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Stopping the Cycle: Leveraging Reentry Programs to End Parolee Homelessness

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**Stopping the Cycle:  
Leveraging Reentry Programs to End Parolee Homelessness**

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Despite its rank as a worldwide economic leader, California also boasts more dismal statistics: more than 180,000 people experiencing homelessness (Mejia, 2024), the highest count nationally, and almost 100,000 state prisoners (LAO, 2023), the second-largest prison population in the United States (following Texas). These statistics are not merely points in time— they intertwine to form California’s disastrous prison-to-homelessness pipeline. I intend to analyze the relationship between incarceration and homelessness that impacts thousands of Californians state-wide. Broadly, I aim to investigate if higher-quality reentry programs in California decrease an individual's likelihood of experiencing homelessness following incarceration. Specifically, do California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) state prisons with higher enrollment and capacity rates in the Transitions program experience lower post-release homelessness rates among parolees? To answer this question, I analyze the percentage of parolees experiencing homelessness and enrollment and capacity rates of the Transitions program in all 19 counties that house a CDCR prison as of June 2023. In all, I find that Transitions did not have a substantial impact on parolee homelessness. I conclude by discussing the limitations of these findings and implications for California policy moving forward.

### **Context and Significance:**

#### *The Issue*

A 2023 California survey conducted by the University of California, San Francisco revealed that 19% of individuals entered homelessness from prison or a prolonged jail stay (UCSF, 2023), and few of these received transition services for success following release. In addition, the study found that 79% of all participants experiencing homelessness had been incarcerated during their lifetime (UCSF, 2023). Together, this data demonstrates a cyclical phenomenon: individuals experiencing homelessness are more likely to become incarcerated,

and recently incarcerated individuals are more likely to fall into homelessness. To the former, unhoused individuals experience high rates of citations due to the necessities of survival—citations for vagrancy, trespassing, public urination, panhandling, and, most recently, the criminalization of sleeping on streets, all increase an individual’s likelihood of ending up in prison (Metraux, 2023). On the other end, an individual leaving the prison system faces various issues that prevent the procurement of stable housing. Individuals with certain felonies and substance use disorders may be barred from public housing (Chaidez et. al., 2023). In addition, parolees often face discrimination from landlords in tenant review processes despite legal protections (UCSD, 2023).

This issue is particularly relevant in the wake of the recent Supreme Court case of *Grants Pass v. Johnson (2024)*. Critics argue that by allowing cities to penalize unhoused individuals for sleeping in public spaces, the decision effectively criminalizes homelessness, leading to more citations, arrests, and incarcerations (Inner City Law, 2024). In conjunction with Governor Gavin Newsom’s recent executive order urging localities to forcibly clear encampments, California’s homeless population now faces increased legal and physical pressures that could further entrench the cycle of homelessness and incarceration (Executive Order, 2024). These policies, while aimed at addressing public safety and cleanliness, may exacerbate the very conditions they seek to alleviate, driving more individuals into the criminal justice system without providing meaningful solutions to homelessness.

#### *Current Policy*

California does not require inmates to have a place to live upon release, unlike other states with large prison populations, such as Texas and New York; in 2023, NBC News reported that “at least 36,400 inmates have been released from California state prisons without fixed

addresses" since 2019<sup>1</sup> (Chaidez et al., 2023). The California Parole and Community Services Division, however, does require parolees who are registered sex, arson, or narcotics offenders to maintain an approved street address or dwelling location (Special Conditions of Parole, 2024). In addition, parole officers are meant to provide and connect individuals with local resources (Parole Handbook Home), but the quality of services may vary by parole officer and locality. Nonetheless, while CDCR aims to prevent homelessness through housing plans, systemic challenges like a lack of affordable housing, inadequate support services, and personal circumstances often result in some parolees becoming homeless.

### *Attempted Solutions*

Both of these systems work hand-in-hand to keep people out of stable housing, onto the streets, and back into prisons. For the thousands of individuals cyclically experiencing homelessness and incarceration, the adoption of a California policy to address this devastating pattern may be the difference between life and death. UCSF's researchers advocate for the implementation of more transition services at prisons to prevent parolees from entering homelessness, including addiction treatment, education, family reunification, life skills, or housing.

Understanding the dire struggles of many formerly incarcerated individuals, the Governor signed SB 903 into law on September 29, 2022, requiring the Office of the Inspector General's California Rehabilitation Oversight Board (C-ROB) to examine CDCR efforts to address the housing needs of incarcerated individuals upon release. However, C-ROB reports published since the passing of SB 903 provide scarce information on homelessness rates and transitional programs (Hertzberg, 2022). In a May 2023 meeting, the Board briefly mentioned the Male

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<sup>1</sup> CDCR tracks parolees largely through reports provided by an individual's parole agent, who, to the best of their ability, visits a parolee experiencing homelessness at encampments or frequented locations by the parolee (Parole Handbook Home).

Community Reentry Program (MCRP), Custody to Community Transitional Reentry Program (CCTRP), and the Community Prisoner Mother Program (CPMP) as transitional programs for inmates (C-ROB, 2023). However, the Board did not provide any data on success measurements following release, funding capacities of each prison, or utilization rates.

Although there seems to be a lack of data regarding CDCR's program-specific outcomes, the Department did provide data on parolee housing statuses by county in 2023 (although it does not provide an explicit definition of homelessness) (C-ROB, 2023). Thus, there exists a gap in the measuring of transitional services' success in preventing homelessness. More precisely, there is a huge oversight in the evaluation of pre-release programs to prepare inmates for success upon release. Without success parameters and outcome data, CDCR and legislators lack the evidence necessary to pursue effective policy to address the crises. This study aims to fill that gap by bridging two sets of data on transitional services and homelessness rates by focusing on one specific CDCR pre-release program entitled "Transitions".

### *The Transitions Program*

According to CDCR, Transitions "offers participants employability and financial literacy skills to prepare for successful reentry into their communities" through a comprehensive curriculum divided into five modules: 1) Workforce Readiness– Self Knowledge, 2) Workforce Readiness– Basic Needs, 3) Employability– Preparation, 4) Employability– Functional<sup>2</sup>, and 5) Financial Literacy and Portfolio (Transitions Program). The program aims to equip participants with the skills necessary for job acquisition and effective money management, fostering stable and secure livelihoods after release. All inmates are eligible to participate in this 80-hour course up to 24 months prior to their release date. The Public Policy Institute of California reports that after an administrative overhaul in 2016, CDCR expanded the Transitions program to all state

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<sup>2</sup> CDCR does not clarify the difference between modules 3 and 4.

prisons, with its budgeted capacity increasing from 2,400 slots in 2014 to over 20,000 by 2019 (Cremin et al., 2024). Given this significant increase in resources and the program's potential to enhance financial security for released inmates, it is crucial to analyze its effectiveness and impact in reducing homelessness.

### **Literature Review:**

#### *The Impact of Intentional Programming Post-Release*

A substantial body of research has explored the impact of reentry programs on the prison-to-homelessness pipeline, offering insights into how targeted interventions can disrupt this cycle. While caution is needed when applying these state-specific findings to California due to differing political and economic conditions, these studies underscore the potential of reentry programs to address the challenges faced by formerly incarcerated individuals in securing stable housing and avoiding recidivism.

In Washington, researchers assessed the effectiveness of the state's Reentry Housing Pilot Program (RHPP) in reducing homelessness and recidivism. Implemented to provide housing assistance to offenders leaving incarceration without viable housing plans, the RHPP was evaluated by Lutze, Rosky, and Hamilton over a three-year period in the early 2010s. The study found that the program effectively reduced homelessness, new convictions, and readmission to prison (Hamilton et al., 2014). The authors recommend the adoption of statewide housing subsidy programs to improve reentry outcomes and decrease recidivism. In New York, the Frequent Users Service Enhancement (FUSE) program provides further evidence of the effectiveness of targeted reentry interventions in breaking the cycle of homelessness and incarceration. Over a two-year period, FUSE's supportive housing and wraparound services successfully kept 86% of its participants housed, while also reducing their average jail time by

40% compared to non-participants (Aidala et al., 2013). These results highlight the program's significant impact on both housing stability and the reduction of criminal involvement.

Financially, the program demonstrated cost-effectiveness by offsetting its \$23,000 annual cost per person with a \$16,000 reduction in associated public costs, including costs for jailing, shelters, and crisis healthcare (Aidala et al., 2013).

These outcomes suggest that investing in comprehensive reentry programs can yield substantial social and economic benefits by mitigating the negative consequences of the homelessness-prison cycle. While RHPP's and FUSE's focus on supportive housing differs from the CDCR Transitions program's emphasis on employability and financial literacy, both initiatives highlight the importance of structured support in the reentry process. By examining whether the Transitions program in California can achieve similar reductions in homelessness, my research aims to contribute to the broader understanding of how different types of reentry programs can be tailored to address specific regional challenges and needs.

However, not all reentry programs yield uniformly positive results. A 2014 localized study in Southern California, conducted in partnership with a national employment-focused reentry program, aimed to evaluate the program's impact on employment, housing, and recidivism through a randomized controlled trial<sup>3</sup>. Surprisingly, the study found no significant impact of job training on reducing homelessness among released individuals. Specifically, 3.8% of participants in the treatment group experienced homelessness during the study period, compared to 5.9% in the control group, a difference that was statistically insignificant (Farabee et al., 2014). These findings suggest that post-release programs may vary in their effectiveness, underscoring the need to investigate the relative impact of different types of interventions. By

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<sup>3</sup> According to the authors, "this approach was possible because the number of applicants at the time exceeded program capacity" (Farabee et al., 2014). The control group received a list of community resources.



comparing these results with the outcomes of my research on pre-release employment resources like the Transitions program, I may be able to shed light on the relative effectiveness of pre-release versus post-release interventions in reducing homelessness among formerly incarcerated individuals.

### *The Impact of Pre-Release Programs*

While post-release programs have demonstrated substantial success in reducing homelessness and recidivism, in-prison programs offer an alternative approach to improving reentry outcomes by equipping formerly incarcerated individuals with the skills needed to achieve stability before release. This section will explore existing research on the effectiveness of different pre-release programs in reentry contexts.

A 2013 nationwide RAND study provides compelling evidence on the benefits of correctional higher education programs, revealing that participants in such programs experience a 43% reduction in the risk of recidivism compared to their counterparts who do not engage in these educational opportunities (Bozick et al., 2013). This substantial decrease in reoffending rates is attributed to the improved skills, knowledge, and personal development fostered by educational programs, which better prepare inmates for successful reintegration into society. Moreover, correctional education significantly enhances employment prospects, with participants having a 13% higher likelihood of obtaining employment post-release (Bozick et al., 2013). In addition to educational programs, a 2017 study evaluating prison labor programs (ex. construction work) in Minnesota highlights that participants in these programs are more likely to find employment, work more hours, and earn higher wages following release compared to those who do not engage in such work (Duwe and McNeeley, 2017). In sum, this in-prison experience

contributes to enhanced job readiness and a smoother transition into the labor market upon release.

Despite the promising outcomes of in-prison educational and vocational programs, there remains a significant gap in understanding how these initiatives specifically impact homelessness. Existing research has demonstrated that pre-release programs can enhance employment prospects; however, the direct effects of these programs on preventing homelessness have not been thoroughly investigated. My research aims to address this gap by focusing on the CDCR Transitions program, a unique initiative in California that combines pre-release financial literacy training with employability skills. By examining the impact of this program on homelessness among formerly incarcerated individuals, my study seeks to provide valuable insights into how targeted in-prison interventions can better prepare individuals for successful reintegration and prevent the cycle of homelessness and incarceration.

### **Theory, Hypothesis, and Causal Mechanism:**

Transition services in prisons are strategically designed to facilitate successful reintegration into society by addressing key barriers individuals face after release. Ongoing case management, financial workshops, employment training, and other resources offered by these programs enhance an individual's mental bandwidth to navigate life and secure stable housing after leaving prison. By equipping individuals with practical skills and support systems, these services aim to mitigate the challenges of reintegration, thereby reducing the likelihood of homelessness. Thus, I predict that higher-quality transition programs will lead to lower rates of post-release homelessness. While "quality" can encompass many aspects of a program, due to data limitations, I define it here in terms of enrollment and capacity rates, as these metrics are the most readily available and quantifiable indicators of the program's reach and potential impact.

Enrollment reflects the sheer number of inmates receiving training through the Transitions program, while capacity suggests the amount of resources a prison allocates to the program. Although capacity may not be a direct measure of funding or staffing sizes, it can serve as an indirect indicator: a high capacity may suggest greater resources dedicated to the program, while a low capacity may imply more limited resources. Thus, I use capacity rates as a proxy to gain insight into prison-level resources and program quality. Specifically, I hypothesize that California counties with higher enrollment and capacity rates in the Transitions program will experience a smaller percentage of parolees experiencing homelessness in those counties, reflecting the program's effectiveness in preparing individuals for a stable reentry into society.

### **Research Design and Methods:**

My study will analyze the 19 counties in California that house a CDCR prison as of June 2023, with individual prison statistics aggregated to the county level for ease of comparison. My outcome variable is the percent of parolees experiencing homelessness by county, extracted from a C-ROB dataset that categorizes California's active parolee population by housing status by county as of June 30, 2023 (see Appendix A). This dataset appears to be the first of its kind to be reported by CDCR, thus my analysis is restricted to this point-in-time count. My explanatory variables are average enrollment and average capacity of Transitions per county as of June 2023, weighted by the size of each prison within a county. These averages are calculated from raw data from a CDCR public-facing dashboard (see Appendix B) by the following operationalization:

- 1) On the prison level, I take the average enrollment and capacity across Quarter 4 (April-June) for FY 2022-2023<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The average for Q4 was used instead of the June 2023 count due to large fluctuations in enrollment and capacity counts in prisons month-to-month due to changing space limitations and fire safety restrictions.

- 2) To aggregate enrollment and capacity to the county level, I account for differences in prison sizes within a county by the following weighted summation scheme:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \left( E_i \times \frac{P_i}{\sum_{j=1}^n P_j} \right)$$

where  $E_i$  = Enrollment of prison  $i$   
 $P_i$  = Population of prison  $i$   
 $n$  = Total number of prisons in the county  
 $\sum_{j=1}^n P_j$  = Sum of the populations of all prisons in the county

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \left( C_i \times \frac{P_i}{\sum_{j=1}^n P_j} \right)$$

where  $C_i$  = Capacity of prison  $i$   
 $P_i$  = Population of prison  $i$   
 $n$  = Total number of prisons in the county  
 $\sum_{j=1}^n P_j$  = Sum of the populations of all prisons in the county

Effectively, I am able to create a paired dataset of both homelessness rates and enrollment and capacity counts on the county level for June 2023.

Using binary variables, I control for the following prison types: high security, all-women, privately owned, and specialized institutions (such as substance-use treatment facilities and medical facilities). The inmates housed in these unique types of prisons belong to demographics that may experience a higher or lower risk of homelessness. For example, women are statistically less likely to experience homelessness (Moses and Janosko, 2018). Moreover, we may expect a difference in risk-of-homelessness among more serious offenders housed in high-security facilities due to their criminal histories impacting their reintegration into society. Inmates released from a privately owned prison may receive different services and rehabilitative programming, perhaps influencing their likelihood of becoming homeless. There may also be a difference in the quality of services distributed from specialized institutions with more specific funding and resource allocations, perhaps impacting an inmate's housing status post-release. This

binary data was obtained through a simple qualitative evaluation of each prison's structure. To aggregate to the county level, I calculate the average value of each binary control variable for each county with the same weighted scheme used for enrollment and capacity. This converts the binary variables into continuous measures and makes them more suitable for analysis at the county level. Additionally, I account for each county's average rental cost of a studio apartment in 2023, as we may expect higher rates of homelessness in less affordable counties. I obtained this data from RentData.org.

To analyze the data, I run an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression in R, which allows me to account for the control variables and examine the relationship between my explanatory and outcome variables. The regression model assesses the extent to which higher enrollment and capacity in the Transitions program are associated with lower rates of homelessness among parolees while controlling for prison type and county-level rental costs.

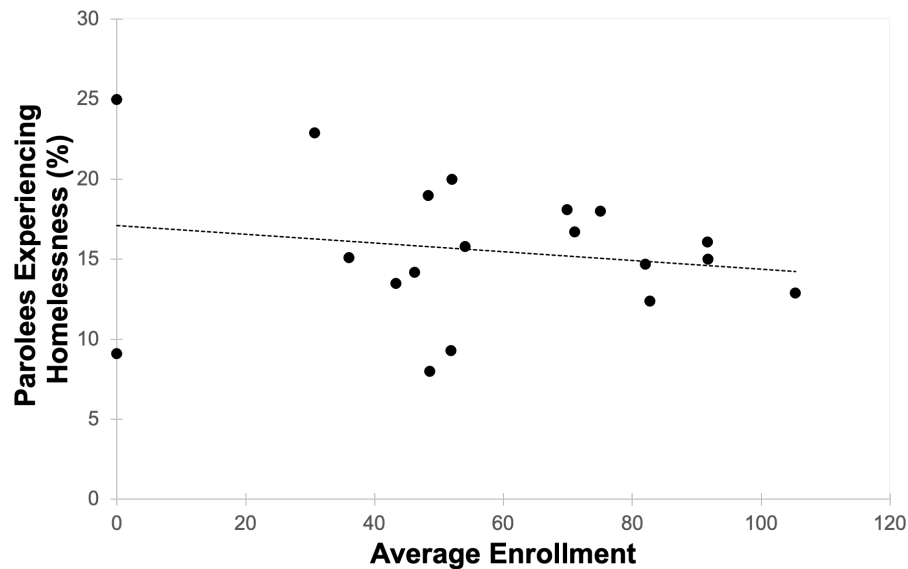
### Results:

<b>Parolee Homelessness</b>			
<b>Transitions Enrollment</b>	<b>-0.03</b> <b>(0.09)</b>		
<b>Transitions Capacity</b>	<b>0.02</b> <b>(0.08)</b>	<b>Specialized</b>	<b>-1.60</b> <b>(3.97)</b>
<b>Security</b>	<b>4.30</b> <b>(3.51)</b>	<b>Rent</b>	<b>0.00</b> <b>(0.00)</b>
<b>Womens</b>	<b>4.32</b> <b>(47.33)</b>	<b>Constant</b>	<b>17.54***</b> <b>(4.88)</b>
<b>Private</b>	<b>-151.80</b> <b>(94.84)</b>	<b>Adj. R-squared</b>	<b>-0.01</b>
		<b>N</b>	<b>19</b>

**Figure 1: Regression Output**

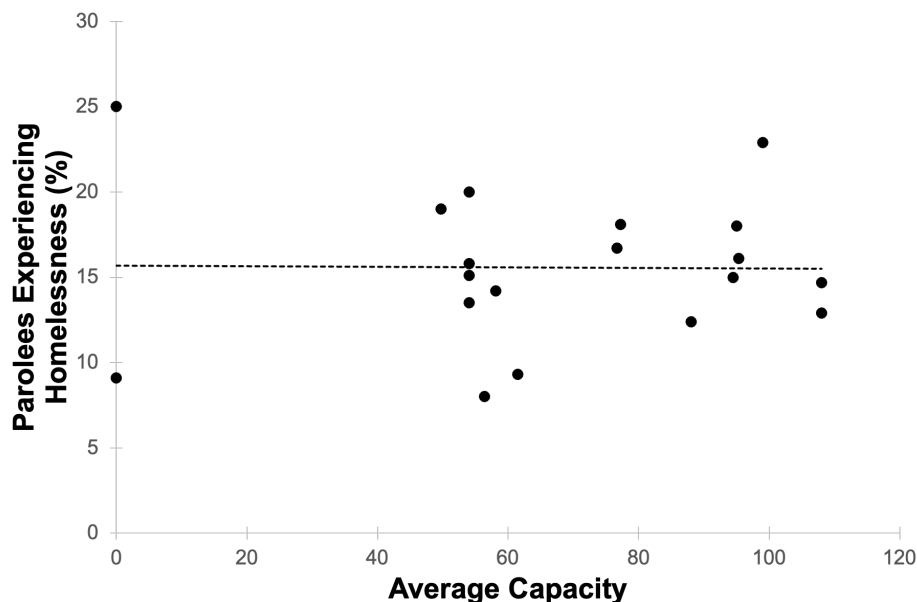
Data Source: CDCR

As displayed in Figure 1, the regression analysis reveals that the coefficients for both enrollment and capacity are not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ), with coefficients of -0.03 and 0.02, respectively. Additionally, the control variables for facility type and county rent do not exhibit a strong association with homelessness rates. An additional regression run without control variables resulted in coefficients for enrollment and capacity further from zero but similar non-significant relationships (see Appendix C).



**Figure 2: Parolee Homelessness vs. Transitions Enrollment as of June 2023**  
Data Source: CDCR

Figure 2 reveals a slight negative trend between homelessness rates and enrollment in Transitions, consistent with the regression coefficient of -0.03 for enrollment. This coefficient indicates that, on average, a one-unit increase in the average enrollment in the Transitions program in a county is associated with a 0.03 percentage point decrease in the homelessness rate among parolees in that county. However, this effect is very small and not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ), meaning that we cannot confidently conclude that there is a genuine effect of enrollment on homelessness rates based on this data.



**Figure 3: Parolee Homelessness vs. Transitions Capacity as of June 2023**

Data Source: CDCR

Figure 3 shows a very slight positive trend between homelessness rates and Transitions capacity, aligning with the regression coefficient of 0.02 for capacity. This coefficient indicates that, on average, a one-unit increase in the average capacity of the Transitions program in a county is associated with a 0.02 percentage point increase in the homelessness rate of parolees in that county. Similar to the enrollment coefficient, this effect is small and not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ).

### **Discussion and Research Implications:**

Thus, in my quest to evaluate the impact of the Transitions program on parolee homelessness rates, my analysis did not find significant evidence that either enrollment or capacity of the program is associated with a reduction in the percentage of parolees experiencing homelessness, contrary to my hypothesis. This result is likely influenced by several limitations in data collection.

Firstly, the analysis was constrained by the availability of only a single dataset on parolee homelessness rates, which limited the sample size. Specifically, the analysis was restricted to

data from June 2023, even though Transitions program data extends back to FY 2019-2020. This narrow time frame may therefore not fully capture the program's impact. Additionally, the lack of data on parolee homelessness rates by releasing prison necessitated the aggregation of data at the county level. This aggregation process involved combining statistics from multiple prisons within each county, which reduced the granularity of the data. As a result, individual prison-level details on Transitions program enrollment and capacity were obscured. Although I attempted to address this limitation by weighting the data according to prison size, this method is not as precise as evaluating the impact of the Transitions program directly at the individual prison level with detailed prison-level homelessness data, had such data been available. Overall, these data limitations affected the ability to accurately evaluate the relationship between Transitions program metrics and parolee homelessness rates, likely leading to insignificant results.

In addition to these data limitations, challenges also arose from the policies governing parolee residence. Crucially, CDCR parolees are generally required to be released to the county of their last legal residence, although exceptions may be made for reasons deemed in the “best interest of the public” or based on specific needs of the parolee (Sentencing, Incarceration & Parole of Offenders). The available data on parolee release details is limited, making it challenging to determine the exact county of residence for parolees after their release. This limitation introduces a flaw in my paired dataset, as Transitions programs within a county may not have directly served the parolees residing there, which diminishes the validity of my analysis. Future research involving parolee resident status will likely become even more challenging with the implementation of SB 990 in early 2024, allowing parolees to choose their release location based on educational, treatment, housing, or employment opportunities, rather than being required to return to their last county of residence (Office of the Public State Defender, 2022).



Given these challenges, CDCR must improve its data collection on inmate outcomes for public access and undertake internal analyses to evaluate the effectiveness of its reentry programs, including the Transitions program. Developing clear success metrics is crucial for informed resource allocation and creating targeted solutions to reduce parolee homelessness—understanding what works is essential for CDCR to break the cycle of homelessness and incarceration. Legislators might also consider crafting legislation that mandates more accountable data collection and reports from CDCR, enabling them to make more informed decisions during the annual budget process. Without these improvements, efforts to reduce parolee homelessness may fall short, leaving vulnerable individuals without the support they need to successfully reintegrate into society.

**Other Limitations and Research Extensions:**

Given these limitations, my research would have been improved by obtaining enhanced data on parolee homelessness, including a wider temporal scope and prison-specific statistics. Additionally, a clearer definition of homelessness by CDCR would have been beneficial, as the current dataset does not specify how an individual is classified as experiencing homelessness. Beyond improving the data for the outcome variable, including a variety of additional control variables may have strengthened my analysis. This could have involved gathering more detailed demographic information on inmates, such as race, veteran status, and mental health conditions. Furthermore, obtaining information about inmates at the time of booking, such as their homelessness status or substance use disorders immediately prior to incarceration, would have provided valuable context. All of these factors are known to influence an individual's likelihood of experiencing homelessness, and should therefore be included in a future analysis of this kind.

My research prompts several potential extensions and inquiries in the realm of homelessness and incarceration. Future research on CDCR's reentry programs should involve analyzing their long-term operations to assess effectiveness. According to the Public Policy Institute of California, "Between 2014 and 2019, the budgeted capacity for [Career Technical Education programs] increased 30 percent from roughly 8,500 to nearly 11,000 slots... Participation rates for all employment programs at least tripled between 2015 and 2019" (Cremin et al., 2024). A study examining the effects of these changes over time on prisoner outcomes, including homelessness, recidivism, job acquisition rates, or financial stability, could provide a clearer picture of the programs' success or shortcomings. Additionally, future research could compare the effectiveness of pre-release versus post-release programs in reducing homelessness. While pre-release programs aim to preemptively equip inmates with essential life skills and information, post-release programs may offer more intensive support that some individuals require. Investigating which approach is more effective could guide funding strategies and the development of more targeted programs.

Another area for consideration is the potential impact of transforming CDCR policy to mandate that inmates secure housing plans before their release. Implementing such a policy could potentially eradicate immediate post-release homelessness by ensuring that individuals have a stable place to live upon their release. However, this approach might also introduce several challenges. For instance, it could place increased demands on CDCR staff and resources, as securing viable housing plans for a large number of inmates may require significant administrative effort and coordination with external housing providers. Careful planning would be needed to avoid unintended consequences, such as the possibility of creating bottlenecks in the release process. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the potential benefits and drawbacks of

such a policy change is crucial before implementation. In all, exploring these extensions could provide a more comprehensive understanding of how to effectively support formerly incarcerated individuals and enhance the impact of reentry programs in reducing homelessness.

**Conclusion:**

This study aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) Transitions program in reducing post-release homelessness among parolees. My analysis revealed that higher enrollment and capacity in the Transitions program does not have a statistically significant impact on reducing homelessness rates among parolees in California, but this conclusion is likely attributable to several limitations in data availability that reduce the validity of my findings. Despite methodological challenges, this research sheds light on a deeply entrenched and troubling cycle that perpetuates the dual crises of incarceration and homelessness in the state. The findings underscore a critical need for reform—demanding more robust data collection, clearer success metrics, and a thorough examination of both pre-release and post-release support systems. By addressing the cycle of incarceration and homelessness, California has the opportunity to not only address the immediate needs of parolees but also to dismantle the systemic barriers that trap them in a continuous loop of instability. Altogether, California must reimagine its approach to reintegration and provide a more effective path forward to break the cycle of incarceration and homelessness.

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## Appendix

A:

**California Active Parolee Population  
As of June 30, 2023  
By Housing Status**

County	Housed		Sheltered		Experiencing Homelessness		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>Total</b>	21,393	84.3%	182	0.7%	3,796	15.0%	25,371	100.0%
Alameda	707	88.3%	7	0.9%	87	10.9%	801	100.0%
Amador	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Butte	158	75.6%	1	0.5%	50	23.9%	209	100.0%
Calaveras	17	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	17	100.0%
Colusa	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Contra Costa	334	88.6%	2	0.5%	41	10.9%	377	100.0%
Del Norte	37	77.1%	0	0.0%	11	22.9%	48	100.0%
El Dorado	49	84.5%	0	0.0%	9	15.5%	58	100.0%
Fresno	1,008	86.7%	5	0.4%	150	12.9%	1,163	100.0%
Glenn	8	72.7%	0	0.0%	3	27.3%	11	100.0%
Humboldt	87	78.4%	1	0.9%	23	20.7%	111	100.0%
Imperial	92	92.0%	0	0.0%	8	8.0%	100	100.0%
Inyo	7	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	100.0%
Kern	819	89.3%	13	1.4%	85	9.3%	917	100.0%
Kings	314	82.0%	0	0.0%	69	18.0%	383	100.0%
Lake	39	81.3%	1	2.1%	8	16.7%	48	100.0%
Lassen	9	75.0%	0	0.0%	3	25.0%	12	100.0%
Los Angeles	5,955	85.9%	41	0.6%	939	13.5%	6,935	100.0%
Madera	73	83.9%	0	0.0%	14	16.1%	87	100.0%
Marin	15	78.9%	1	5.3%	3	15.8%	19	100.0%
Mariposa	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%
Mendocino	95	78.5%	5	4.1%	21	17.4%	121	100.0%
Merced	171	82.2%	2	1.0%	35	16.8%	208	100.0%
Modoc	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Mono	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Monterey	350	86.8%	3	0.7%	50	12.4%	403	100.0%
Napa	17	77.3%	0	0.0%	5	22.7%	22	100.0%
Nevada	17	89.5%	0	0.0%	2	10.5%	19	100.0%
Orange	893	77.2%	14	1.2%	249	21.5%	1,156	100.0%
Placer	182	77.4%	1	0.4%	52	22.1%	235	100.0%
Plumas	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Riverside	1,663	84.5%	8	0.4%	296	15.0%	1,967	100.0%
Sacramento	1,085	81.5%	5	0.4%	241	18.1%	1,331	100.0%
San Benito	11	64.7%	1	5.9%	5	29.4%	17	100.0%
San Bernardino	1,793	85.0%	7	0.3%	309	14.7%	2,109	100.0%



**California Active Parolee Population  
As of June 30, 2023  
By Housing Status**

County	Housed		Sheltered		Experiencing Homelessness		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>Total</b>	21,393	84.3%	182	0.7%	3,796	15.0%	25,371	100.0%
San Diego	1,308	84.5%	6	0.4%	234	15.1%	1,548	100.0%
San Francisco	384	96.0%	1	0.3%	15	3.8%	400	100.0%
San Joaquin	619	80.1%	7	0.9%	147	19.0%	773	100.0%
San Luis Obispo	137	81.5%	3	1.8%	28	16.7%	168	100.0%
San Mateo	146	79.3%	9	4.9%	29	15.8%	184	100.0%
Santa Barbara	201	91.0%	3	1.4%	17	7.7%	221	100.0%
Santa Clara	611	84.9%	5	0.7%	104	14.4%	720	100.0%
Santa Cruz	39	81.3%	0	0.0%	9	18.8%	48	100.0%
Shasta	213	71.0%	1	0.3%	86	28.7%	300	100.0%
Sierra	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%
Siskiyou	15	78.9%	0	0.0%	4	21.1%	19	100.0%
Solano	307	83.9%	7	1.9%	52	14.2%	366	100.0%
Sonoma	151	83.0%	9	4.9%	22	12.1%	182	100.0%
Stanislaus	298	74.5%	9	2.3%	93	23.3%	400	100.0%
Sutter	65	85.5%	0	0.0%	11	14.5%	76	100.0%
Tehama	97	75.2%	0	0.0%	32	24.8%	129	100.0%
Trinity	7	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	100.0%
Tulare	197	89.1%	1	0.5%	23	10.4%	221	100.0%
Tuolumne	19	86.4%	1	4.5%	2	9.1%	22	100.0%
Ventura	385	83.0%	1	0.2%	78	16.8%	464	100.0%
Yolo	96	86.5%	0	0.0%	15	13.5%	111	100.0%
Yuba	57	70.4%	1	1.2%	23	28.4%	81	100.0%

Source: CDCR, Division of Correctional Policy Research and Internal Oversight

## B: Transitions by Prison



Source: [California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation](#)

## C:

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=====
Dependent variable:
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Homelessness
-----
Enrollment          -0.102
                    (0.072)

Capacity            0.080
                    (0.067)

Constant            16.000***
                    (2.480)

-----
Observations        19
R2                  0.111
Adjusted R2         0.0004
Residual Std. Error 4.415 (df = 16)
=====
Note:                *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
    
```