



California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation

FALL 2023 POPULATION PROJECTIONS

Division of Correctional Policy Research and Internal Oversight

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Executive Summary

This report presents the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation's (CDCR) Fall 2023 adult institution and parole population projections. The institution and parole projections are provided through June 2028.

The Fall 2023 Population Projections continue to incorporate the impacts of several court-ordered population reduction measures, Proposition 47 and Proposition 57.¹ The projections also include the estimated impact of recently implemented legislation, policy, and process changes.²

Most corrections population experts agree that projections beyond two- to three- year time horizons are difficult to model with precision due to various limitations. The projections do not currently incorporate any assumptions about individuals awaiting trial and/or sentencing due to COVID-19 related court closures and related backlogs, which could generate a temporary increase in admissions to CDCR in the future. As additional data becomes available, future projections may include an adjustment to account for these groups.

Adult Institution Population and Court Commitment Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict a similar total institution population for each Fiscal Year (FY) through June 30, 2027, compared to the Spring 2023 Projections, with differences ranging between -0.6 and 0.3 percent. The Fall 2023 Population Projections follow the same downward trend as the Spring 2023 Projections. Admissions to CDCR are continuing to trend approximately ten percent lower than pre-pandemic admissions.³ The Fall 2023 Projections also incorporate updated data with adjusted lower estimated impact of Milestone Completion Credit (MCC), Rehabilitative Achievement Credit (RAC), and Educational Merit Credit (EMC) earning.

CDCR expects the adult institution population to decrease from 96,033 incarcerated individuals as of June 30, 2023, to 92,397 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024. Annual decreases are projected through June 2028, with the adult institution population reaching approximately 91,109 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, and 89,280 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026. The adult institution population is expected to decrease to 87,387 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and 85,737 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028. The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the adult institution population to experience a net five-year reduction of 10.7 percent or 10,296 incarcerated

¹ Many court-ordered measures were subsequently enacted with the implementation of Proposition 57. Additional information is available at: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/3-judge-court-update>. Proposition 47 was passed by voters in November 2014 and reduced penalties for most non-serious, non-violent property and drug crimes by mandating a misdemeanor instead of a felony sentence for certain crimes. Proposition 57 was passed by voters in November 2016. More information is available at: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/proposition57/>.

² More information on these changes is available in Appendix B.

³ Pre-pandemic levels refers to the average monthly commitments admitted to CDCR in FY 2018-19, which was approximately 2,900 commitments.

individuals. CDCR attributes the institution population's pattern of decline to recent policy reforms, including changes to Good Conduct Credit (GCC) earning that were implemented in 2021.⁴

Although the Fall 2023 Population Projections expect admissions of felon court commitments to be lower than what was predicted in the Spring 2023 Projections, CDCR anticipates court commitments to experience small increases annually throughout the projection cycle. The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict court commitments to increase from 29,684 commitments in FY 2022-23, to 29,918 in FY 2023-24, and then further increase to 30,501 commitments in FY 2024-25. In the later years of the projection cycle, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict admissions to stabilize at lower levels than observed in the years preceding the pandemic. Total admissions of court commitments are expected to be 30,621 commitments in FY 2025-26, 30,653 commitments in FY 2026-27 and 30,655 commitments in FY 2027-28.

Adult Parole Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections estimate that the parole population will increase from 36,195 parolees on June 30, 2023, to 36,457 parolees on June 30, 2024. The following year the parole population is predicted to decrease to 34,628 parolees on June 30, 2025. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate the parole population to decrease to 34,448 parolees on June 30, 2026, and then increase to 35,717 parolees on June 30, 2027. During the last year of the projection period, the parole population is predicted to decrease to 35,182 parolees on June 30, 2028. This represents a net five-year decrease of 2.8 percent or 1,013 parolees. The overall decline over the next five years is primarily due to recent legislative and CDCR policy changes that allow for an earlier review by the Division of Adult Parole Operations for possible discharge from parole, which may lead to an accelerated discharge from parole as well as shortened parole terms for most incarcerated individuals released to parole in July 2020 or later.

⁴ More information on these changes is available in Appendix B.

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS AND REHABILITATION FALL 2023 POPULATION PROJECTIONS

1 Introduction

This report presents the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation’s (CDCR) Fall 2023 adult institution and parole population projections. CDCR developed these projections using historical trend data, time series, and simulation modeling techniques. The population projections methodology is described in Appendix A. The Fall 2023 Population Projections incorporate the impacts of existing laws and regulations on the state institution and parole populations.

1.1 Changes for the Fall 2023 Population Projections

There were no policy changes implemented during the January through June 2023 time period to include in the Fall 2023 Population Projections. Effective July 1, 2023, all Division of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) facilities have closed per Senate Bill (SB) 823 which realigned the DJJ population to local systems. Therefore, the Juvenile Population Projections are no longer included in CDCR’s Population Projections.

2 Adult Institution and Active Parole Populations

CDCR expects the adult institution population to decrease from 96,033 incarcerated individuals as of June 30, 2023, to 92,397 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024 (see Table 1). Annual decreases are projected through June 2028, with the adult institution population reaching approximately 91,109 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, and 89,280 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026. The adult institution population is expected to decrease further to 87,387 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and 85,737 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028. The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the adult institution population to experience a net five-year reduction of 10.7 percent or 10,296 incarcerated individuals.

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the active parole population will increase by 0.7 percent (262 parolees) from 36,195 parolees on June 30, 2023, to 36,457 parolees on June 30, 2024. The active parole population is predicted to experience a net five-year decrease of 2.8 percent (1,013 parolees) from June 30, 2023, to 35,182 parolees on June 30, 2028.

Table 1. Institution and Active Parole Population, June 30, 2014, through June 30, 2028

June 30	Institution			Percent Change	Active Parole	
	Female	Male	Total		Total	Percent Change
Actual						
2014	6,306	129,294	135,600	N/A	44,499	N/A
2015	5,857	123,325	129,182	-4.7%	45,473	2.2%
2016	5,769	122,874	128,643	-0.4%	43,814	-3.6%
2017	5,971	125,289	131,260	2.0%	45,261	3.3%
2018	5,906	123,511	129,417	-1.4%	47,370	4.7%
2019	5,691	119,781	125,472	-3.0%	50,822	7.3%
2020	4,721	108,682	113,403	-9.6%	53,427	5.1%
2021	3,910	94,562	98,472	-13.2%	50,322	-5.8%
2022	3,669	93,510	97,179	-1.3%	43,825	-12.9%
2023	3,762	92,271	96,033	-1.2%	36,195	-17.4%
Projected						
2024	3,698	88,699	92,397	-3.8%	36,457	0.7%
2025	3,569	87,540	91,109	-1.4%	34,628	-5.0%
2026	3,462	85,818	89,280	-2.0%	34,448	-0.5%
2027	3,411	83,976	87,387	-2.1%	35,717	3.7%
2028	3,370	82,367	85,737	-1.9%	35,182	-1.5%

2.1 Adult Total Institution Population Projections, Comparisons, and Historical Trends

2.1.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Total Institution Population Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict a similar total institution population for each Fiscal Year (FY) through June 30, 2027, compared to the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The Fall 2023 Population Projections estimate of 92,397 incarcerated individuals for June 30, 2024, is 0.2 percent (153 incarcerated individuals) higher than what was projected by the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 2). For June 30, 2025, the Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate the total institution population to be 91,109, which is 0.3 percent (273 incarcerated individuals) higher than what was anticipated in the Spring 2023 Population Projections. By June 30, 2026, the institution population is predicted to decrease to 89,280 incarcerated individuals, which is 31 incarcerated individuals (0.0 percent) more than what was predicted in the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The institution population is expected to decrease to 87,387 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, which is 0.6 percent (570 incarcerated individuals) lower than what was expected in the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate the total institution population to decrease to 85,737 incarcerated individuals by June 30, 2028.

The Fall 2023 Population Projections follow the same downward trend as the Spring 2023 Projections. Admissions to CDCR are continuing to trend approximately ten percent lower than pre-pandemic admissions.¹ The Fall 2023 Projections also incorporate updated data for Milestone Completion Credit (MCC), Rehabilitative Achievement Credit (RAC), and Educational Merit Credit (EMC) earning. These estimates were initially developed using assumptions prior to the implementation of Proposition 57, so data was not available. Additionally, COVID-19 prevented the availability of stable data. For the Fall 2023 cycle, CDCR had enough stable data to revise these estimates and align with actual observations and changes since the initial implementation.

Table 2. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Total Institution Population Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	93,870	*96,033	2,163	2.3%
2024	92,244	92,397	153	0.2%
2025	90,836	91,109	273	0.3%
2026	89,249	89,280	31	0.0%
2027	87,957	87,387	-570	-0.6%
2028	N/A	85,737	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

¹ Pre-pandemic levels refers to the average monthly commitments admitted to CDCR in FY 2018-19, which was approximately 2,900 commitments.

2.1.2 Total Institution Population Projections

The adult institution population is expected to decrease by 3.8 percent (3,636 incarcerated individuals) from 96,033 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023, to 92,397 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024 (see Table 1 and Figure 1). CDCR expects to see annual decreases in the total institution population for the remainder of the projection period. The total adult institution population is projected to decrease by 1.4 percent (1,288 incarcerated individuals) to 91,109 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, and then decrease an additional 2.0 percent (1,829 incarcerated individuals) to 89,280 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026. The total institution population is anticipated to decrease by 2.1 percent (1,893 incarcerated individuals) to 87,387 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and decrease another 1.9 percent (1,650 incarcerated individuals) to 85,737 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028.

2.1.3 Historical Population Trends

The total adult institution population decreased by 4.7 percent (6,418 incarcerated individuals) between 2014 and 2015, reaching 129,182 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2015 (see Table 1 and Figure 1). The following year, the institution population decreased 0.4 percent (539 incarcerated individuals) to 128,643 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2016. Except for 2014, CDCR has observed annual decreases in the institution population each June between the years 2012 and 2016. The declines were primarily due to the impacts of the 2011 Realignment legislation, several court-ordered population reduction measures, and the effects of Proposition 47.² Growth in the populations of incarcerated individuals convicted of violent offenses or sentenced to life institution terms contributed to a 2.0 percent (2,617 incarcerated individuals) population increase from June 30, 2016, to June 30, 2017 (128,643 to 131,260 incarcerated individuals).

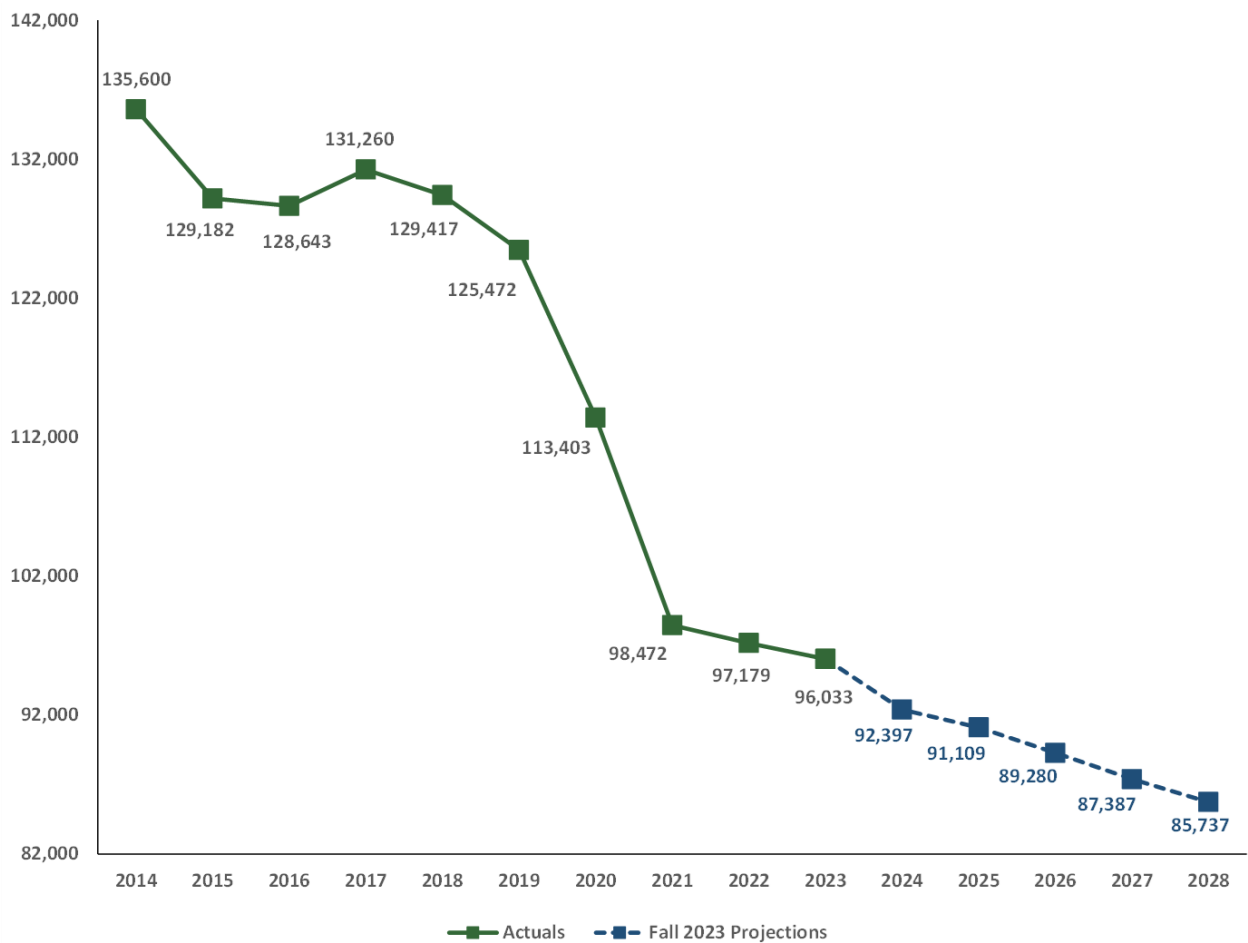
The aforementioned court-ordered population reduction measures and Proposition 47 mainly impacted non-serious, non-violent, and non-sex registrant incarcerated individuals. A simultaneous increase in admissions of court commitments also contributed to the increase in the adult institution population in 2016 and 2017. More recently, CDCR has observed a decrease in the institution population, primarily because of Proposition 57 and other recent policy changes.³ The adult institution population declined 1.4 percent (1,843 incarcerated individuals) from 131,260 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2017, to 129,417 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2018. In 2017, Proposition 57-related changes began to impact the adult institution and parole populations which contributed to the population decline. Proposition 57 and other recent policy changes contributed to a 3.0 percent decrease (3,945 incarcerated individuals) in the population from 129,417 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2018, to 125,472 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2019. The total institution population experienced larger

² Proposition 47 was passed by voter initiative in November 2014 and reduced penalties for most non-serious, non-violent property and drug crimes by mandating a misdemeanor instead of a felony sentence for certain crimes.

³ Many court-ordered measures were subsequently enacted with the implementation of Proposition 57. Additional information is available at: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/3-judge-court-update>

decreases over the following two fiscal years. Decreases were related to the impact on admissions and releases stemming from COVID-19, along with associated policy changes that resulted in more incarcerated individuals being released early.⁴ The adult institution population decreased by 9.6 percent (12,069 incarcerated individuals) to 113,403 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2020, and then decreased an additional 13.2 percent (14,931 incarcerated individuals) to 98,472 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2021. The adult institution population decreased by 1.3 percent (1,293 incarcerated individuals) to 97,179 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2022. This decrease is associated with recent policy changes that removed enhancements for certain incarcerated individuals, and increased GCC credit earning for eligible incarcerated individuals.⁵ The following fiscal year the adult institution population decreased 1.2 percent (1,146 incarcerated individuals) to 96,033 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023.

Figure 1. Total Institution Population Trends and Projections, June 30, 2014 through June 30, 2028



⁴ More information regarding actions to reduce the institution population and maximize space in response to COVID-19 is available in Appendix B.

⁵ More information regarding SB 483 and increased GCC credit earning policies is available in Appendix B.

2.2 Adult Institution Population Projections, Comparisons, and Population Trends by Gender

2.2.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Institution Population Projections by Gender

By June 30, 2024, the Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the male institution population to reach 88,699 incarcerated individuals, which is 0.1 percent (119 incarcerated individuals) higher than estimated in the Spring 2023 Projections (see Table 3). For June 30, 2025, and June 30, 2026, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the male institution population to be 0.4 percent and 0.3 percent higher than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively. The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict that the male institution population will reach 83,976 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, which is 0.4 percent (312 incarcerated individuals) lower than the Spring 2023 Population Projections.

Apart from June 30, 2024, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the female institution population to be lower than the Spring 2023 Projections each fiscal year throughout the projection cycle, ranging from 3.1 to 7.0 percent lower (see Table 3). For June 30, 2024, the female institution population is expected to be 3,698 incarcerated individuals, which is 0.9 percent (34 incarcerated individuals) higher than what was expected in the Spring 2023 Projections. For June 30, 2025, and June 30, 2026, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the female institution population to be 3.1 percent and 6.2 percent lower than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively. The female institution population is expected to be 3,411 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, which is 7.0 percent (258 incarcerated individuals) lower than anticipated by the Spring 2023 Projections.

Table 3. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Total Institution Population Projections by Gender

June 30	Male				Female			
	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	90,297	*92,271	1,974	2.2%	3,573	*3,762	189	5.3%
2024	88,580	88,699	119	0.1%	3,664	3,698	34	0.9%
2025	87,152	87,540	388	0.4%	3,684	3,569	-115	-3.1%
2026	85,558	85,818	260	0.3%	3,691	3,462	-229	-6.2%
2027	84,288	83,976	-312	-0.4%	3,669	3,411	-258	-7.0%
2028	N/A	82,367	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,370	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

2.2.2 Male Population Projections

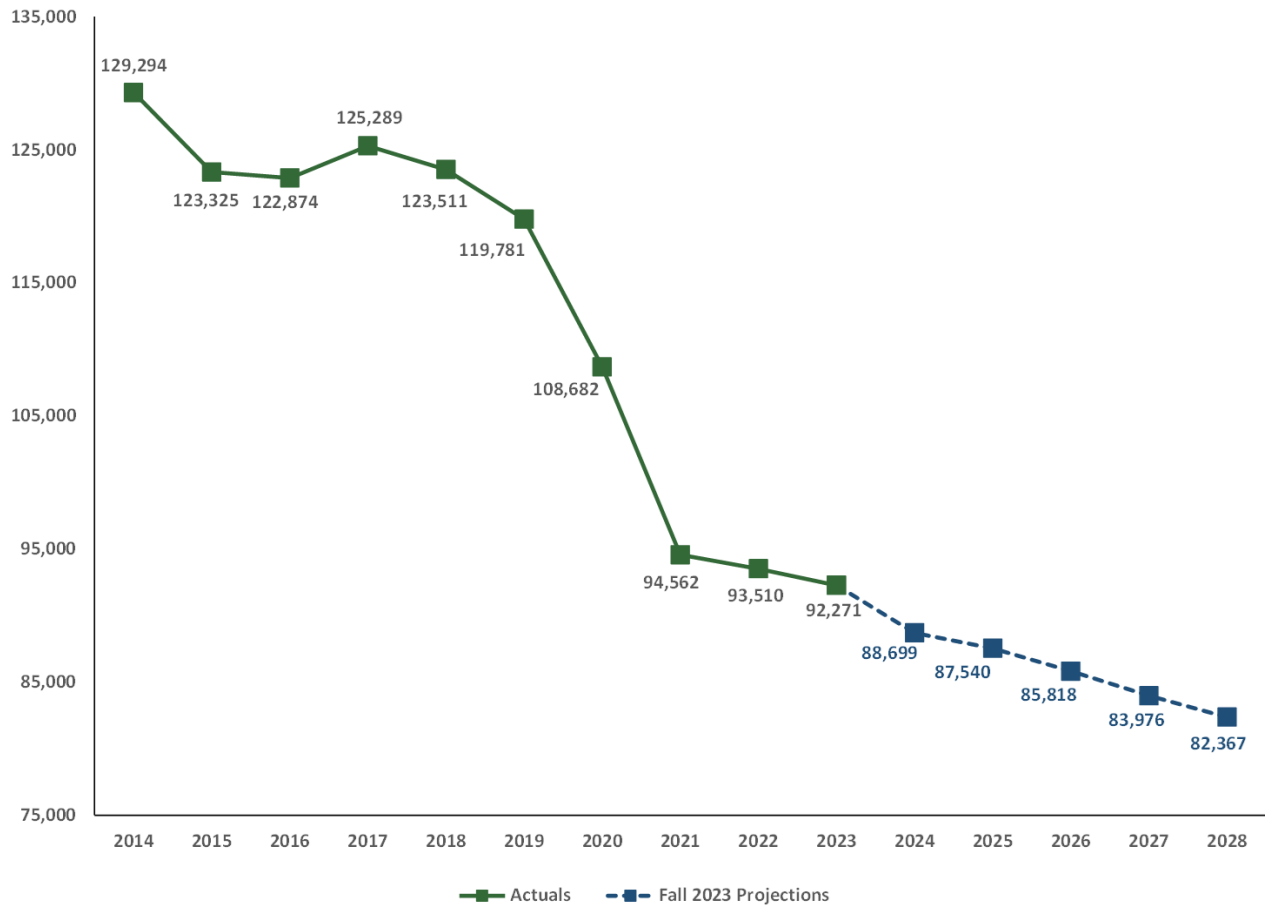
The Fall 2023 Population Projections forecast the male institution population to decrease from 92,271 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023, to 88,699 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024 (see Table 1 and Figure 2). The male institution population is projected to experience annual decreases for the remainder of the projection cycle. The male institution population is predicted to decrease by 1.3 percent (1,159 incarcerated individuals) to 87,540 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, and then

decrease by 2.0 percent (1,722 incarcerated individuals) to 85,818 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026. The male institution population is anticipated to decrease another 2.1 percent (1,842 incarcerated individuals) to 83,976 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and further decrease by 1.9 percent (1,609 incarcerated individuals) to reach 82,367 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028. The Fall 2023 Population Projections estimate a net five-year decrease of 10.7 percent or 9,904 incarcerated individuals. Adult male incarcerated individuals comprise the majority of the adult institution population, which leads the male population to generally follow the total institution population trends.

2.2.3 Male Historical Population Trends

In the two years immediately following the passage of Proposition 47, the male population dropped by 4.6 percent (5,969 incarcerated individuals) from 129,294 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2014, to 123,325 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2015, followed by a 0.4 percent decrease (451 incarcerated individuals) to 122,874 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2016 (see Table 1 and Figure 2). After that decrease, CDCR observed a 2.0 percent increase (2,415 incarcerated individuals) to 125,289 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2017, which was followed by decreases in subsequent years following the implementation of Proposition 57. On June 30, 2018, the male population decreased to 123,511 incarcerated individuals, a 1.4 percent decrease (1,778 incarcerated individuals), and then an additional decrease of 3.0 percent (3,730 incarcerated individuals) to 119,781 on June 30, 2019. The male population decreased by 9.3 percent (11,099 incarcerated individuals) to 108,682 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2020, and further decreased by 13.0 percent (14,120 incarcerated individuals) to 94,562 on June 30, 2021. The male population decreased 1.1 percent (1,052 incarcerated individuals) to 93,510 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2022, and then decreased an additional 1.3 percent (1,239 incarcerated individuals) to 92,271 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023.

Figure 2. Male Institution Population Trends and Projections, June 30, 2014 through June 30, 2028



2.2.4 Female Population Projections

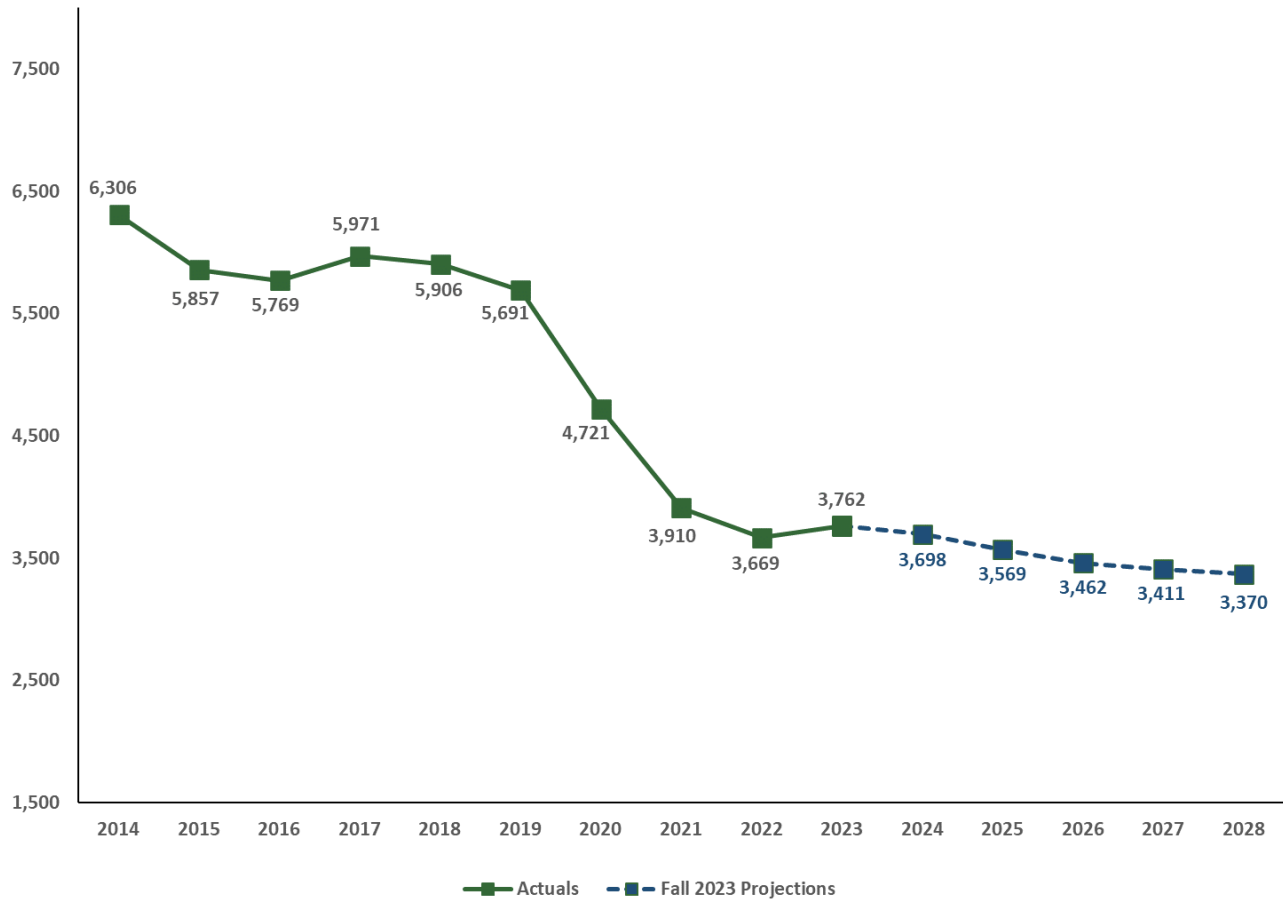
The female institution population is expected to decrease from 3,762 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023, to 3,698 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024 (see Table 1 and Figure 3). During the subsequent four years, the female population is predicted to experience annual decreases. The female population is anticipated to decrease 3.5 percent (129 incarcerated individuals) to 3,569 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, followed by a decrease of 3.0 percent (107 incarcerated individuals) to 3,462 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026. The female institution population is anticipated to decrease another 1.5 percent (51 incarcerated individuals) to 3,411 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and further decrease by 1.2 percent (41 incarcerated individuals) to reach 3,370 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028. The Fall 2023 Population Projections estimates a net five-year decrease of 10.4 percent or 392 incarcerated individuals.

2.2.5 Female Historical Population Trends

From June 30, 2014, to June 30, 2015, the female institution population decreased by 7.1 percent (449 incarcerated individuals), from 6,306 to 5,857 incarcerated individuals (see Table 1 and Figure 3). The following year, the female population decreased an additional 1.5 percent (88 incarcerated individuals) to 5,769 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2016. By June 30, 2017, the female population had increased by 3.5 percent (202 incarcerated individuals) to 5,971 incarcerated individuals. Following the implementation of Proposition 57, the female population experienced a decrease of 1.1 percent (65 incarcerated individuals) to 5,906 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2018, followed by a 3.6 percent decrease (215 incarcerated individuals) to 5,691 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2019. As of June 30, 2020, the female population had decreased by 17.0 percent (970 incarcerated individuals) to 4,721 incarcerated individuals from the previous year. The following year, the female population experienced an additional 17.2 percent (811 incarcerated individuals) decrease to 3,910 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2021. The female population decreased another 6.2 percent (241 incarcerated individuals) to reach 3,669 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2022. The female population increased 2.5 percent (93 incarcerated individuals) to reach 3,762 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023.

Quarterly projections of the institution population by gender for FY 2023-24 and FY 2024-25 are available in Appendix D, Tables 23 and 24.

Figure 3. Female Institution Population Trends and Projections, June 30, 2014 through June 30, 2028



3 Court Commitments⁶

3.1 Total Court Commitment Projections, Comparisons, and Historical Trends

3.1.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Total Court Commitment Projections

Although the Fall 2023 Population Projections expect admissions of felon court commitments to be lower than what was predicted in the Spring 2023 Projections, CDCR anticipates court commitments to experience an initial increase in the first two years of the projection cycle and then remain relatively stable throughout the projection cycle. The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict 29,918 admissions of court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers in FY 2023-24, which is 4.0 percent (1,255 commitments) lower than anticipated by the Spring 2023 Population Projections for the same time period (see Table 4). The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict admissions of court commitments to

⁶ Felon court commitments are a major factor in institution population increase or decline. Higher court commitments generally lead to institution population increase, and lower court commitments generally lead to institution population decline. These general patterns may be counterbalanced by other factors, such as changes in length of stay.

be 30,501 in FY 2024-25, which is 2.9 percent (898 commitments) lower than what was predicted in Spring 2023. The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect total court commitments to be 30,621 in FY 2025-26, and 30,653 in FY 2026-27, which is 2.7 percent (851 commitments) and 2.6 percent (809 commitments) lower than the Spring 2023 Population Projections, respectively. In FY 2027-28, the Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate 30,655 admissions of court commitments to CDCR.

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict admissions of court commitments to CDCR reception centers to be lower than the Spring 2023 Projections and remain lower than pre-pandemic⁷ levels through FY 2027-28.

Table 4. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Total Court Commitment Projections

Fiscal Year	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2022-23	29,345	*29,684	339	1.2%
2023-24	31,173	29,918	-1,255	-4.0%
2024-25	31,399	30,501	-898	-2.9%
2025-26	31,472	30,621	-851	-2.7%
2026-27	31,462	30,653	-809	-2.6%
2027-28	N/A	30,655	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

3.1.2 Total Court Commitment Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict admissions of felon court commitments to Reception Centers will experience an initial increase in the first two years of the projection cycle and then remain relatively stable throughout the projection cycle. In FY 2023-24, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict total commitments to increase to 29,918 commitments, which is 0.8 percent (234 commitments) higher than the total court commitments admitted in FY 2022-23 (see Table 5 and Figure 4). The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect total commitments to increase 1.9 percent (583 commitments) to 30,501 in FY 2024-25, followed by an increase of 0.4 percent (120 commitments) to 30,621 in FY 2025-26. For the remainder of the projection cycle, felon court commitments are predicted to stabilize, reaching 30,653 commitments in FY 2026-27 and 30,655 commitments in FY 2027-28.

3.1.3 Total Court Commitment Historical Trends

The number of felon court commitments admitted to CDCR decreased 8.5 percent in FY 2014-15 (38,853 to 35,547 commitments), primarily due to the passage of Proposition 47. In FY 2015-16, admissions of felon court commitments increased by 0.3 percent (35,547 to 35,637 commitments), then by 2.6 percent in FY 2016-17 (35,637 to 36,556 commitments). Following these two years of increases, court

⁷ Pre-pandemic levels refers to the average monthly commitments admitted to CDCR in FY 2018-19, which was approximately 2,900 commitments.

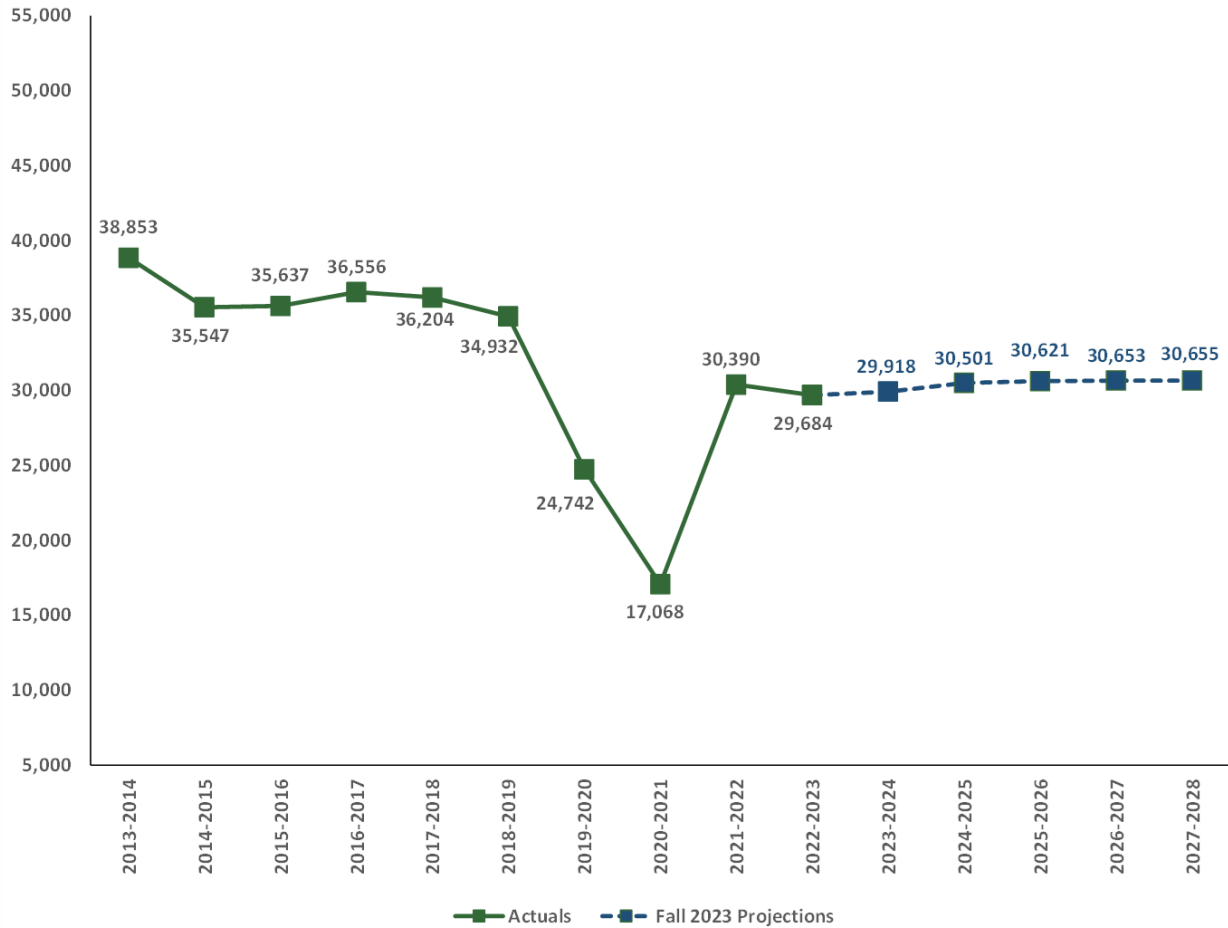
commitments decreased 1.0 percent in FY 2017-18 (36,556 to 36,204 commitments) and 3.5 percent in FY 2018-19 (36,204 to 34,932 commitments). In FY 2019-20 and FY 2020-21, felon court commitments saw significant decreases of 29.2 percent (34,932 to 24,742 commitments) and 31.0 percent (24,742 to 17,068 commitments), respectively. This decrease was mainly due to CDCR's temporary suspension of intake of court commitments into CDCR Reception Centers in response to COVID-19. In FY 2021-22, admissions of felon court commitments experienced a sizeable increase of 78.1 percent (17,068 to 30,390 commitments). This increase was associated with the resumption of intake to CDCR Reception Centers and the clearing of the backlog of individuals in county jail awaiting transfer to state prisons. The following year in FY 2022-23, admissions of court commitments decreased by 2.3 percent (30,390 to 29,684 commitments).

Detailed tables showing actual and projected rates of admissions of court commitments into CDCR Reception Centers are shown in Appendix D, Tables 17 through 22.

Table 5. Felon Court Commitments and Projections by Gender, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2027-28

Fiscal Year	Commitments						Total	Percent Change
	Male	Percent of Total	Percent Change	Female	Percent of Total	Percent Change		
Actual								
2013-14	36,085	92.9%	N/A	2,768	7.1%	N/A	38,853	N/A
2014-15	33,080	93.1%	-8.3%	2,467	6.9%	-10.9%	35,547	-8.5%
2015-16	33,263	93.3%	0.6%	2,374	6.7%	-3.8%	35,637	0.3%
2016-17	33,958	92.9%	2.1%	2,598	7.1%	9.4%	36,556	2.6%
2017-18	33,526	92.6%	-1.3%	2,678	7.4%	3.1%	36,204	-1.0%
2018-19	32,293	92.4%	-3.7%	2,639	7.6%	-1.5%	34,932	-3.5%
2019-20	22,852	92.4%	-29.2%	1,890	7.6%	-28.4%	24,742	-29.2%
2020-21	15,694	91.9%	-31.3%	1,374	8.1%	-27.3%	17,068	-31.0%
2021-22	28,668	94.3%	82.7%	1,722	5.7%	25.3%	30,390	78.1%
2022-23	27,656	93.2%	-3.5%	2,028	6.8%	17.8%	29,684	-2.3%
Projected								
2023-24	27,569	92.1%	-0.3%	2,349	7.9%	15.8%	29,918	0.8%
2024-25	28,075	92.0%	1.8%	2,426	8.0%	3.3%	30,501	1.9%
2025-26	28,197	92.1%	0.4%	2,424	7.9%	-0.1%	30,621	0.4%
2026-27	28,223	92.1%	0.1%	2,430	7.9%	0.2%	30,653	0.1%
2027-28	28,226	92.1%	0.0%	2,429	7.9%	0.0%	30,655	0.0%

Figure 4. Felon Court Commitment Trends and Projections, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2027-28



3.2 Court Commitment Projections by Gender

3.2.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Court Commitment Projections by Gender

In FY 2023-24, the Fall 2023 Population Projections expect there will be 27,569 admissions of male court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers, which is 4.7 percent (1,368 commitments) lower than expected in the Spring 2023 Projections (see Table 6). The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 28,075 admissions of male court commitments in FY 2024-25, which is 3.0 percent (874 commitments) lower than forecasted by the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate there will be 28,197 admissions of male court commitments in FY 2025-26 and 28,223 admissions in FY 2026-27, which is 2.6 percent (752 commitments) and 2.5 percent (723 commitments) lower, respectively, than forecasted by the Spring 2023 Population Projections. In FY 2027-28, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 28,226 admissions of male court commitments.

In FY 2023-24, the Fall 2023 Population Projections expect there will be 2,349 admissions of female court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers, which is 5.1 percent (113 commitments) higher than expected in the Spring 2023 Projections (see Table 6). In FY 2024-25, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 2,426 admissions of female court commitments, which is 1.0 percent (24 commitments) lower than forecasted by the Spring 2023 Population Projections. For FY 2025-26, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 2,424 admissions of female court commitments, which is 3.9 percent (99 commitments) lower than anticipated by the Spring 2023 Population Projections. For FY 2026-27, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 2,430 admissions of female court commitments, which is 3.4 percent (86 commitments) lower than forecasted by the Spring 2023 Population Projections. In FY 2027-28, the Fall 2023 Population Projections predict there will be 2,429 admissions of female court commitments.

Table 6. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Court Commitment Projections by Gender

Fiscal Year	Male				Female			
	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2022-23	27,358	*27,656	298	1.1%	1,987	*2,028	41	2.1%
2023-24	28,937	27,569	-1,368	-4.7%	2,236	2,349	113	5.1%
2024-25	28,949	28,075	-874	-3.0%	2,450	2,426	-24	-1.0%
2025-26	28,949	28,197	-752	-2.6%	2,523	2,424	-99	-3.9%
2026-27	28,946	28,223	-723	-2.5%	2,516	2,430	-86	-3.4%
2027-28	N/A	28,226	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,429	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

3.2.2 Male Felon Court Commitment Projections

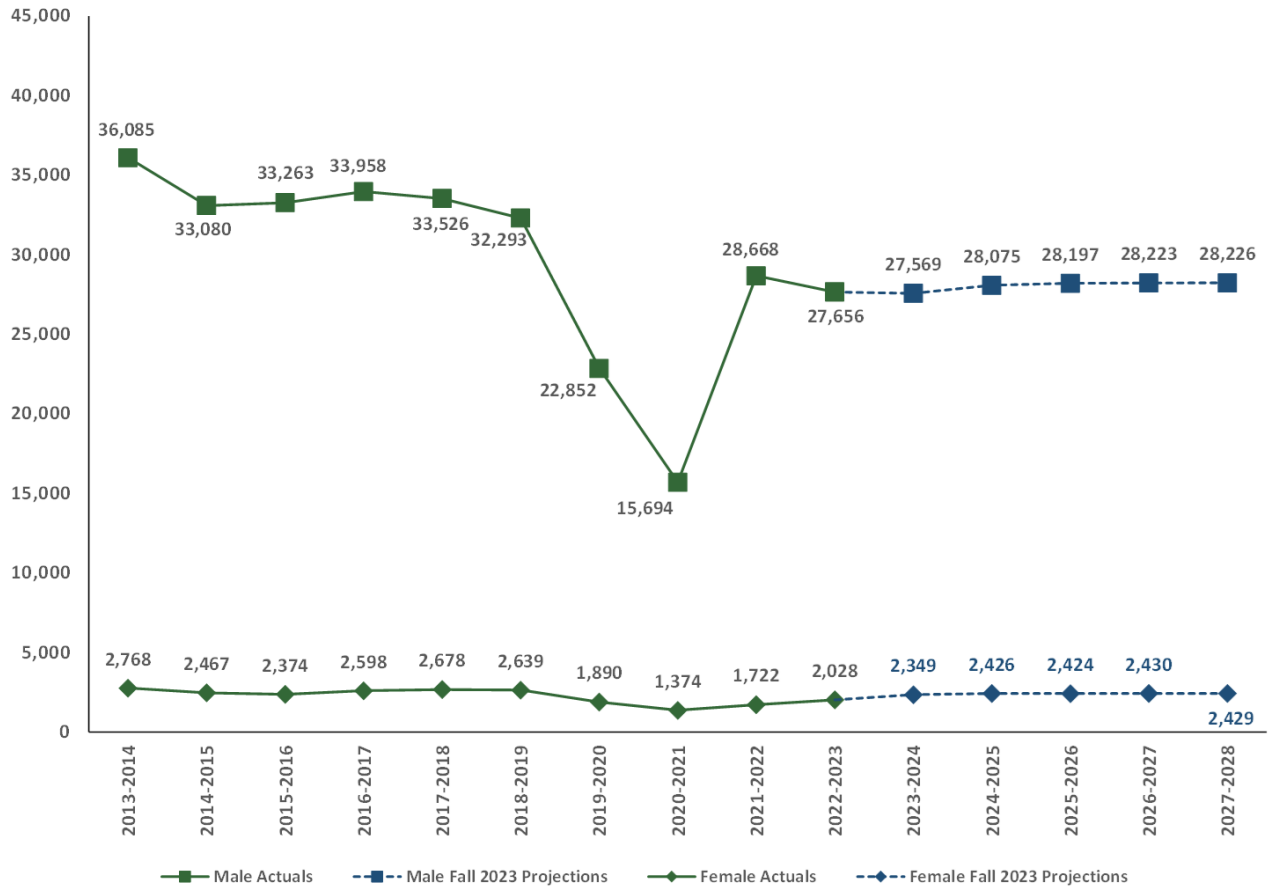
The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict that admissions of male court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers will experience a small decrease of 0.3 percent (87 commitments) from 27,656 court commitments admitted in FY 2022-23, to 27,569 commitments in FY 2023-24 (see Table 5 and Figure 5). Male court commitments are expected to increase by 1.8 percent (506 commitments) to 28,075 commitments in FY 2024-25, then increase by 0.4 percent (122 commitments) to 28,197 in FY 2025-26. For the remainder of the projection cycle, male court commitments are predicted to stabilize. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate 28,223 male commitments in FY 2026-27 and 28,226 male commitments in FY 2027-28.

3.2.3 Female Felon Court Commitment Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate the admissions of female court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers to increase by 15.8 percent (321 commitments) from 2,028 court commitments admitted in FY 2022-23 to 2,349 commitments in FY 2023-24 (see Table 5 and Figure 5). In FY 2024-25, Female court commitments are projected to increase by 3.3 percent (77 commitments) to 2,426 commitments. For the remainder of the projection cycle, female court commitments are predicted to

stabilize. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate 2,424 female commitments in FY 2025-26, 2,430 female commitments in FY 2026-27 and 2,429 female commitments in FY 2027-28.

Figure 5. Felon Court Commitment Trends and Projections by Gender, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2027-28



3.3 Felon Second Strike Court Commitment Projections and Historical Trends

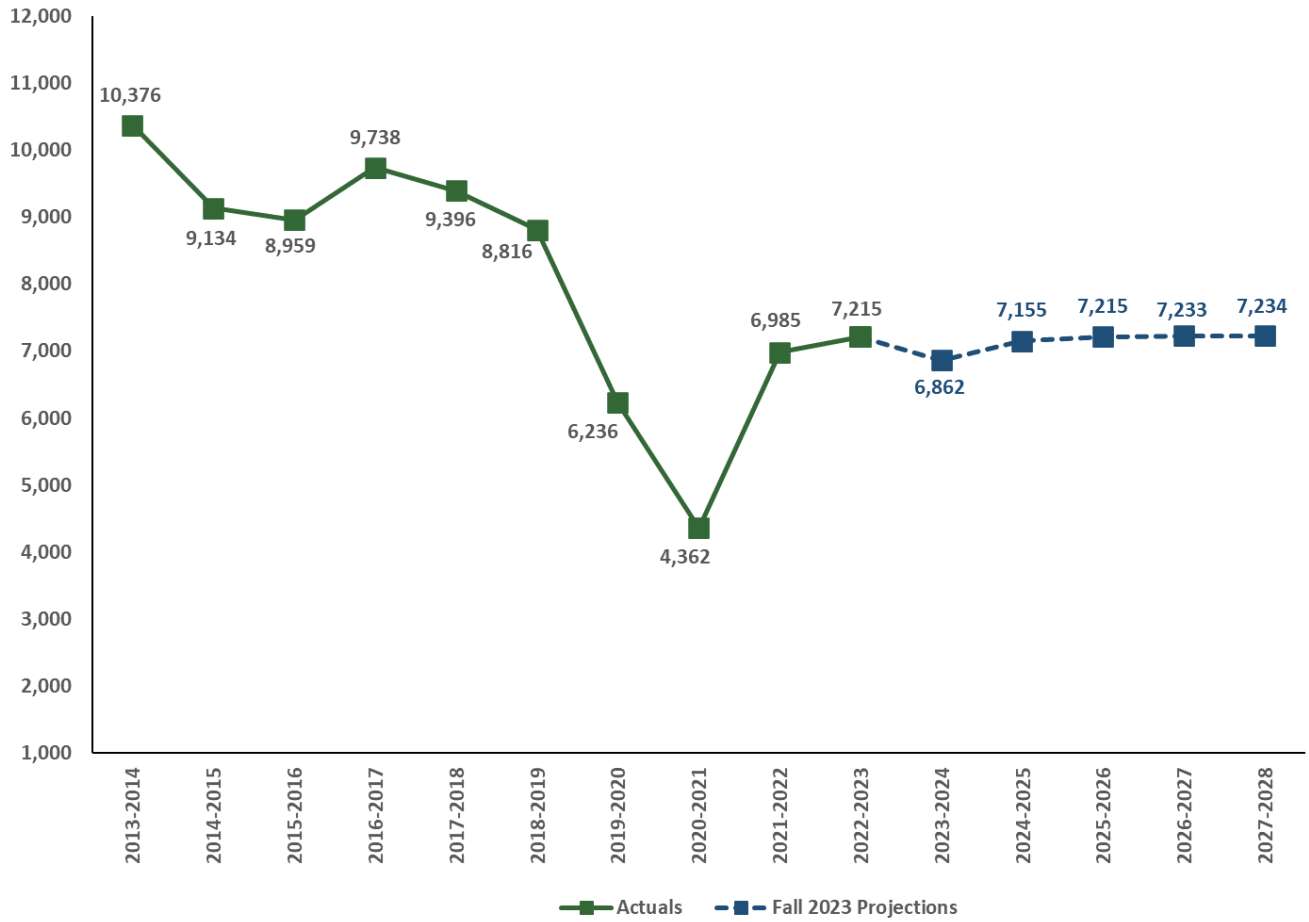
3.3.1 Felon Second Strike Court Commitment Projections

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict that Second Strike court commitments will experience a decrease of 4.9 percent (353 commitments) from 7,215 commitments in FY 2022-23, to 6,862 commitments in FY 2023-24 (see Figure 6). Second Strike court commitments are expected to increase by 4.3 percent (293 commitments) to 7,155 commitments in FY 2024-25. For the remainder of the projection cycle, Second Strike court commitments are predicted to stabilize. The Fall 2023 Population Projections anticipate 7,215 Second Strike commitments in FY 2025-26, 7,233 Second Strike commitments in FY 2026-27, and 7,234 Second Strike commitments in FY 2027-28.

3.3.2 Felon Second Strike Court Commitment Historical Trends

From FY 2013-14 to FY 2014-15, the number of felon Second Strike court commitments admitted to CDCR decreased 12.0 percent (1,242 commitments) to 9,134 Second Strike commitments (see Figure 6). Second Strike commitments decreased 1.9 percent (175 commitments) to 8,959 commitments in FY 2015-16. After these two years of decreases, Second Strike commitments increased 8.7 percent (779 commitments) to 9,738 commitments in FY 2016-17, which was a larger percentage increase than observed in total court commitments (2.6 percent). Similar to total felon court commitments, Second Strike court commitments decreased by 3.5 percent (342 commitments) to 9,396 in FY 2017-18, and 6.2 percent (580 commitments) to 8,816 in FY 2018-19. During FY 2019-20, admissions of Second Strike court commitments to CDCR Reception Centers decreased 29.3 percent (2,580 commitments) to 6,236 commitments from the previous fiscal year, and then decreased an additional 30.1 percent (1,874 commitments) in FY 2020-21 to 4,362 commitments. The following year, Second Strike court commitments experienced a sizable increase of 60.1 percent (2,623 commitments), reaching 6,985 commitments in FY 2021-22. FY 2022-23 saw another increase of 3.3 percent (230 commitments), reaching 7,215 commitments.

Figure 6. Second Strike Court Commitment Trends and Projections, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2027-28



4 Male Incarcerated Individual Placement Needs Projections⁸

4.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Male Incarcerated Individual Placement Needs

4.1.1 Reception Center Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Reception Center (RC) placement needs to be lower than the Spring 2023 Projections across the five years of the projection period (see Table 7).

Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the June 30, 2024, RC placement needs to decrease to 4,549 incarcerated individuals, which is 33.4 percent (2,286 incarcerated individuals) lower than predicted in the Spring 2023 Projections. The Fall 2023 Projections expect the June 30, 2025, RC placement needs to increase to 4,624 incarcerated individuals, which is 32.3 percent (2,211 incarcerated individuals) lower than the Spring 2023 RC placement needs projection. The Fall 2023 Population Projection predicts the RC placement needs to minimally fluctuate from June 30, 2025, to June 30, 2028.

Table 7. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Reception Center Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	6,830	*5,878	-952	-13.9%
2024	6,835	4,549	-2,286	-33.4%
2025	6,835	4,624	-2,211	-32.3%
2026	6,835	4,679	-2,156	-31.5%
2027	6,835	4,668	-2,167	-31.7%
2028	N/A	4,667	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.2 Level I Placement Needs

Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Level I placement needs to be lower for each year of the projection cycle than what was forecasted in the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 8). The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the Level I placement needs to decrease to 6,868 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024, which is 18.2 percent (1,530 incarcerated individuals) lower than the Spring 2023 Projections. Level I placement needs are anticipated to decrease to 6,795 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, 6,631 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026, 6,544 incarcerated

⁸ Populations in Levels I-IV reflect endorsements to these levels and take into account some of the override reasons.

individuals on June 30, 2027, and 6,404 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028, all lower than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively.

Table 8. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Level I Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	8,993	*9,558	565	6.3%
2024	8,398	6,868	-1,530	-18.2%
2025	9,009	6,795	-2,214	-24.6%
2026	9,329	6,631	-2,698	-28.9%
2027	9,176	6,544	-2,632	-28.7%
2028	N/A	6,404	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.3 Level II Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Level II placement needs for each fiscal year in the projection period to be higher than the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 9). The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the Level II placement needs to decrease to 41,665 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024, which is 6.0 percent (2,365 incarcerated individuals) lower than the Spring 2023 Projections. Level II placement needs are anticipated to decrease to 41,478 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, 40,627 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026, 39,635 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and 38,945 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028, all lower than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively.

Table 9. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Level II Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	38,991	*41,706	2,715	7.0%
2024	39,300	41,665	2,365	6.0%
2025	36,600	41,478	4,878	13.3%
2026	32,918	40,627	7,709	23.4%
2027	31,995	39,635	7,640	23.9%
2028	N/A	38,945	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.4 Level III Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Level III placement needs to be lower than the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 10). The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the Level III

placement needs to increase to 15,068 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024, which is 3.0 percent (460 incarcerated individuals) lower than the Spring 2023 Projections. Level III placement needs are anticipated to decrease to 14,411 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, 14,144 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026, 13,725 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and 13,455 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028, all lower than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively.

Table 10. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Level III Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	15,230	*14,588	-642	-4.2%
2024	15,528	15,068	-460	-3.0%
2025	16,503	14,411	-2,092	-12.7%
2026	18,622	14,144	-4,478	-24.0%
2027	18,708	13,725	-4,983	-26.6%
2028	N/A	13,455	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.5 Level IV Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Level IV placement needs for each fiscal year included in the projection period to be higher than the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 11). The Fall 2023 Population Projections expect the Level IV placement needs to increase to 20,068 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2024, which is 11.4 percent (2,057 incarcerated individuals) higher than the Spring 2023 Projections. Level IV placement needs are anticipated to decrease to 19,751 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2025, 19,256 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2026, 18,923 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2027, and 18,415 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2028, all higher than the Spring 2023 Projections, respectively.

Table 11. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Level IV Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	19,746	*20,061	315	1.6%
2024	18,011	20,068	2,057	11.4%
2025	17,697	19,751	2,054	11.6%
2026	17,346	19,256	1,910	11.0%
2027	17,066	18,923	1,857	10.9%
2028	N/A	18,415	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.6 Protective Housing Unit Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Protective Housing Unit (PHU) placement needs to be the same as the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 12). The PHU placement needs are projected to remain stable at seven incarcerated individuals each year throughout the projection period.

Table 12. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 PHU Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	7	*7	0	0.0%
2024	7	7	0	0.0%
2025	7	7	0	0.0%
2026	7	7	0	0.0%
2027	7	7	0	0.0%
2028	N/A	7	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

4.1.7 Security Housing Unit Placement Needs

The Fall 2023 Population Projections predict the Security Housing Unit (SHU)⁹ placement needs will be lower than the Spring 2023 Population Projections (see Table 13).

Table 13. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 SHU Placement Needs Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	500	*473	-27	-5.4%
2024	501	474	-27	-5.4%
2025	501	474	-27	-5.4%
2026	501	474	-27	-5.4%
2027	501	474	-27	-5.4%
2028	N/A	474	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

⁹ Security Housing Unit (SHU) includes incarcerated individuals who are housed in Long Term Restricted Housing (LTRH), SHU, Psychiatric Services Unit (PSU), as well as any incarcerated individuals who are endorsed to one of these housing levels. Please note, effective November 1, 2023 CDCR reduced the number of restricted housing units by combining the Administrative Segregation Unit (ASU) and Security Housing Unit (SHU). This policy change will be reflected in the Spring 2024 Population Projections report. More information regarding CDCR’s restricted housing is available at: [Restricted Housing - Division of Adult Institutions \(DAI\) \(ca.gov\)](https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/About-CDCR/Restricted-Housing/)

4.2 Male Placement Need Projections¹⁰

CDCR predicts housing needs for male incarcerated individuals placed in Level I, Level II, Level III, and Level IV to decrease through June 30, 2028.

The decrease is due to the continuing impact of Proposition 57 and recent policy changes. The full impact in the later years will require further study as more information becomes available. Level II incarcerated individuals are expected to encompass the largest portion of the male population, while Level I incarcerated individuals are expected to represent the smallest portion throughout the projection cycle.

Table 14 presents the Fall 2023 male institution population projections by housing level. CDCR’s Reception Center population was 5,878 incarcerated individuals on June 30, 2023. CDCR predicts Reception Center needs will decrease to 4,549 on June 30, 2024, and then increase to 4,667 on June 30, 2028.

Quarterly housing level projections through June 30, 2025, and annual housing level projections through June 30, 2028, are available in Appendix D, Tables 25 and 26.

Table 14. Male Institution Population Projections by Housing Level, June 30, 2023 through June 30, 2028

June 30	Security Level							Total Male
	Reception Center	Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	PHU	SHU	
2023 (Actual)	5,878	9,558	41,706	14,588	20,061	7	473	92,271
2024	4,549	6,868	41,665	15,068	20,068	7	474	88,699
2025	4,624	6,795	41,478	14,411	19,751	7	474	87,540
2026	4,679	6,631	40,627	14,144	19,256	7	474	85,818
2027	4,668	6,544	39,635	13,725	18,923	7	474	83,976
2028	4,667	6,404	38,945	13,455	18,415	7	474	82,367

¹⁰ Populations in Levels I-IV reflect endorsements to these levels and takes into account some of the override codes.

5 Parole Population

5.1 Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Active Parole Population Projections

The Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Population Projections predict a higher parole population in the early part of the projection cycle and a lower parole population in the later part. However, the Fall 2023 Population Projection anticipates the population to stabilize at a lower population than the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The Fall 2023 Population Projections had an active parole population of 36,195 parolees on June 30, 2023, which is 3.5 percent (1,305 parolees) lower than projected in the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The Fall 2023 Population Projections predicts an active parole population of 36,457 parolees on June 30, 2024, which is 0.2 percent (75 parolees) higher than projected in the Spring 2023 Population Projections. The difference is attributed to the earlier than anticipated impact of earned discharge. By June 30, 2028, the parole population is predicted to reach 35,182 parolees (see Table 15 and Figure 7).

Table 15. Comparison of Spring 2023 and Fall 2023 Active Parole Population Projections

June 30	Spring 2023	Fall 2023	Difference	Percent Difference
2023	37,500	*36,195	-1,305	-3.5%
2024	36,382	36,457	75	0.2%
2025	35,695	34,628	-1,067	-3.0%
2026	36,507	34,448	-2,059	-5.6%
2027	36,061	35,717	-344	-1.0%
2028	N/A	35,182	N/A	N/A

*Actual Population

5.2 Active Parole Population Projections and Historical Trends

5.2.1 Active Parole Population Projections

CDCR projects that the active parole population will experience an increase of 0.7 percent (262 parolees) from June 30, 2023, to June 30, 2024 (see Table 16). The parole population is projected to decrease to 35,182 on June 30, 2028. The anticipated decrease in the parole population is related to continued changes to the earned discharge policy and lengths of parole terms that went into effect in July 2020. Parole terms are capped at 24 months for most non-violent incarcerated individuals, with most non-sex registrant parolees being discharged at 12 months. For more information about these changes, see "Changes to Lengths of Parole Terms and Earned Discharge Process" in the Policy Changes section of Appendix B of the report.

5.2.2 Active Parole Population Historical Trends

The population of active parolees supervised in California increased by 2.2 percent between 2014 and 2015. Subsequently, the parole population decreased by 3.6 percent from June 30, 2015, to June 30, 2016 (45,473 to 43,814 parolees; see Table 16 and Figure 7). These changes were observed due to the passing of Proposition 47, which resulted in approximately 4,700 incarcerated individuals being resentenced and released from institutions, with most incarcerated individuals serving a one-year parole period.

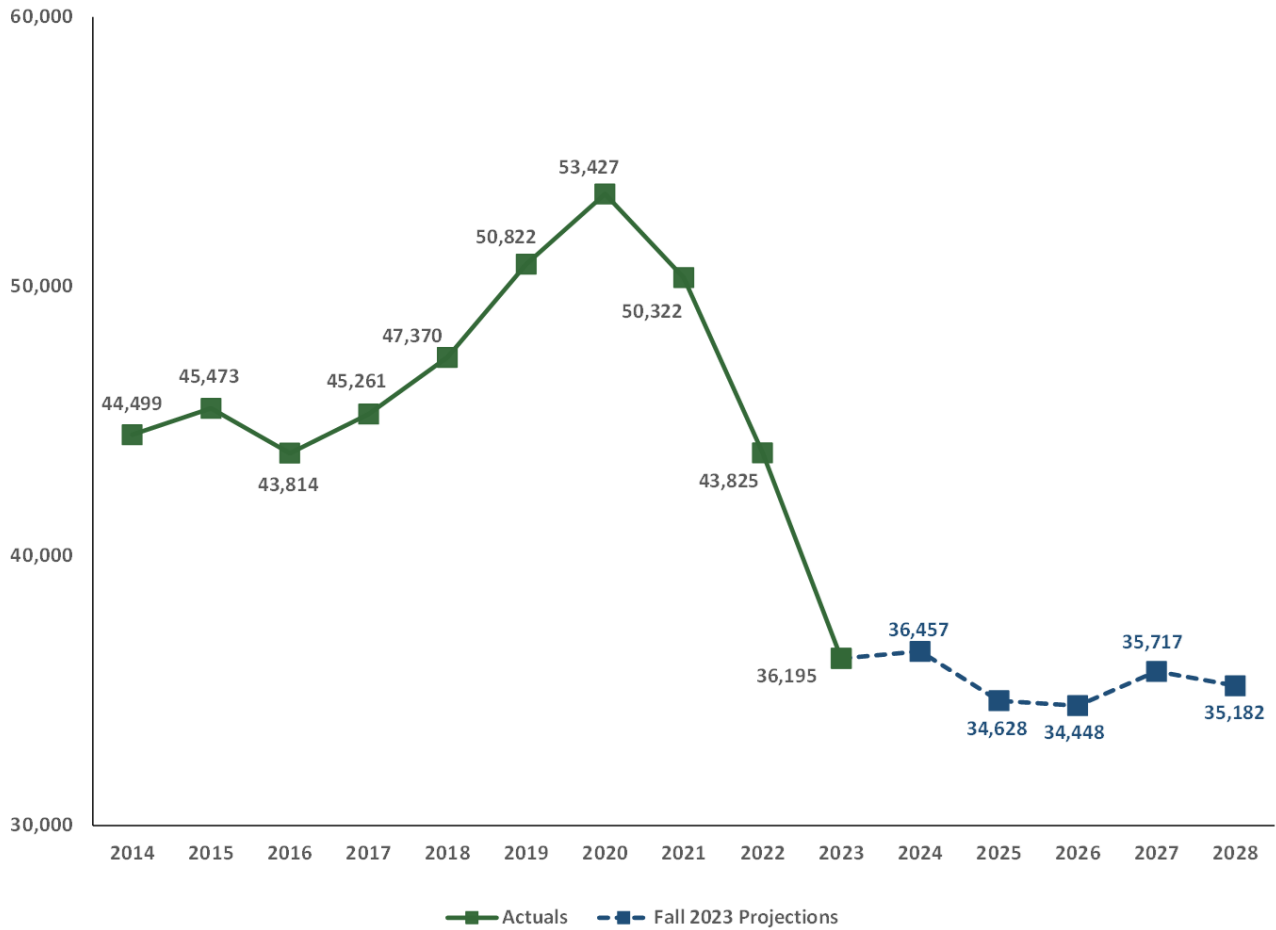
Following this decrease, the active parole population experienced four consecutive years of increases. From June 30, 2016, to June 30, 2017, the population grew by 3.3 percent (43,814 to 45,261 parolees), this was followed by a 4.7 percent increase from June 30, 2017, to June 30, 2018 (45,261 to 47,370 parolees). The parole population experienced a 7.3 percent increase from June 30, 2018, to June 30, 2019 (47,370 to 50,822 parolees), and an additional increase of 5.1 percent from June 30, 2019, to June 30, 2020 (50,822 to 53,427 parolees). Parole population increases were related to a growing number of parolees who served life institution terms and were consequently expected to serve long lengths of stay on parole, as well as an increased number of releases from the institutions due to the impacts of Proposition 57 and other policy changes. Following these four consecutive years of increases, the active parole population experienced three consecutive years of decreases. The active parole population experienced a decrease of 5.8 percent between June 30, 2020, and June 30, 2021 (53,427 to 50,322 parolees). The active parole population experienced an additional reduction of 12.9 percent from June 30, 2021, and June 30, 2022 (50,322 to 43,825 parolees). The active parole population further experienced a reduction of 17.4 percent from June 30, 2022, to June 30, 2023 (43,825 to 36,195 parolees). The decrease in the parole population observed from June 30, 2020, to June 30, 2023, was related to the earned discharge policy change, which expanded eligibility for certain parolees to be considered for discharge 12 months after release from prison.

Quarterly projections of the active parole population through June 2024 are available in Appendix D, Tables 27 and 28.

Table 16. Active Parole Population Supervised in California, June 30, 2014 through June 30, 2028

June 30	Active Parole	Percent Change
Actual		
2014	44,499	N/A
2015	45,473	2.2%
2016	43,814	-3.6%
2017	45,261	3.3%
2018	47,370	4.7%
2019	50,822	7.3%
2020	53,427	5.1%
2021	50,322	-5.8%
2022	43,825	-12.9%
2023	36,195	-17.4%
Projected		
2024	36,457	0.7%
2025	34,628	-5.0%
2026	34,448	-0.5%
2027	35,717	3.7%
2028	35,182	-1.5%

Figure 7. Active Parole Population Trends and Projections, June 30, 2014 through June 30, 2028



Appendix A – Methodology, Technical Notes, and Limitations

Methodology and Technical Notes

Most corrections population experts agree that projections beyond two- to three-year time horizons are difficult to model with precision.¹¹ Due to the need to prepare longer-term projections for planning purposes, this report presents up to five years of projections for some populations. CDCR's Office of Research uses the most current data available to produce its population projections. Routine database updates may cause some reported values to differ from previously reported values.

The adult population projections use historical trend data and simulation model that projects incarcerated individual movements for the population in custody at the start of the projections and projected future court commitments. The model forecasts anticipated changes in housing levels over the incarceration period and releases from the institution to parole or county post release community supervision. The timing of the projected actions is based on trend data entered into the model.

Beginning with the Spring 2014 Population Projections, the active parole population excludes parolees on non-revocable parole. Parole population values reported in earlier reports included parolees on non-revocable parole.

Beginning with the Fall 2015 Projections, CDCR adopted a new court commitment forecasting procedure that relies solely on data observed after the implementation of the 2011 Realignment legislation (October 2011) for determinately sentenced incarcerated individuals. This approach was employed because sufficient data became available at that point to conduct robust analyses of the predictive power of pre-Realignment compared to post-Realignment data. These analyses have revealed predictions using only data collected after the implementation period and are more accurate than predictions using both pre- and post-Realignment commitment data.

Additionally, beginning with the Fall 2015 Projections, CDCR utilized incarcerated individual classification data collected in the Strategic Offender Management System (SOMS). This change resulted in shifts in projected housing placement needs compared to past projections, primarily in housing Levels II and III. The deployment of SOMS in 2013 coincided with a revised classification scoring structure that changed the parameters for determining housing placements. As incarcerated individuals were reclassified under the new classification structure, there was a data entry lag for some information into the legacy Inmate Classification Scoring System. The SOMS data provide a more complete and accurate account of current incarcerated individuals placement needs.

Beginning with the Spring 2016 Projections, the adult institution population includes incarcerated individuals in alternative custody and community re-entry programs, as well as incarcerated individuals on medical parole. CDCR made this change to create a more comprehensive view of the adult

¹¹ See the *Limitations* section in this report.

incarcerated individual population serving an institution term. The authors of this report recommend exercising caution when comparing projections published in past reports.

The California population data used to calculate the commitment rates to an institution are based on demographic data obtained from the California Department of Finance.¹² These population data are provided for calendar year midpoints (July 1). For this report, data for two points in time were averaged to afford a closer fit to the state fiscal year.

Limitations

Although CDCR's population projections are designed to be as accurate as possible, it is difficult to model projections beyond a two- to three-year time horizon with precision. Nevertheless, this report provides up to five years of projections for some populations.

The projections do not currently incorporate any assumptions about individuals awaiting trial and/or sentencing due to COVID-19 related court closures and backlogs, which could generate a temporary increase in admissions to CDCR in the future. As additional data becomes available, future projections may include an adjustment to account for these groups. The impact of recent policy changes on CDCR's populations are still developing, and the authors of this report suggest using caution when interpreting these projection results.

¹² California Department of Finance. Demographic Research Unit. Report P-3: Population Projections, California, 2020-2060 (Baseline 2019 Population Projections; Vintage 2023 Release). Sacramento: California. July 2023.

Appendix B – Significant Chaptered Legislation, Initiatives, and Policy Changes¹³

Adults

Legislation

Chapter 728, Statutes of 2021, [Senate Bill (SB 483)]

The legislation applies retroactively and removes enhancements for incarcerated individuals convicted of prior prison terms under PC 667.5(b) imposed prior to January 1, 2020, and HS 11370.2 imposed prior to January 1, 2018. Eligible current incarcerated individuals will be resentenced by December 2023. Future admissions are also affected. *The estimated impact of this legislation is factored into the Population Projections.*

Chapter 537, Statutes of 2021, (SB 73)

Signed by Governor and chaptered on October 5, 2021. Ends mandatory jail sentences for specified crimes related to the sale of controlled substances. Allows judges to order probation and community-based services for specified crimes. *The estimated impact of this legislation is factored into the Population Projections.*

Chapter 334, Statutes of 2020, [Assembly Bill (AB) 3234]

Signed by Governor and chaptered on September 30, 2020. Modified the minimum age limitation for the elderly parole program to 50 years of age and requires the person to have served a minimum of 20 years of continuous incarceration to be eligible for elderly parole. Under the previous law, AB 1448, incarcerated individuals were eligible for elderly parole review once they turned 60 and had served 25 continuous years of incarceration. *The estimated impact of this legislation is factored into the Population Projections with an assumed implementation date of July 1, 2022.*

Chapter 590, Statutes of 2019, (SB 136)

Signed by Governor and chaptered on October 8, 2019. Removed from the law is a one-year enhancement for prior non-violent institution terms. *The estimated impact of this legislation is factored into the Population Projections with an assumed effective date of January 1, 2020.*

¹³ Information about Significant Legislation, Initiatives, and Policy Changes implemented prior to 2014 may be found in earlier population projections reports available at <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/research/population-reports>.

Chapter 577, Statutes of 2019, (AB 965)

Signed by Governor and chaptered on October 8, 2019. Allows Educational Merit Credits to be applied to an offender's Youth Eligibility Parole Date. Existing law requires the Board of Parole Hearings to conduct a youth incarcerated individuals parole hearing for incarcerated individuals sentenced to state prison who committed specified crimes when they were under 25 years of age. *The estimated impact of this legislation is factored into the Population Projections with an assumed effective date of January 1, 2020.*

Initiatives

Proposition 57 – Public Safety and Rehabilitation Act of 2016.

The proposition 1) increased the number of non-violent incarcerated individuals eligible for parole consideration and allowed parole consideration after serving the full term of the sentence for their primary offense; 2) authorized CDCR to award sentence credits for rehabilitation, good behavior, or educational achievements; and 3) provided juvenile court judges authority to decide whether juveniles aged 14 and older should be sentenced as adults for specified offenses. *This proposition was passed into law on November 8, 2016, and is factored into the Population Projections.*

Proposition 47 – Criminal Sentences, Misdemeanor Penalties, Initiative Statute.

Required misdemeanor instead of felony sentence for certain drug possession offenses. Required misdemeanor instead of felony sentence for the following crimes when the amount involved is \$950 or less: petty theft, receiving stolen property and forging/writing bad checks. Allowed felony sentences for these offenses if a person has had a previous conviction for crimes such as rape, murder, or child molestation or is a registered sex offender. Required resentencing for persons serving felony sentences for these offenses unless the court finds unreasonable public safety risk.

The proposition resulted in fewer commitments to state institutions from the court.

Proposition 47-related decreases in the institution population include the effect of resentencing avoided court commitments. The impact of avoided court commitments is assumed to continue indefinitely. *This proposition was passed into law on November 4, 2014, and is factored into the Population Projections.*

Policy Changes

Change in Milestone Completion Credit Schedule and Integrated Substance Use Disorder Treatment Program

CDCR adopted regulations on August 31, 2022, that updated terminology, expanded rehabilitative programs and reentry services, and eliminated the Long-Term Offender Program by incorporating participants into the new Integrated Substance Use Disorder Treatment Program (ISUDT). The regulations also amended the Milestone Completion Credit (MCC) Schedule to add new programs, discontinue programs that are no longer available to incarcerated individuals, amend the amount of credit earned for some programs, and reorganize the schedule.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of August 31, 2022.

Change in Credit-earning for Violent Incarcerated Individuals and All Non-Violent Second Strikers

CDCR implemented changes to good conduct credits (GCCs) with an operationally effective date of May 2021. Based on the changes, violent incarcerated individuals' credit-earning rate increased from 20 percent to 33.3 percent. For all non-violent second strikers, the credit-earning rate increased from 33.3 percent to 50 percent. A substantially similar version of these regulations was readopted on December 28, 2021, on an emergency basis under Penal Code section 5058.3. The permanent regulations were adopted and enacted in August 2022.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of May 1, 2021.

Change in Credit-earning for Incarcerated Individuals in Fire Camps and Minimum Support Facilities

In December 2021, updated regulations were filed related to good conduct credit (GCC) earning. These included rate changes for individuals assigned to minimum support facilities and fire camps. Minimum Security Credits (30-day earned credit after every 30 days served) were discontinued and enhanced GCCs were re-implemented. All Minimum Security Credits that had been earned were eligible to be retained. Individuals with non-violent offenses assigned to fire camps or minimum custody facilities earn 66.6 percent (from 50 percent) while individuals with violent offenses assigned to fire camps earn 50 percent (from 33.3 percent). Individuals in Work Groups "C" or "D2" will revert to zero credit earning.

On December 30, 2021, a Sacramento County Superior Court judge granted a temporary restraining order (TRO) against portions of the regulations. The order was part of litigation filed by several District Attorneys challenging the regulations. The TRO included some revisions to the GCC regulations approved by the Office of Administrative Law. While the matter was considered in court, CDCR did not implement the portion of the regulations that increased GCC from 50% to 66.6% for individuals serving time for a non-violent second strike who are assigned to Workgroup M.

On January 20, 2022, the court denied plaintiffs' request for a preliminary injunction, meaning CDCR will implement those portions of the regulations affecting non-violent second strikers assigned to Workgroup M. About 1,500 incarcerated people in Workgroup M will earn 66.6% GCC, to be applied retroactively to the regulations' effective date of December 28, 2021.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of January 1, 2022.

Changes to the Non-Violent Offender Parole Process (NVPP)

Effective January 29, 2021, the California Supreme Court in the case of *In re Gadlin*, held that under Proposition 57, individuals required to register as a sex offender (Penal Code section 290) based on a prior conviction could no longer be categorically excluded from non-violent parole consideration. The Court also held that the Department's regulations cannot exclude incarcerated individuals for a current offense unless defined by the regulations as a violent felony. This means incarcerated individuals both previously and currently convicted of a registerable sex offense are now eligible for the non-violent parole process after serving the full term of their primary offense, as long as their current term is non-violent.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of July 1, 2021.

Reduced Time in Reception Center

Effective September 2020, CDCR implemented changes to the Reception Center process that may shorten the time in the Reception Center from historical levels of 90 to 120 days to 30 days. However, due to current transfer restrictions in place surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic, the Reception Center process may take up to 60 days to complete. Shorter time in Reception Centers would result in population decreases in Reception Centers and would allow incarcerated individuals to begin earning enhanced good conduct credits faster as these credits are not earned while incarcerated individuals are pending classification in the Reception Center.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of September 1, 2020.

Changes to Lengths of Parole Terms and Earned Discharge Process

A change made in the Fiscal Year 2020-21 Budget process¹⁴ allows incarcerated individuals released to parole on or after July 1, 2020, to serve a maximum two-year parole period as long as they are non-sex registrant determinately sentenced parolees. A three-year cap would apply to parolees who were indeterminately sentenced. These changes require the Division of Adult Parole Operations to review parolees for possible discharge no later than 12 months after release from prison.

Additionally, parolees who started their parole period prior to July 1, 2020, would be reviewed for discharge under an updated discharge review policy.

The estimated impact of this change is factored into the Population Projections with an operationally effective date of October 1, 2020.

Actions to Reduce Population and Maximize Space in response to COVID-19:

- CDCR expedited the release of incarcerated persons serving a sentence for non-violent offenses, who do not have to register as a sex offender and had 60 days or less to serve in April 2020.
- In July 2020 CDCR implemented release actions in an effort to further reduce the population to maximize space for physical distancing and isolation/quarantine efforts. CDCR expedited the release of non-violent and non-sex registrant incarcerated individuals with 180 days or less remaining on their sentences on a rolling basis beginning in July 2020. The last list of potentially eligible people was created in July 2021 and releases were completed in December 2021.¹⁵
- CDCR implemented a one-time Positive Programming Credit that provided 12 weeks of credit to eligible incarcerated individuals as of July 9, 2020, who did not have any serious rule violations between March 1 and July 5, 2020.¹⁶

The impacts of these actions are factored into the Population Projections.

Supplemental Reforms to Credit-Earning

Implemented to enhance the credits made available under Proposition 57. These policy changes became operationally effective in May 2019.

- Rehabilitative Achievement Credit: Prospectively increased credit earning from 7 days to 10 days per 52 hours of participation, up to a maximum of 40 days of credit per year.

¹⁴ Reflected in statutory changes Chapter 29, Statutes of 2020, (SB 118).

¹⁵ More information about actions to reduce population and maximize space is available at <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/covid19/frequently-asked-questions-expedited-releases/>.

¹⁶ More information about Positive Programming Credits is available at <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/covid19/memo-positive-programming-credits/>.

- Educational Merit Credit: Increased credit earning from 90 days to 180 days for General Equivalency Diplomas (GED), High School Diploma, or equivalent.
- Changes to 60-day release restriction for certain incarcerated individuals unless otherwise required by statute.

Parole Determination Process for Indeterminately Sentenced Non-Violent Incarcerated Individuals

Created a process for certain indeterminately sentenced non-violent incarcerated individuals to be reviewed for parole consideration by BPH after serving the full term of their primary offense effective January 2019.

Automatic Restoration of Forfeited Credits

Effective on April 3, 2019, California Code of Regulations, Title 15, section 3329.5 allows for GCCs forfeited by Rules Violation Reports (RVR) to be automatically restored. Previously, incarcerated individuals were required to apply for restoration once eligible. *This change is expected to increase restored credits and a consequent decrease in the length of stay for impacted incarcerated individuals. However, the impact of the change was not able to be quantified and is not included in the population projections.*

Penal Code Section 1170(d) Recall and Resentencing Changes

Changed Penal Code section 1170(d) authorizing the resentencing of an incarcerated individual to a lesser sentence under certain circumstances. *These changes were made as part of the FY 2018-19 Budget.*

Court-Ordered Measures Subsequently Enacted with the Implementation of Proposition 57

CDCR implemented the following policies and programs subsequently enacted with the implementation of Proposition 57. *The impact is assumed to continue indefinitely and is factored into the Population Projections.*

- Credit-earning change for specific incarcerated individuals: Prospectively increased credit earning for non-violent, non-sex registrant Second Strike incarcerated individuals from 20 percent to 33.3 percent and allowed these incarcerated individuals to earn milestone credits for rehabilitative programs. *This policy became operationally effective in February 2014.* Prospectively increased credit earning for all incarcerated individuals designated Minimum Custody who were eligible to earn day-for-day (50 percent) credits to two days of credit for each day served (2-for-1). *This policy became effective by court order on January 1, 2015.*
- Parole determination process for certain Second Strike incarcerated individuals: Created a process for certain non-violent, non-sex registrant Second Strike incarcerated individuals to be

reviewed for parole consideration by BPH once 50 percent of their sentence has been served. *This policy became effective by court order on January 1, 2015.*

Utilization of Administrative Determinants and Increased Access to Rehabilitative Programs

The California Code of Regulations, Title 15, sections 3375 and 3375.2, allows for the placement of incarcerated individuals in facilities with higher or lower security levels than indicated by incarcerated individual placement scores. In order to expand access to rehabilitative programs for incarcerated individuals who have demonstrated positive programming, CDCR clarified its application of these regulations in July 2016. *This policy change is factored into the Population Projections and is expected to result in an overall decreased need for male Level IV housing and a corresponding net increased need for male Level II and III housing.*

Segregated Housing

Effective in June 2015, the regulations provided for shorter segregated housing unit stays based on incarcerated individual behavior and reduced the number of offenses that may result in Security Housing Unit (SHU) terms. *The projections incorporate the effects of the Ashker settlement, which outlined a process for ending indeterminate SHU terms.*

Appendix C – Glossary of Terms¹⁷

ADP (Average Daily Population): The average population per day for a stated population for a specified time period, usually one year.

DOF: Department of Finance.

Discharge: When an incarcerated individual is no longer under the jurisdiction of CDCR.

DSL: Cases that fall under the Determinate Sentencing Law.

Felon: A person convicted of a felony offense and sentenced to a state institution by the court.

Level I, II, III, IV: The security level, and therefore the facility level, assigned to incarcerated individuals based on their classification score ranges. The higher the score, the higher the security level.

PAL (Parolee-At-Large): A felon parolee who absconds (hides) from parole supervision.

Parole: After the institution term is served, incarcerated individuals are supervised in the community by CDCR for an established period up to the statutory maximum.

Parolee: A felon released from confinement in a state institution to supervision in the community by CDCR, as defined in Penal Code section 3000.08.

Pending Revocation: A parolee who has been charged with violating a condition of parole and placed in CDCR custody pending investigation to determine if revocation time will be assessed.

PHU: Protective Housing Unit.

PRCS (Post Release Community Supervision): Felons released from confinement in a state institution who do not meet the criteria for state parole supervision are released to PRCS for community supervision at the local level.

PV-RTC (Parole Violator-Returned to Custody): A parolee who has violated the conditions of parole and has been returned to the institution.

PV-WNT (Parole Violator-Returned with a New Term): A parolee who has received a court sentence for a new crime and has been returned to the institution.

Reception Center: An institution designated as a center for the reception of prisoners newly committed to CDCR.

¹⁷ Some terms may not be used in this report.

Serious/Violent: Serious, as defined in Penal Code (PC) sections 1192.7(c) and 1192.8, and Violent as defined in PC section 667.5(c).

SHU: Security Housing Unit.

SOMS: Strategic Offender Management System.

Suspension: The interruption of a parole period, usually by absconding. Time on suspension is not credited to the period of parole.

Appendix D – Population Projections Tables 17 to 28

Tables 17 through 22 display actual and projected court commitments as rates relative to the California state population ages 18 to 49, for the total population and by gender. Actual rates are displayed for Fiscal Years (FY) 2013-14 through 2022-23 and projected rates are displayed for FY 2023-24 through 2027-28.

Table 17. Actual Felon Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2022-23

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2013-14	38,853	17,220	225.6
2014-15	35,547	17,231	206.3
2015-16	35,637	17,230	206.8
2016-17	36,556	17,230	212.2
2017-18	36,204	17,226	210.2
2018-19	34,932	17,193	203.2
2019-20	24,742	17,104	144.7
2020-21	17,068	16,628	102.6
2021-22	30,390	16,405	185.3
2022-23	29,684	16,298	182.1

Table 18. Actual Male Felon Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2022-23

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2013-14	36,085	8,795	410.3
2014-15	33,080	8,811	375.4
2015-16	33,263	8,821	377.1
2016-17	33,958	8,832	384.5
2017-18	33,526	8,842	379.2
2018-19	32,293	8,833	365.6
2019-20	22,852	8,789	260.0
2020-21	15,694	8,483	185.0
2021-22	28,668	8,373	342.4
2022-23	27,656	8,329	332.1

**Source of state population data is the California Department of Finance.*

See Appendix A, Methodology and Technical Notes.

Table 19. Actual Female Felon Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2013-14 through 2022-23

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2013-14	2,768	8,425	32.9
2014-15	2,467	8,420	29.3
2015-16	2,374	8,410	28.2
2016-17	2,598	8,398	30.9
2017-18	2,678	8,384	31.9
2018-19	2,639	8,361	31.6
2019-20	1,890	8,315	22.7
2020-21	1,374	8,145	16.9
2021-22	1,722	8,032	21.4
2022-23	2,028	7,969	25.4

Table 20. Fall 2023 Projected Felon Institution Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2027-28

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2023-24	29,918	16,302	183.5
2024-25	30,501	16,329	186.8
2025-26	30,621	16,367	187.1
2026-27	30,653	16,413	186.8
2027-28	30,655	16,456	186.3

*Source of state population data is the California Department of Finance.

See Appendix A, Methodology and Technical Notes.

Table 21. Fall 2023 Projected Male Felon Institution Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2027-28

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2023-24	27,569	8,340	330.6
2024-25	28,075	8,361	335.8
2025-26	28,197	8,388	336.2
2026-27	28,223	8,414	335.4
2027-28	28,226	8,438	334.5

Table 22. Fall 2023 Projected Female Felon Institution Court Commitments, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2027-28

Fiscal Year	Felon Court Commitments	State Population Ages 18-49 (in Thousands)*	Commitment Rate
2023-24	2,349	7,963	29.5
2024-25	2,426	7,968	30.4
2025-26	2,424	7,979	30.4
2026-27	2,430	7,999	30.4
2027-28	2,429	8,019	30.3

**Source of state population data is the California Department of Finance.
See Appendix A, Methodology and Technical Notes*

Table 23. Institution Population by Quarter and Gender, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2024-25

	Actual June 30, 2023	Fiscal Year 2023-24				Fiscal Year 2024-25			
		Sep 30	Dec 31	Mar 31	Jun 30	Sep 30	Dec 31	Mar 31	Jun 30
Total Male Population	92,271	91,230	90,373	89,486	88,699	88,512	87,953	87,639	87,540
Total Female Population	3,762	3,817	3,810	3,747	3,698	3,710	3,646	3,594	3,569
Total Population	96,033	95,047	94,183	93,233	92,397	92,222	91,599	91,233	91,109

Table 24. Average Daily Institution Population by Quarter and Gender, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2024-25

	Fiscal Year 2023-24					Fiscal Year 2024-25				
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter	Fiscal Year Average	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter	Fiscal Year Average
Total Male Population	91,879	90,900	89,876	89,103	90,440	88,607	88,283	87,680	87,605	88,044
Total Female Population	3,801	3,831	3,789	3,710	3,783	3,692	3,677	3,613	3,583	3,641
Total Population	95,680	94,731	93,665	92,812	94,222	92,299	91,960	91,293	91,188	91,685

Table 25. Projected Institution Population by Quarter and Housing Level, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2024-25

Fiscal Year	Quarter Ending	Security Level							Male	Female	Total Population
		Reception Center	Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	PHU	SHU			
2023-24	Sep 30	4,300	9,553	42,238	14,432	20,228	7	472	91,230	3,817	95,047
	Dec 31	4,174	7,543	42,213	15,537	20,426	7	473	90,373	3,810	94,183
	Mar 31	4,567	6,575	41,972	15,493	20,398	7	474	89,486	3,747	93,233
	Jun 30	4,549	6,868	41,665	15,068	20,068	7	474	88,699	3,698	92,397
2024-25	Sep 30	4,546	6,866	41,669	14,912	20,038	7	474	88,512	3,710	92,222
	Dec 31	4,429	6,751	41,584	14,773	19,935	7	474	87,953	3,646	91,599
	Mar 31	4,610	6,676	41,575	14,402	19,895	7	474	87,639	3,594	91,233
	Jun 30	4,624	6,795	41,478	14,411	19,751	7	474	87,540	3,569	91,109

Table 26. Projected Institution Population by Housing Level, June 30, 2023 through June 30, 2028

June 30	Security Level							Male	Female	Total Population
	Reception Center	Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	PHU	SHU			
2023 (Actual)	5,878	9,558	41,706	14,588	20,061	7	473	92,271	3,762	96,033
2024	4,549	6,868	41,665	15,068	20,068	7	474	88,699	3,698	92,397
2025	4,624	6,795	41,478	14,411	19,751	7	474	87,540	3,569	91,109
2026	4,679	6,631	40,627	14,144	19,256	7	474	85,818	3,462	89,280
2027	4,668	6,544	39,635	13,725	18,923	7	474	83,976	3,411	87,387
2028	4,667	6,404	38,945	13,455	18,415	7	474	82,367	3,370	85,737

Table 27. California Active Parole Population by Quarter, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2024-25

	Actual	Fiscal Year 2023-24				Fiscal Year 2024-25			
	June 30, 2023	Sep 30	Dec 31	Mar 31	Jun 30	Sep 30	Dec 31	Mar 31	Jun 30
Total Population	36,195	36,546	36,469	36,404	36,457	35,645	35,405	34,973	34,628

Table 28. California Average Daily Active Parole Population by Quarter, Fiscal Years 2023-24 through 2024-25

	Fiscal Year 2023-24					Fiscal Year 2024-25				
	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter	Fiscal Year Average	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter	Fiscal Year Average
Total Population	36,368	36,534	36,446	36,452	36,450	36,069	35,539	35,236	34,790	35,409



California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation
Division of Correctional Policy Research and Internal Oversight
Office of Research