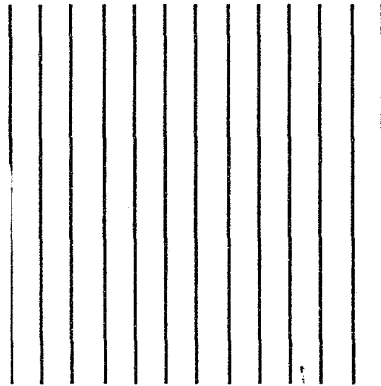


BCS COLLABORATIVE REPORT
CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

**PAROLEES RETURNED
TO PRISON AND THE
CALIFORNIA PRISON
POPULATION**



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PAROLEES RETURNED TO PRISON AND THE CALIFORNIA PRISON POPULATION¹

INTRODUCTION

In 1967, California's prison population reached an historic high; more than 23,000 felons were in prison. Fourteen years later this high was surpassed; by the end of 1981 more than 27,000 felons were in prison. Looking back, these numbers seem quite modest. By year-end 1986, there were more than 57,000 felons in state prisons, more than twice the high achieved but five years earlier. As this is being written in December 1987, the number has risen to about 65,000. And the prospect is for larger numbers yet.

Bureau of Criminal Statistics' data make it clear that commitments by California's courts are a major source of this dramatic increase. The data show, for example, that from 1975 through 1986, Superior Court felony convictions more than doubled. During the same period, the proportion of those convicted who were sentenced to state prison also more than

doubled, rising from fewer than one in six to more than one in three. Preliminary data suggest that large numbers and proportions will be sustained during 1987.² Just why this is happening is a question clearly worth asking, but we do not wish to explore the answer here.³

We want instead to enlarge discussion of the reasons for the rapid increase in the prison population by pointing to a source of state prisoners that is less often discussed, namely, the return of felons on parole to prison by the parole board. The number of such persons in California has increased greatly in recent years and now approaches the number committed by the court. This report sets out some of these numbers and suggests some explanations. Our intent is to stimulate the careful research needed to assess these explanations, and to encourage exploration of the practical issues they entail.

ADMISSIONS TO CALIFORNIA PRISONS BEFORE 1945

Parole became a possibility for California prisoners in 1893.⁴ From then on, those admitted to state prisons included persons on parole. Some were convicted of new felonies while they were on parole and sentenced by the courts to additional terms of imprisonment. Others were returned to prison by the parole board for having violated one or more conditions of parole, without having been sentenced to new prison terms by the courts.

"Conditions of parole" refers to rules parolees are obliged to honor, including reporting to parole officers at specified intervals, taking diagnostic tests, and not violating any laws. Violating such conditions puts parolees at risk of being reported by parole officers to the parole board and of being returned to prison by the board. Policy with respect to these matters changes from time to time, and all policies accord both parole officers and the board some discretion. It should finally

be noted that, although parolees returned to prison by the board have not received new prison sentences from the courts, this does not necessarily mean that they have not committed or even been convicted of crimes, sometimes serious crimes. On the other hand, for those convicted of a crime but not sentenced to prison by the courts, the return to prison is an addition to the court-imposed sentence.

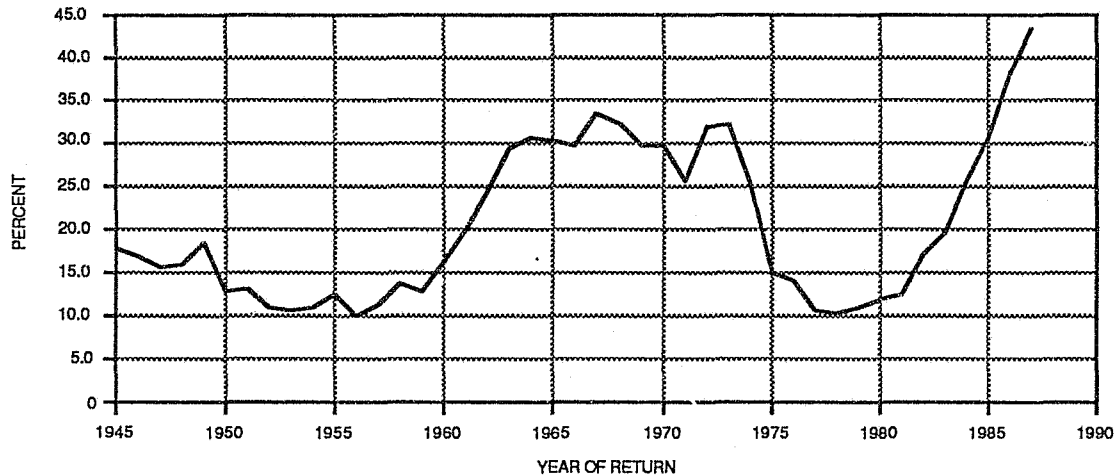
Both parolees sentenced to prison for new crimes by the courts and those returned by the board without new sentences were but a few percent of admissions to California's state prisons until the early 1940s, when the percentage increased. By 1945, parolees made up more than 25 percent of the felons admitted to California prisons. Parolees returned by the board without new prison sentences rather than parolees given new sentences by the courts made up about two-thirds of the persons on parole who were admitted to prison in that year.

BOARD-RETURNED PAROLEES AND OTHER FELONS ADMITTED TO PRISON SINCE 1945

Chart 1 continues the story graphically⁵ by displaying the *percent* of felons admitted to prison who were parolees returned by the parole board, without new prison sentences,

yearly from 1945 through 1987. (The remaining percent each year are felons committed to prison by the courts, including those on parole who received new prison sentences.)

CHART 1
PERCENT OF FELONS ADMITTED TO PRISON WHO WERE PAROLEES RETURNED BY THE BOARD, 1945-1987

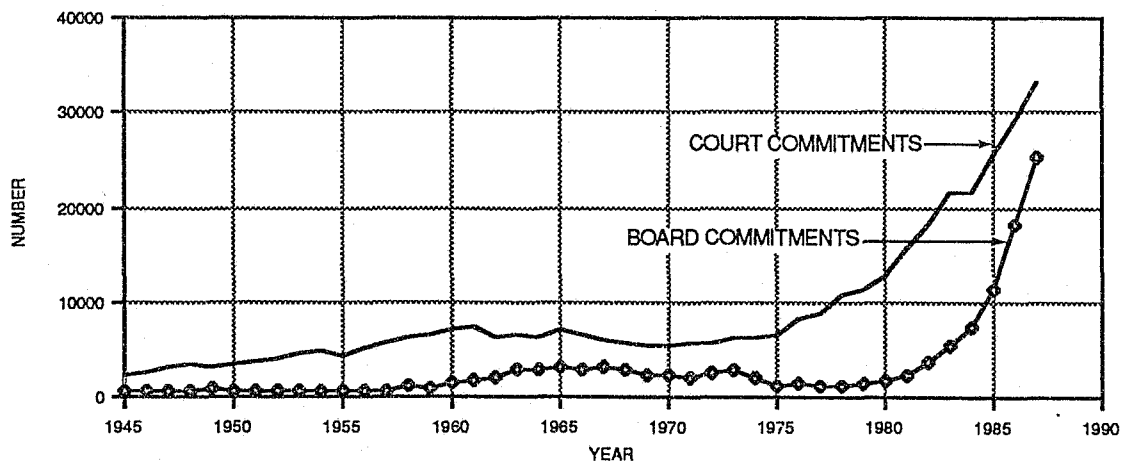


The chart makes clear that the board-returned parolees have been a non-trivial segment of felon admissions throughout the whole period. Their proportion has, on the other hand, varied greatly. During the 1940s, board-returned parolees made up some 15 to 18 percent of yearly admissions to state prisons. During the 1950s, the proportions were reduced to just over 10 percent. A rise in the percentages of parolees returned by the board began in the early 1960s; for most of that decade and into the early 1970s, parolees returned by the board made up closer to 30 percent of admissions. During the mid-1970s, there was a rapid decline in the proportion of persons sent to

state prison by the parole board. By 1981, this trend was reversed. During 1986, close to 40 percent of the felons admitted to state prison were sent by the parole board, not the courts. The proportion is expected to exceed 43 percent during 1987.⁶

Chart 2 presents the same underlying data in another way by displaying the *number* of felons admitted to prison who were parolees returned by the parole board and the number of felons committed by the courts for the same period.

CHART 2
NUMBER OF BOARD AND COURT COMMITMENTS TO PRISON, 1945-1987



First consider court commitments. By 1976, the number reached an historic high, although 8,165 hardly seems high in light of today's tallies. Since then, court commitments have risen rapidly each year, more than tripling to over 29,000 by 1986. In 1987, the number of court commitments seems likely to be over 33,000.

The number of parole-board returns, of particular interest here, did not reach an historic high until 1982, six years later than court commitments. In that year, the number passed the 3,000 mark, previously exceeded only twice since 1945. Since then, the number of parolees returned by the board has risen rapidly, exceeding 18,000 in 1986. Figures for the first three quarters of 1987 suggest that this year over 25,000 parolees without new prison sentences will be returned to prison by the board.

This is an increase of more than 40 percent over the previous year.

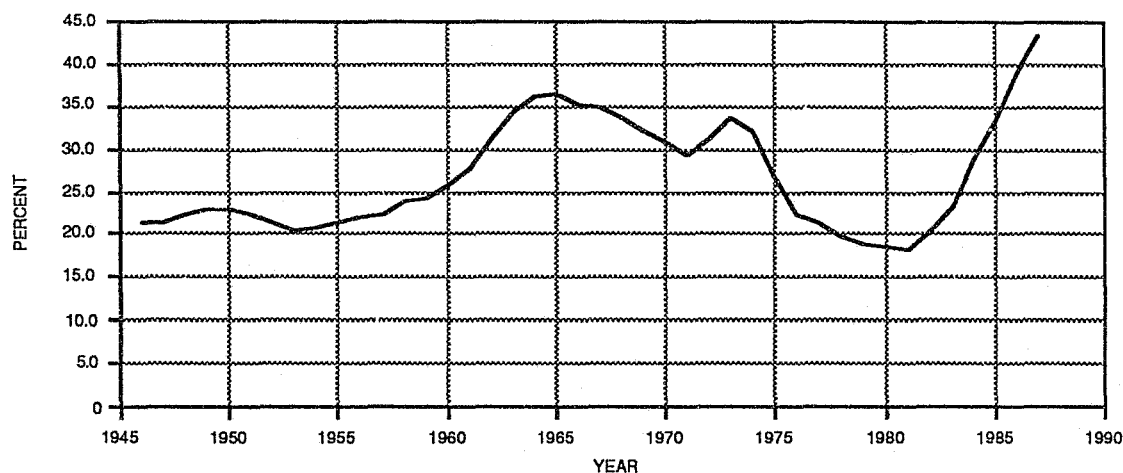
Chart 2 makes apparent the truly startling increases in the numbers of persons being admitted to California state prisons during the past decade, but particularly during the 1980s. It also makes apparent that the numbers of parolees being returned to prison without new sentences each year are an important part of the situation. By 1986, admissions from this source alone exceeded the number committed by the courts and the board together only five years earlier. Finally, Chart 2 shows that the number of parolees returned to prison by the board varies considerably in different periods, having risen considerably during the 1960s and early 1970s, and again, and much more dramatically, during the 1980s.

PAROLEES IN PRISON, 1946-1987

As a consequence of these admission patterns, parole violators have been a sizable portion of the prison population in California since the mid-1940s. Chart 3 shows the proportions of felons in California state prisons who were parolees from 1946-1987.⁷ Until the early 1960s, parolees made up about 20 percent of the felon prison population. Their proportions rose during the 1960s to more than 30 percent. After a decline in

the 1970s, they have risen in the 1980s. Just under 40 percent of the felons in prison during 1986 were parole violators sentenced for new crimes by the courts or returned by the board for violating the conditions of parole. Preliminary information suggests that during 1987 more than 40 percent of the felons in state prison will be parole violators.

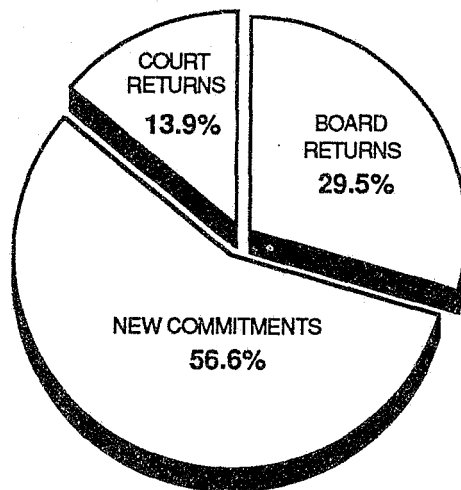
CHART 3
PERCENT OF FELONS IN PRISON
WHO WERE PAROLEES, 1946-1987



Available information does not permit us to distinguish between the proportions of felons in prison who were parolees returned by the board versus the courts for 1946-1986. We do have information permitting this distinction for the period January 1, 1987 through September 30, 1987, however. Assuming that admissions in the last quarter of 1987 are

similar to those in the third quarter, Chart 4 shows that about 14 percent of the felons in prison during the year will be parolees sentenced by the courts for new crimes. The board's share will be much higher. Closer to 30 percent of the felons in prison sometime during 1987 will be parolees returned by the board.

CHART 4
ESTIMATED PERCENT OF FELONS IN PRISON
WHO WILL BE NEW COMMITMENTS, PAROLEES RETURNED BY
THE COURT, AND PAROLEES RETURNED BY THE BOARD, 1987



WHY THE LARGE INCREASES IN BOARD-RETURNS?

Why has there been such a rapid increase during the 1980s in the numbers of parolees returned to prison by the board?⁸ The data strongly suggest that the answers lie in changing correctional policies rather than the changing behavior of parolees. The overarching change in penal policy during the last decade has been an ever-increasing emphasis on the use of incarceration. The adult correctional system might be vulnerable to criticism were it long to diverge visibly from this trend. It has not.

But how has the policy shift resulted in the extremely large number of parolees returned to prison? Part of the explanation lies in the increasing size of the parole population. This, in turn, is a consequence of the increasing numbers of felons committed by the courts and changes in the periods that parolees can be kept under supervision before discharge from sentence.

As shown in Chart 2, since the mid-1970s there has been a rapid rise in the numbers of felons committed to prison by the courts. Under California's determinate sentencing law, substantially all of these persons are placed under parole supervision for at least one year before discharge from sentence. For a few years, the relatively brief parole supervision periods available under the original determinate sentencing law (see below) appear to have limited the growth of the parole population, notwithstanding yearly increases in the numbers placed under supervision. By 1981, however, the number of felons on parole began to rise rapidly, partly reflecting the increased number of court commitments.

Additionally, the period available for parole supervision increased as a result of legislation effective in 1979. As

originally implemented in 1977, the determinate sentencing law called for most prisoners to be discharged after one year's supervision unless parole was revoked for a violation. This could add six months to the period to be served before discharge from sentence. Those imprisoned for certain violent offenses were to be discharged after three years; revocation could add another year. These periods, relatively brief, on the average, by comparison with those served under the earlier indeterminate sentencing law, help account for the declining numbers of felons on parole from 1977 through 1979.

In 1979, the law was changed to permit the board to extend supervision terms, even when parole was not revoked, to three years for most offenders and to five years for those convicted of violent offenses. Additionally, maximum revocation terms were increased from six months to one year. Such terms could further extend the period to discharge from sentence from three to five years for most offenders, and from five to seven years for violent offenders. Although we do not have detailed statistical data on increases in the length of parole supervision terms, such information as we have shows that parole supervision terms have become longer, on the average, than they were during the late 1970s. This, too, has contributed to the increasing numbers of persons on parole.

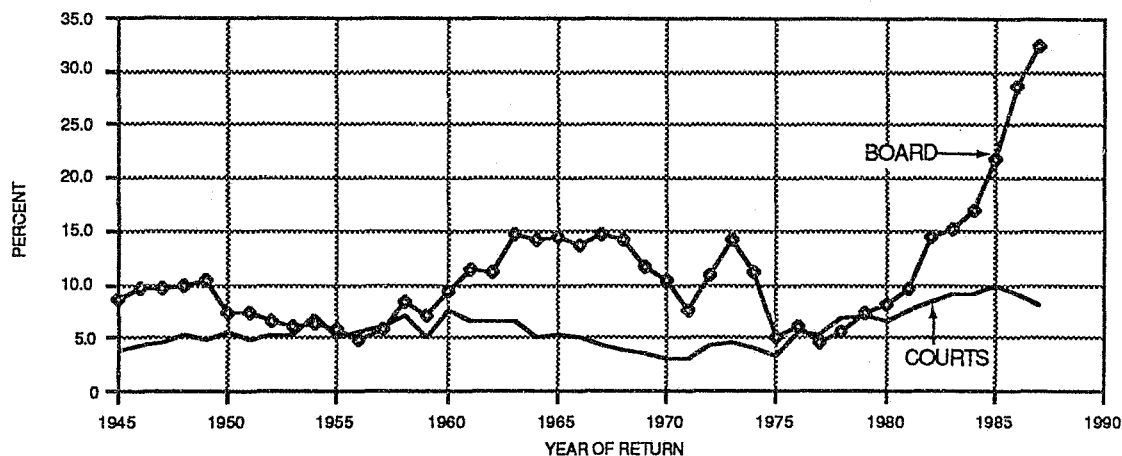
The rapid rise in the numbers of prisoners committed to prison and, thus, released to parole supervision, plus longer terms of supervision, have led to a rapid increase in the number of felons experiencing parole each year. Since 1980, the number of parolees has more than tripled. (See Table 5.) Thus, even if no other changes had occurred — for example, if parolee conduct had remained constant, if the board's revocation policies hadn't changed, if detection of parolee rule violations

and crimes were no more likely — a much larger number of parolees would have been returned to prison during the 1980s, as has happened.

But the rising number of parolees, although part of the explanation, is surely not all of it; the number of parolees returned by the board in 1987 will likely be more than 14

times the number returned in 1980. (See Table 1.) Further, if the rising numbers of parolees returned to prison were merely a consequence of the increased size of the parolee population, then there ought to be no upward trend in the proportions of that population returned to prison during the relevant years. Chart 5 permits us to examine this possibility by showing the proportion of felons on parole who were returned to prison by the board each year from 1945-1987.⁹

CHART 5
PERCENT OF FELON PAROLEES RETURNED TO PRISON
BY THE BOARD AND BY THE COURT, 1945-1987



Consider first the proportions of parolees returned by the board. Chart 5 shows relatively high proportions in the late 1940s, most of the 1960s, and for a few years in the early 1970s. The proportion of the parole population returned to prison by the board turns up again in the mid-1970s and advances to an unprecedented high by 1983. The proportions have gone upwards since. Thus, although the larger parolee population in recent years accounts in part for the larger numbers of parolees being returned to prison by the board, it is apparent that the larger proportions of persons on parole being returned to prison by the board account for a substantial part of the increase in the sheer numbers of returns.

Why has the board been returning increasing proportions of parolees to prison? One possibility is that larger proportions of parolees are violating the conditions of their paroles. We do not have data bearing directly on this matter, but the information displayed in Chart 5 implies that this, too, is not a full explanation. For one thing, the recent changes in the proportions of parolees being returned to prison by the board have been so rapid and sharp that it is difficult to imagine any shifts in the rule-violating propensities of the parolee population that might match these changes. Further, Chart 5 shows that while the proportion of board-returns has escalated rapidly, the proportion returned by the courts has risen more modestly. If what had changed recently were mainly parolee conduct, one would expect court returns more clearly and strongly to register the differences.¹⁰

If the increased number of parolees and changed parolee conduct appear, at best, to be only partial explanations of the rising numbers of parolees returned to prison by the board, what policy changes might be involved? Our information is too limited to offer more than a generalized, somewhat speculative account. It is worth offering, however, to stimulate discussion and the sort of research needed to answer this question more fully.

Like the criminal courts, the parole board is dependent upon other agencies for its cases; specifically, it is dependent on parole agents and their supervisors. Perhaps the parole agency is referring a larger proportion of the parole population to the board as parole violators, and recommending that more of them be returned to prison. This could be the case — our data do not say. If it is, there could be a variety of reasons for it. The board may have changed its rules about which alleged violations are to be reported. Even without such a change, parole agents may have begun to report more of the violations known to them, perhaps reflecting the generalized decrease in tolerance shown by the penal system generally, or perhaps because alternative ways of dealing with violators are less available.¹¹ Perhaps, also, a larger proportion of parolee violations is known to the parole agency; indeed, given the increased frequency with which drug tests are being required of parolees, this seems very likely.¹² Closer links to the police might also be some part of the reason.

Additionally, the parole board may have changed its policies with respect to returning parolees to prison. The limited evidence available indicates that this is the case. In the years 1971-72, for example, a study showed the parole board returning to prison 40 percent of reported male felon parole violators; one-half were continued on parole, and the remainder were handled in some other way. In 1984, more than 95 percent of the felon parole violators reported to the board were returned.¹³ Just how this change is to be understood is, of course, not clear; it deserves close study.

California has long been a leader of correctional trends. As a part of a larger, national move toward putting fewer people in state prisons that reached its peak in the early 1970s, the parole division focused on keeping parolees "on the street" using reduced caseloads, halfway-back houses, and the

development of community resources for working with parolees who needed help. The parole board of the time cooperated in this venture. During the last decade, the national trend has been toward more severe punishment of criminals to allay heightened public demands for security against criminal conduct. Apparently, the adult parole system has participated in this trend by increasing the certainty that known criminals (parolees) are again incarcerated when their behavior is seen as indicating that they are still a threat to public safety. Certainly during the last decade, the adult correctional system has placed far more emphasis on the development of surveillance techniques, closer ties with law enforcement agencies, and "plea bargaining" for quicker returns to prison which avoid the necessity of parole-violation hearings (which were not required until 1972).

SOME IMPLICATIONS

1. **Prison Admissions.** Although parolees have been part of the admission stream to California prisons since early in this century, it was not until the late 1930s that they became a sizable part. Since then, persons on parole have come to make up a notable, although seldom noted, proportion of felon admissions to California's prisons. Parole board returns of parolees have been the most important source of such admissions. In 1986, this source accounted for almost 40 percent of felon admissions to state prisons, and in 1987 is expected to be more than 40 percent.

Surely the reasons for this fact deserve examination, if only because the huge number of board-generated parolee prisoners — an estimated 25,000 in 1987, almost one-third of those who will experience parole during the year — is contributing significantly to pressures to expand prison capacity. No effort to predict the future prison population, and no effort to control it, will succeed without close attention to this source.

2. **Parolees in Prison.** We have yet to compare the characteristics of board-returned parolees in prison with other prisoners. We know, however, that the determinate sentencing law limits the parole violation terms of most of them to one year, and most have served much less time upon re-release. This means, given the large number of board-returned parolees in prison during any period, that state prison officials must now deal with many short-term prisoners. The effects of this change on prison programs and operations, as well as its implications for expansion of the prison plant, deserve study. In addition, the parole system is in the process of building its own short-term

correctional facilities to incarcerate these parolees; it has also contracted with private operators to run facilities to incarcerate parole violators. These are important, substantive changes in the meaning of parole that deserve much more discussion than they have received.

3. **Understanding the Sources of Changes in Prison Populations.** Those who make policy for the prisons and those who implement it have good reason to want to understand the sources of change in prison populations. One reason is to modify policies when they have unwanted consequences. The data presented suggest that an important source of recent, significant increases in the size of the prison population can be found in the policies of those officials who are responsible for the reimprisonment of persons on parole. These policies, and the laws behind them, could be changed should their effect on the size and character of the prison population be seen as undesirable.

Scholars, too, want to understand the sources of change in prison populations. The data presented suggest the importance of examining not only broad sources of change, such as demographic patterns, but also narrower sources, such as the actions of correctional officials. The data may also suggest something else. The prison-parole system has been with us for about a century.¹⁴ If the California data be any guide, it appears that during World War II the system may have begun to move into a new phase by giving a more important place to recycling a subset of prisoners through its pathways. In recent years, the size of this subset (as well as the size of the system as a whole) has increased several magnitudes. How this has happened and why, as well as its implications for the future, deserve close analysis.

A NOTE ON THE CHARTS AND TABLES

As noted in the text, each chart is accompanied by a table showing the figures on which it is based. The data in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 5 for the years 1950 through 1984 were taken from the California Department of Corrections' publication, California Prisoners, for those years. The earlier data were taken from several sources: handwritten tabulations supplied by M. Vida Ryan (formerly Senior Statistician for the Department

of Corrections), reports of the Department of Corrections to the Governor's Council, and a compilation of parole population counts produced by Ann Goolsby (Administrative Assistant of the former School of Criminology at the University of California, Berkeley) from various agency publications. The 1985 and 1986 data were taken from Department of Corrections' statistical reports.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *This is a report in a continuing collaborative project between the California Attorney General's Bureau of Criminal Statistics and the University of California. The project examines trends in the sentencing of adults convicted of felony offenses in California courts. The findings presented here are drawn from a larger study, "Long-Term Trends in Imprisonment," supported in part by the National Science Foundation. We wish to thank Doug Jenks and Richard Bass of the California Department of Corrections for assistance in locating unpublished information on prison and parole populations.*
- 2 *It is known that Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS) data do not include all Superior Court felony convictions; nor do they include all the convictions resulting in imprisonment. It is believed, however, that the trends over time within convictions and court commitments to prison, and the relation between commitments and convictions, are reliable. Thus, we have given proportions rather than numbers. Data collected by the Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) on convictions and prison commitments tend to confirm the trends shown in BCS data, although AOC data consistently show larger numbers of Superior Court felony convictions and prison commitments, and somewhat higher proportions of those convicted being committed to prison. See AOC's Sentencing Practices Quarterly.*
- 3 *But see BCS Collaborative Outlook, vol. 4, number 4, January 1987.*
- 4 *An account of the early days of parole in California may be found in Sheldon L. Messinger, John E. Berecochea, David Rauma and Richard A. Berk, "The Foundations of Parole in California" 19 Law and Society Review 69 (1985).*
- 5 *See Table 1 for the numbers. Each chart is accompanied by a table providing the numbers or percents on which it is based.*
- 6 *This and other projections for 1987 are based on information for January 1 through September 30, 1987. See Table 4 for the numbers.*
- 7 *"Felons in prison" refers to all felons in prison during a designated period. We arrived at this figure by adding together the number of felons in prison at the beginning of a period and the number admitted to prison during that period. We began with 1946 because information on the composition of the prison population at the start of 1945 is not available.*
- 8 *We shall not, except incidentally, attempt to account for the earlier increases in the numbers of board-returns to prison. Nor shall we discuss the decreases, which are of considerable interest as well. We hope to deal with these in a later paper.*
- 9 *"Felons on parole" refers to all felons on parole during a designated period. We arrived at this figure by adding together the number of felons on parole at the beginning of a period and the number paroled during that period.*
- 10 *It has been suggested that the absence of a more marked rise in the proportions of court-returned parolees may reflect a greater willingness to defer prosecution because of greater confidence that parole will be revoked by the board. Thus, parolees may be committing more crimes than they were in the past, but this would not be registered by changes in the proportions returned to prison by the court. It has also been suggested that prosecutors press for conviction and imprisonment whenever a case will sustain such action—that they seldom rely on parole board action, unless there is no other alternative. At this time, we do not have the data needed to test either of these interesting, and somewhat contrary, hypotheses.*
- 11 *For example, it is apparently the case that because the jails, as well as the prisons, are crowded, parolees cannot be held in local facilities for very long.*
- 12 *Past experience may be suggestive about the present. During the 1960s, when the return to prison rate was relatively high, a policy of frequent drug testing, combined with a policy of "short term returns" for those failing them, was in force.*
- 13 *Deborah Star, John E. Berecochea and David Petrocchi, Return to Prison Ordered: Policy in Practice and Change, California Department of Corrections' Research Division, unpublished report, 1978; Charles C. Jew, Robert M. Dickover and Walter L. Barkdull, Parole Revocations in the California Department of Corrections, California Department of Corrections, unpublished report, 1985.*
- 14 *We do not mean to imply that changes in the prison-parole system haven't taken place. This Collaborative Report documents one such change apparently taking place in the 1940s. Another, of considerable importance, is that parole release was abolished in California for most prisoners by the determinate sentencing law, in 1977. The same law established a limited period of parole supervision for substantially all prisoners. Parolees returned to prison by the board under the determinate sentencing law may be kept in custody for a relatively brief period. This last fact appears to mean a very high turnover of board-returned parolees in prison by comparison with the situation under the replaced indeterminate sentencing law.*

TABLE 1
PAROLEES RETURNED BY THE BOARD AMONG
FELON PRISON ADMISSIONS, 1945-1987

Year	Number of felons admitted	Parolees returned by board	
		Number	Percent
1945	2,730	487	17.83
1946	3,050	512	16.77
1947	3,679	577	15.69
1948	3,952	626	15.84
1949	3,944	722	18.31
1950	4,026	514	12.77
1951	4,153	541	13.03
1952	4,507	496	11.01
1953	5,070	536	10.57
1954	5,524	611	11.06
1955	4,763	598	12.56
1956	5,652	569	10.07
1957	6,260	701	11.20
1958	7,250	999	13.78
1959	7,498	952	12.70
1960	8,517	1,388	16.30
1961	9,078	1,814	19.98
1962	8,423	2,054	24.39
1963	9,227	2,722	29.50
1964	9,088	2,775	30.53
1965	10,227	3,095	30.26
1966	9,358	2,790	29.81
1967	9,043	3,023	33.43
1968	8,392	2,705	32.23
1969	7,786	2,317	29.76
1970	7,641	2,266	29.66
1971	7,471	1,910	25.57
1972	8,242	2,630	31.91
1973	9,011	2,909	32.28
1974	8,183	2,067	25.26
1975	7,688	1,157	15.05
1976	9,498	1,333	14.03
1977	9,849	1,048	10.64
1978	12,147	1,248	10.27
1979	12,635	1,399	11.07
1980	14,442	1,702	11.79
1981	17,935	2,231	12.44
1982	21,941	3,778	17.22
1983	26,836	5,275	19.66
1984	29,011	7,421	25.58
1985	36,837	11,252	30.55
1986	47,381	18,059	38.11
1987*	58,584	25,388	43.33

* Estimated from actual admissions January 1 through September 30, 1987. See note to Table 4.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF FELONS ADMITTED TO PRISON BY
THE COURTS AND THE BOARD, 1945-1987

Year	Court commitments	Board returns
1945	2,243	487
1946	2,538	512
1947	3,102	577
1948	3,326	626
1949	3,222	722
1950	3,512	514
1951	3,612	541
1952	4,011	496
1953	4,534	536
1954	4,913	611
1955	4,165	598
1956	5,083	569
1957	5,559	701
1958	6,251	999
1959	6,546	952
1960	7,129	1,388
1961	7,264	1,814
1962	6,369	2,054
1963	6,505	2,722
1964	6,313	2,775
1965	7,132	3,095
1966	6,568	2,790
1967	6,020	3,023
1968	5,687	2,705
1969	5,469	2,317
1970	5,375	2,266
1971	5,561	1,910
1972	5,612	2,630
1973	6,102	2,909
1974	6,116	2,067
1975	6,531	1,157
1976	8,165	1,333
1977	8,801	1,048
1978	10,899	1,248
1979	11,236	1,399
1980	12,740	1,702
1981	15,704	2,231
1982	18,163	3,778
1983	21,561	5,275
1984	21,590	7,421
1985	25,585	11,252
1986	29,322	18,059
1987*	33,196	25,388

* Estimated from actual admissions January 1 through September 30, 1987. See note to Table 4.

TABLE 3
PAROLEES RETURNED AMONG FELON PRISON POPULATION, 1946-1987

Year	Total number of felons in prison	Number of returned parolees	Percent parolees
1946	9,136	1,941	21.25
1947	10,490	2,239	21.34
1948	11,819	2,632	22.27
1949	12,836	2,967	23.11
1950	13,702	3,166	23.11
1951	14,527	3,233	22.26
1952	14,971	3,210	21.44
1953	16,634	3,392	20.39
1954	17,620	3,666	20.81
1955	18,214	3,905	21.44
1956	19,285	4,229	21.93
1957	19,906	4,464	22.43
1958	22,003	5,240	23.81
1959	24,181	5,881	24.32
1960	25,161	6,511	25.88
1961	27,735	7,669	27.65
1962	28,787	8,941	31.06
1963	28,879	9,863	34.15
1964	30,431	11,035	36.26
1965	31,426	11,470	36.50
1966	30,611	10,748	35.11
1967	31,472	10,965	34.84
1968	30,984	10,405	33.58
1969	30,833	9,886	32.06
1970	29,500	9,142	30.99
1971	27,344	7,983	29.19
1972	24,470	7,597	31.05
1973	24,856	8,384	33.73
1974	26,857	8,595	32.00
1975	27,959	7,451	26.65
1976	25,424	5,647	22.21
1977	26,330	5,647	21.45
1978	28,122	5,580	19.84
1979	30,743	5,847	19.02
1980	34,206	6,329	18.50
1981	39,585	7,205	18.20
1982	49,587	10,201	20.57
1983	58,467	13,729	23.40
1984	66,630	18,640	28.98
1985	77,888	25,989	33.37
1986	95,117	37,184	39.09
1987*	115,745	50,269	43.43

* Estimated from prisoners on hand January 1 and admitted January 1 through September 30, 1987. See note to Table 4.

TABLE 4
FELONS IN PRISON DURING THE YEAR WHO WILL BE
PAROLEES RETURNED BY THE BOARD, THE COURTS,
OR NEW COMMITMENTS, 1987*

	Number	Percent
New commitments	65,476	56.6
Board-returned parolees	34,152	29.5
Court-returned parolees	16,117	13.9
Total	115,745	100.0

* The figures in Table 4 are estimates of the numbers of new admissions, parolees returned by the board and parolees returned by the courts who will be in state prison at some time during 1987. "New admissions" are persons not under the jurisdiction of the Department of Corrections at the time of admission to prison. The estimates are based on actual figures for prisoners of each type in prison on January 1, 1987 and admitted to prison from January 1 through September 30, 1987. On January 1, 1987, the California prisons contained approximately 38,695 new admissions; 8,764 board-returned parolees; and 9,702 court-returned parolees. From January 1 through September 30, 1987, there were approximately 20,043 new admissions; 18,395 board-returned parolee admissions; and 4,816 court-returned parolee admissions. To estimate the full year it is assumed that admission of each type during the fourth quarter of 1987 will equal those of the third quarter (which were 6,738, 6,993 and 1,599, respectively).

TABLE 5
FELONS ON PAROLE RETURNED TO PRISON BY THE BOARD
AND THE COURTS, 1945-1987

Year	Number on parole*	Returned by board		Returned by courts	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1945	5,714	487	8.52	217	3.80
1946	5,340	512	9.58	226	4.24
1947	5,995	577	9.63	267	4.45
1948	6,401	626	9.78	342	5.34
1949	6,924	722	10.43	341	4.92
1950	6,936	514	7.41	390	5.62
1951	7,394	541	7.32	360	4.87
1952	7,589	496	6.54	401	5.28
1953	8,755	536	6.12	463	5.29
1954	9,486	611	6.44	681	7.18
1955	10,255	598	5.83	527	5.14
1956	11,577	569	4.91	651	5.62
1957	12,262	701	5.72	756	6.17
1958	11,952	999	8.36	840	7.03
1959	13,530	952	7.04	828	6.12
1960	14,647	1,388	9.48	1,101	7.52
1961	15,743	1,814	11.52	1,050	6.67
1962	18,238	2,054	11.26	1,205	6.61
1963	18,456	2,722	14.75	1,216	6.59
1964	19,478	2,775	14.25	1,006	5.16
1965	21,364	3,095	14.49	1,128	5.28
1966	20,323	2,790	13.73	1,043	5.13
1967	20,437	3,023	14.79	876	4.29
1968	19,156	2,705	14.12	738	3.85
1969	19,907	2,317	11.64	715	3.59
1970	21,930	2,266	10.33	685	3.12
1971	25,264	1,910	7.56	773	3.06
1972	23,910	2,630	11.00	1,033	4.32
1973	20,620	2,909	14.11	955	4.63
1974	18,488	2,067	11.18	757	4.09
1975	22,723	1,157	5.09	766	3.37
1976	22,309	1,333	5.98	1,255	5.63
1977	23,089	1,048	4.54	1,243	5.38
1978	22,705	1,248	5.50	1,574	6.93
1979	19,283	1,399	7.26	1,362	7.06
1980	21,245	1,702	8.01	1,393	6.56
1981	22,943	2,231	9.72	1,772	7.72
1982	26,271	3,778	14.38	2,231	8.49
1983	34,795	5,275	15.16	3,160	9.08
1984	43,844	7,421	16.93	3,988	9.10
1985	51,593	11,252	21.81	5,042	9.77
1986	62,966	18,059	28.68	5,790	9.20
1987**	78,295	25,388	32.42	6,415	8.19

* The number on parole is the sum of the number of persons on parole in good standing as of the first day of the year plus the number released from prison to parole during that year. Both counts include California parolees in other states. The number and percent "Returned" include only those admitted to a California prison during the year (or held in some other correctional facility solely on a California "hold").

** The number paroled was estimated from the actual number of January 1 through September 30, 1987 by adding one-third.