, Maryland, Ohio, Oregon and the District of Columbia, which previously had thresholds ranging from $200 to $750, have raised their thresholds to $1,000.

Virginia’s felony threshold was last changed 35 years ago in 1980, when it was raised from $100 (established in 1966) to $200. The Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index Inflation calculations show that $200 in 1980 is the equivalent of $579 in 2015.

Most states have statutory exceptions to the general felony threshold amount, based on specific characteristics of the offender, victims, or property stolen. In Virginia, larceny from a person is a felony if the stolen item’s value is $5.00 or more. Larceny of a firearm, regardless of its value, is a felony. Other exceptions apply for offenses involving conspiracies to commit larceny, for persons with prior criminal convictions, and for larcenies involving certain animals and poultry, crops, and information on lottery and financial products.

Since 1980, when Virginia last changed its felony threshold by raising it to $200, several studies have examined whether Virginia should raise its threshold above the $200 amount.

In 1999, prompted by concerns about larceny crimes involving high value items, the Virginia Criminal Sentencing Commission examined the relationship between the sentences imposed in larceny/fraud cases and the value of money or items involved in the cases. However, the Commission determined that the relationship between the monetary values involved and the sentences imposed in these cases did not warrant changes in the sentencing guidelines.

In 2008, the Virginia State Crime Commission examined the grand larceny threshold amount following a legislative proposal (SB 351) to raise the threshold from $200 to $500. The Commission’s study noted
that Virginia’s threshold was among the lowest in the nation, and that the $200 amount set in 1980 would be worth $532 in 2008. To address concerns that raising the threshold to $500 might lead to an increase in the value of merchandise stolen by shoplifters, the Commission suggested that in addition to raising the threshold to $500, the penalty for stealing merchandise valued between $200 and $500 be increased to up to 24 months in jail, twice the current sentence length for misdemeanor thefts.

In 2015, HB 1369 and SB 1234 were introduced in the General Assembly to raise Virginia’s felony larceny threshold from $200 to $500. The proposed bills would not have changed the threshold of $5.00 or more for larceny from a person, and would have retained the provision that subsequent convictions of larceny would be a felony. Both the Department of Corrections and the Department of Planning and Budget analyzed the impact of the proposed bills. The results of these analyses were summarized in the analysis by the Department of Planning and Budget, which concluded that raising the felony threshold “could have a wide-ranging fiscal impact, but the extent of that impact could not be determined due to the lack of data.” The analysis did identify the following effects of raising the threshold:

**Prison bed space**—By reducing some number of larceny offenses that are now felonies to misdemeanors, raising the felony threshold could reduce the number of offenders sentenced to prison. The Department of Corrections (DOC) estimated that the resulting annual prison bed savings would range from two to twenty over the next six years. However, the analysis noted that any beds freed by this change would be filled by other DOC offenders now being held in local jails due to prison overcrowding.

**Jail per diem payments**—By reducing what is now a felony offense to a misdemeanor, raising the felony threshold could result in more local offenders being held in jail, which would increase the state’s per diem payments to localities. There was insufficient data to project the size of the increase.

**Criminal fund**—Virginia pays for court-appointed counsel to represent defendants who are unable to afford representation. Compensation for defending a felony charge is higher than that for a misdemeanor. By reducing a felony offense to a misdemeanor, raising the threshold could reduce Criminal Fund payments to defense attorneys.

**Prior felony conviction**—Virginia’s Sentencing Guidelines include provisions which increase the recommended sentence for offenders if the offender has a prior felony conviction. If the felony threshold was raised, making some crimes that are now a felony a misdemeanor, it could result in shorter sentences for some offenders with prior larceny convictions, thereby saving jail and prison bed space.

There is opposition to raising the felony threshold amount. The National Retail Federation and the Virginia Retail Federation, which represent retail merchants, have consistently opposed legislation to raise the threshold. They contend that raising the threshold would lead to more shoplifting and other thefts from stores because items of greater value could be stolen at the risk of only a misdemeanor charge if caught. They also contend there is evidence that individuals and gangs who frequently shoplift plan to steal items under the $200 threshold to avoid being charged with a felony if caught. They see the low felony threshold as a deterrent against theft, and point out that professional shoplifters sometimes keep lists of states with low felony thresholds and are less likely to commit crimes in these states.

This Blueprint for Change session gave stakeholders an opportunity to review and discuss these issues and consider whether Virginia should examine changing its current felony larceny threshold.
Fig. 1: State Felony Thresholds - 2014

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures
Policy Questions:

1. Felony convictions create innumerable barriers for adult and juvenile offenders to overcome, including securing employment and forfeiting the right to vote. Is the $200 larceny threshold justified in light of these barriers?

2. Does the impact of theft crimes on retail merchants, victims, taxpayers and the criminal justice system justify the $200 threshold? Would increasing the threshold detrimentally impact these stakeholders?

3. Should the $200 felony larceny threshold be increased? If so, to what amount should it be raised? What other factors should be considered?

Discussion

The discussion began with opening comments by Secretary of Public Safety and Homeland Security Brian Moran. Secretary Moran noted that the question of whether Virginia should raise its current $200 felony threshold has been debated for many years. There are strong viewpoints on this question; since 1980 numerous bills have been proposed in the General Assembly to increase the threshold, but none of these bills have passed. Secretary Moran posed these questions to the panel:

- Is the $200 threshold a good use of Virginia’s limited resources?
- Is the life-long damage done by convicting someone of a felony for $200 worth what is gained?
- Does the $200 threshold diminish the meaning of a felony?

The Secretary’s comments were followed by two presentations that provided the panel with information on current felony sentencing practices in the Commonwealth and on previous reviews of the effects of changing the felony threshold.

Meredith Farrar-Owens, Executive Director of the Virginia Criminal Sentencing Commission, presented the panel with an overview of larceny and fraud sentencing in Virginia. Highlights of the presentation included:

- The number of felony sentencing events in which larceny was the most serious offense averaged about 5,500 a year from FY2008 to FY2015, with a slight upward trend in recent years. Larceny-fraud cases comprise about one-quarter of the total number of felony-level sentences in Virginia in a given year.

- Among the 13,515 sentencing events for felony larceny in FY2014-FY2015, 44% resulted in a jail sentence (up to 12 months), 26% resulted in a prison sentence (one year or more) and 30% resulted in a sentence of probation or no incarceration.
Dr. Tama Celi, Manager of the DOC Statistical Analysis and Forecast Unit, presented the panel with an overview of how the felony larceny threshold affects prison bed space. Highlights of the presentation included:

- A 2014 DOC study concluded that raising the felony threshold from $200 to $500 would reduce the number of state-responsible prison inmates by about 20 over the period FY2015 – FY2020. However, these 20 beds would quickly be filled by other state-responsible inmates being held in local jails. Changing the threshold would also increase the number of misdemeanor offenders (who previously would have been incarcerated felons) being supervised by local community corrections agencies, although the size of this increase has not been determined.

- The basic finding of the DOC review was that raising the felony threshold by itself would not result in any significant savings in prison bed costs.

Following these presentations, the Blueprints participants were invited to respond to the information presented and to raise any other topics for discussion which they felt were relevant to the felony threshold issue. The discussions, facilitated by George Keiser of Keiser and Associates, LLC, coalesced around several major topics:

- What are the short-term vs. long term societal costs of maintaining the current threshold?
- What are the major objections to raising the threshold?
- Does the low threshold actually act as a deterrent to theft?
- How often are $200 larceny-theft offenses actually prosecuted as felonies?
- What further information is needed to decide whether to change the current threshold?

**What are the short-term vs. long term societal costs of maintaining the current threshold?**

Further panel discussion of the information presented by the DOC regarding the prison bed space impact of raising the felony threshold concluded that raising the threshold would have only a minimal impact and little costs savings. The session facilitator noted a savings of 20 to 50 beds over five years would have no meaningful effect on DOC costs. It would not be enough to change an institution’s staffing levels or close an institution. There appear to be no major short-term correctional savings to be gained by increasing the threshold. However, this was also not deemed to be a particularly significant factor to consider in the larger context of the discussion.

The potential advantages of raising the felony threshold lie more in the long-term benefits of not making more citizens felons for relatively low-level offenses. Convicted felons face life-long barriers to employment, education, housing and other opportunities. These barriers increase the risk that the person will revert back to criminal activity, with even greater future costs to society. As one panelist noted, reducing long-term criminality and recidivism depends on giving offenders the chance to “earn their way back into society” by becoming productive citizens. Turning low-level offenders into felons greatly reduces their chances to earn their way back.

It is hard to quantify and compare these short and long-term costs using dollars and cents. Research shows that a felony conviction increases the risk of future offending, but the true costs to society of this offending over an individual’s lifetime are unknown. This may be more of a societal value question than one that is answered in dollars and cents: Does Virginia consider it a worthwhile trade to burden
someone with a felony record – and the subsequent costs of this - for the rest of his or her life for stealing something worth only a few hundred dollars?

Secretary Moran put this question into a larger context by pointing out that Virginia, other states and the federal governments are already taking other steps to reduce the long-term societal costs of a felony conviction through actions like “banning the box” on employment applications and making it easier for felons to restore voting and other rights.

**What are the major objections to raising the felony threshold?**

Representatives from the Virginia Retail Merchants Association and the Virginia Retail Federation told the panel that their organizations have strongly opposed raising the felony threshold in the past, and will continue to oppose raising it. Their organizations have successfully blocked past legislative attempts to raise the threshold.

The retail representatives raised several points about the impact of theft on businesses. They maintain that even low-level thefts damage businesses, especially smaller ones that cannot afford the costs of guards or security systems. Additionally, new small businesses often require large upfront investments that take time to recoup before becoming profitable. Such businesses, which may be located in areas with high crime rates and few employment opportunities, cannot afford the losses caused by petty shoplifting and other theft. The retail merchant representatives also noted that about 4% of the cost of items sold by retailers goes to cover losses due to theft by shoplifters and employees of the business.

Although the merchants recognize that it is hard to measure the deterrent effect of a lower felony threshold, and that they had no data available to support the position, they feel that legal deterrence is one of the few tools smaller businesses have to help deter and reduce theft. They noted that smaller businesses sometimes try to enhance this deterrent effect by actively promoting through word of mouth that proprietors will aggressively prosecute these crimes as felonies. The retail panelists also noted that some businesses do not think it is worth their time to prosecute low-level thefts unless they rise to the felony threshold.

Virginia and national retail merchants associations also pointed out that some thefts are carried out by organized groups rather than individuals acting alone. They contend that these criminal enterprises, more so than individuals, know about low felony thresholds and purposely avoid states with lower thresholds. The panel acknowledged the existence of these enterprises, and that a low felony threshold may be more of a deterrent to these groups than to individuals contemplating theft. However, several panel members stated that, in all their years of serving as prosecutors or defense attorneys, they seldom, if ever, encounter thieves acting as part of criminal organizations. The merchants acknowledged that such groups probably account for only a small fraction of the thefts suffered by businesses.

One panelist asked if the retailers have considered whether Virginia’s low felony threshold may actually be costing them more money in the long run by producing more felons. Is it possible that having more felons, who may commit more crimes against retailers over time, costs businesses more in the long run than what retailers believe they are saving through the deterrent effect of low threshold? In response, the retail representatives stated their associations will continue opposing any legislative attempts to raise the threshold.

**Does the low threshold actually act as a deterrent to theft?**
Another issue discussed by the panel was whether a lower felony threshold actually acts as a deterrent to theft. If it does not, this would question the rationale for maintaining the lower threshold.

The retail merchants’ representatives contend that a lower threshold deters theft because individuals are less likely to steal if they know the consequences will result in a felony conviction rather than a misdemeanor conviction. However, other panelists noted this theory assumes that people who are making such decisions know and take into account the threshold amount when deciding to commit a crime. Several panel members (attorneys and judges) stated that during their years of practice they have never had a defendant say that he or she made a decision to steal or not steal based on the legal threshold for a felony. They stated that most low-level shoplifting offenders probably do not even know what the legal threshold for a felony is, much less make a decision based on it.

Several panel members pointed out that the criminology literature questions the validity of the deterrence theory, especially for low-level offenders. Research casts doubt about whether these offenders logically weigh the potential costs and benefits when deciding to commit crimes or not. The session facilitator noted that people’s attitudes and associations often drive their decisions to steal more so than logic and legal considerations. Others noted that many larcenies are committed by substance abusers needing drugs, who are unlikely to make rational decisions about criminal activity.

Several judges and attorneys on the panel also cited another example of the difficulty in assessing how logical thinking affects criminal behavior. They pointed out that when convicted low-level theft offenders are given the choice between accepting a misdemeanor or felony conviction, some offenders accept – and even seek – a felony rather than a misdemeanor conviction. These offenders make a short-term decision to avoid jail time, even if it means accepting long-term effects of a felony record.

The retail merchants’ representatives and other panel members noted that logical considerations of threshold amounts may affect criminal activity conducted by organized theft groups. National retail associations and law enforcement officials have stated that organized theft rings operating in multiple states have been caught carrying lists of the felony thresholds for different states, and use these to avoid states with lower thresholds in favor of states with higher thresholds. This suggests that a lower felony threshold may be a deterrent for these types of offenders. However, as previously noted, everyone on the panel agreed that this was not a significant portion of the retail larceny being perpetrated.

How often are $200 larceny-theft offenses actually prosecuted as felonies?

Another issue discussed by the panel was how often individuals, especially those with no prior criminal record, are actually prosecuted and convicted for a felony for theft amounts valued near the $200 threshold.

Several panel members said that, based on their courtroom experience, this does not often happen. Law enforcement and prosecutors usually have some amount of discretion when deciding how to charge these low-level offenders, and some said that this often means that a first-time offender is unlikely to face a felony charge. Furthermore, when such offenders are charged as felons, they may have their cases reduced to a misdemeanor by way of a plea agreement with the Commonwealth.

Others said they have observed that, in practice, some prosecutors and judges tend not to charge a first-time offense as a felony unless the value of the item stolen is considerably above the $200 threshold.
One panel member stated that he thinks some judges tend to avoid felony convictions unless the amount involved is $500, $1,000 or more.

Statements from other panel members also indicated that felony charges are usually pursued against low-level offenders who already have a prior record of criminal activity, not first-time offenders. In effect, the decision to charge as a felony is based not so much on a single $200 threshold offense as it is on the offender’s cumulative prior criminal record. This would indicate that the $200 threshold itself is not turning large numbers of first-time offenders into felons, but rather a factor considered in how to charge people with established criminal records.

Panel members also noted that other factors may influence the decision whether to charge a $200 low-level or first-time theft offender with a felony or misdemeanor. For example, offenses involving “trust violations” such as an employee stealing from an employer, or a caregiver stealing from a patient, may be more likely to be charged with a felony than would a first-time shoplifter. Similarly, a first-time offender accused of a well-planned embezzlement or fraud offense involving $200 may be more likely to be charged with a felony than a first-time shoplifter. The panelists sharing observations about charging decisions cautioned that their remarks were based on personal experience and may not represent statewide charging practices. It was clear, however, that there is great variability and inconsistency across the Commonwealth as to what is treated as a misdemeanor and what is treated as a felony.

Summary and Conclusions

At the end of the panel discussions, Secretary Moran noted that the various presenters and panel members provided important viewpoints to consider when contemplating any changes to Virginia’s $200 threshold. Although these different viewpoints provided more information, they did not lead to an agreement on whether the current threshold should be changed. There did seem to be a consensus among the panel members concerning the following points:

- When considering both the short-term and the long-term societal effects of Virginia’s felony-larceny threshold, there is a strong case for raising the threshold above its current $200 level to reduce the number of people convicted of felonies.

- If the felony larceny threshold is raised, it might be prudent to simultaneously raise the penalty for misdemeanor larcenies to include mandatory jail time. Special enhanced provisions could be included for certain retail offenses, offenses involving “trust violations,” and offenses committed by organized theft organizations. This is similar to the recommendation made in the Virginia State Crime Commission’s 2008 report on the grand larceny threshold.

- The Virginia Retail Merchants Association and the Virginia Retail Federation should be included in discussions about changes to the felony larceny threshold and penalties for retail crimes, to address their members’ concerns about combating retail theft.

- Prior to making any specific recommendations for changes to the felony larceny threshold, it would be helpful to provide the involved stakeholder with more information about the following:
  
  o The experience of other states that have raised their felony larceny thresholds;
  o The extent to which first-time, low-level offenders in Virginia are charged and convicted of felony larceny, and what factors influence decisions to charge these offenses as felonies or misdemeanors; and
The extent to which a low felony larceny threshold actually acts as a deterrent against theft.
Blueprints Session Follow-Up Activities

Because the panel discussion raised additional questions about the felony theft threshold issue, Secretary Moran suggested that DCJS do further research on the following questions:

*Is there data to show whether larceny thefts increased in states that have raised their felony threshold amounts?*

Given that some states have raised their felony thresholds in the past, the question was asked: Did any of these states see an increase in thefts after they raised their threshold? To answer this question, DCJS compared shoplifting rates from CY 2000 to 2013 in two groups of states: Four states that raised their thresholds during this period (Kansas, in 2004; Vermont, in 2005; South Carolina, in 2010; and Colorado, in 2013), and four states that did not raise their thresholds during this period (Virginia, last raised in 1980; Tennessee, last raised in 1989; Iowa, last raised in 1992; and West Virginia, last raised in 1994).

These states were examined for two reasons: 1) They reported complete incident-based crime data (which identifies shoplifting crimes) in CY 2000-2013; and, 2) in states that raised their thresholds, they allowed (excepting Colorado) an examination of shoplifting rates before and after the thresholds were raised.

The charts below compare the CY 2000-2013 shoplifting rate trends in the states that did not raise their thresholds and the states that did raise their thresholds (with the threshold increase years indicated by a vertical line). Overall, shoplifting rates increased in all eight states, regardless of whether the threshold changed. There is little evidence that raising the thresholds led to a subsequent increase in shoplifting. Shoplifting rates in Kansas and Vermont dropped slightly after their thresholds were raised (in 2004 and 2005, respectively). However, shoplifting rates also dropped during this time in most of the states that did not raise their thresholds. In all of these states, these short-term drops were then followed by increases in shoplifting. In South Carolina, shoplifting rates did increase following a 2010 increase in the state’s threshold, but at the same time shoplifting rates also increased in the four states that did not raise their thresholds.

Overall, this information casts doubt on the contention that raising the felony larceny theft threshold will lead to an increase in shoplifting crimes.
CY 2000-2013 Shoplifting Rates in States that Did and Did Not Raise Felony Larceny Threshold

Did Not Raise Threshold

Virginia (1980)

Tennessee (1989)

Iowa (1992)

West Virginia (1994)

Raised Threshold

Kansas (2004)

Vermont (2005)

South Carolina (2010)

Colorado (2013)
What do we know about the experiences of states that border Virginia when they last changed their felony larceny thresholds?

To answer this question, DCJS contacted states that border Virginia to determine what changes were made to their thresholds, reasons for these changes, and gather any information on the effects of these changes. These states were also asked if their retail merchants associations or similar groups were involved in the discussions concerning the threshold changes.

Generally, DCJS found little information available on reasons why the thresholds were changed, the effects of these changes, or whether retail merchants were involved in the changes. Two major reasons contributed to this: a) bills proposing threshold changes were not significant enough to have produced written reports, and, b) changes were made so long ago that no records can be found concerning these changes. DCJS determined the following information from each border state.

**West Virginia.** West Virginia’s current felony larceny threshold, last changed in 1994, is $1,000. A member of the legislature when the threshold was raised in 1994 said that he could not recall any discussion of opposition by the state’s retail merchants associations. He did recall that a major discussion point was that raising the threshold “would reduce some of the potential for prison overcrowding, although admittedly increasing the possibility of regional jail overcrowding.”

**Tennessee.** Tennessee’s current felony larceny threshold, last changed in 1989, is $500. A June 2015 Vera Institute of Justice report to the Tennessee Governor’s Task Force on Sentencing and Recidivism recommended raising the felony threshold to $1,000. The Vera report stated that raising the threshold to $1,000 would decrease the TN Department of Corrections population by 0.78% over five years.

**Maryland.** Maryland’s current felony larceny threshold, last changed in 2009, is $1,000. In 2010, HB 728 was introduced to decrease the felony threshold value to $500 for theft of property or services, and provide enhanced penalties for a value of less than $500 for a person with two or more theft convictions. The bill did not pass, primarily due to opposition from the judiciary.

**Kentucky.** Kentucky’s current felony larceny threshold, last changed in 2009, is $500. No additional information was provided by Kentucky.

**North Carolina.** North Carolina’s current felony larceny threshold, $1,000, was last changed in 1991. In 2007, the threshold was lowered for certain types of retail theft (see further details below).

Have any states lowered their felony larceny thresholds?

DCJS identified at least two states with general felony larceny thresholds higher than Virginia’s that added provisions to lower the thresholds for crimes against retail establishments.

**North Carolina.** North Carolina established a $1,000 felony larceny threshold in 1991. In 2007, North Carolina amended its larceny statutes to address retail theft as follows:

Made it a felony if a person commits larceny against a merchant under any of the following circumstances:
If the property has a value of more than $200 and the person leaves the store using an exit door erected to comply with Occupational Safety and Health Administration requirements,
By removing, destroying or deactivating any anti-shoplifting or inventory control device,
By affixing a product code to fraudulently obtain merchandise at less than its actual sale price,
When the property is infant formula valued over $100.00.

North Carolina also created an “Organized Retail Theft” statute under which a person is guilty of a felony if the person:
Conspires with another to commit retail theft with a value over $1,500 aggregated over a 90-day period, with the intent to sell or deliver it to another for gain,
Receives or possesses any retail property in violation of the provision above.

Wisconsin. Wisconsin established a general $2,500 felony larceny threshold in 2001; this threshold is the highest in the nation. However, Wisconsin has added provisions to its statutes to enhance penalties for retail theft under certain conditions.

If a person intentionally does any of the following to permanently deprive the merchant of possession of the property, or of the full purchase price of the merchandise:
Alters indicia of price or value of merchandise,
Takes and carries away merchandise,
Transfers merchandise,
Conceals merchandise,
Retains possession of merchandise,
While in the merchant’s store, removes a theft detection device from merchandise,
Uses, or possesses with intent to use, a theft detection shielding device to shield merchandise from being detected by an electronic or magnetic theft alarm sensor,
Uses, or possesses with intent to use, a theft detection device remover to remove a theft detection device from merchandise.

In the circumstances above, the enhanced penalties are as follows:
If the value of the merchandise exceeds $500 but not $5,000, it is a Class I felony,
If the value of the merchandise exceeds $5,000 but not $10,000, it is a Class H felony,
If the value of the merchandise exceeds $10,000 it is a Class G felony.

Is there any data on whether or how often persons arrested for first-time felony-larceny offenses with values near $200.00 are actually charged and prosecuted for felonies?

The Blueprints participants discussed the possibility of surveying Virginia prosecutors and judges to ask about practices regarding the charging and prosecution of first-time felony-larceny offenders, but it was decided not to conduct such a survey.
References

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