

Supervision Violations and Their Impact on Incarceration

Incarceration for Supervision Violations Continues to Drop but Varies by State

A state-by-state examination of racial disparities in people returning to prison from parole.

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Partner: Correctional Leaders Association

Funder: Arnold Ventures

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About the CSG Justice Center

The Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center is a national, nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that combines the power of a membership association, representing state officials in all three branches of government, with policy and research expertise to develop strategies that increase public safety and strengthen communities.

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Formerly known as Association of State Correctional Administrators, Correctional Leaders Association members are the correctional leaders of all U.S. state corrections agencies, Los Angeles County, the District of Columbia, New York City, Philadelphia, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, United States Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines and any United States territory, possession, and/or commonwealth.

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Suggested Citation: Dr. Jessica Saunders, *Supervision Violations and Their Impact on Incarceration: A State-By-State Examination of Racial Disparities in People Returning to Prison from Parole* (New York: The Council of State Governments Justice Center, January 2024).

This project was supported by Arnold Ventures and produced in partnership with the Correctional Leaders Association. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of The Council of State Governments.

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Introduction

Racial Disparities Across the Criminal Justice System

The causes of racial disparities in the criminal justice system are complex and deeply rooted. A recent review of the trends in correctional supervision from 2000 to 2020, for example, describes the size and scope of disparities along with how they have changed over the past two decades. According to this study, while disparities in correctional supervision across different racial and ethnic groups narrowed between 2000 and 2020, across jails, state prisons, probation, and parole, disparities remained high, particularly between Black and White racial groups. As a result, in 2020, Black Americans were still incarcerated in state prisons at approximately 5 times the rate of White Americans.¹

The overrepresentation of people from Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities in the criminal justice system is a result of multiple factors, including a historical legacy of inequality across public and private institutions, as well as the policies, practices, and procedures that intentionally or unintentionally work better for White Americans than BIPOC Americans.² Racial disparities often begin in the community through the unequal distribution of social, economic, and environmental resources shaping disparities in individuals' experiences and behavior. These disparities in the community then impact experiences within the criminal justice system.³ Risk factors, such as exposure to community violence, overpolicing, failing schools, lack of physical and behavioral health services, generational poverty, and familial criminal justice system contact, are all highly correlated with race and ethnicity.⁴

These pre-existing disparities are then compounded as individuals move through the criminal justice system, with even small biases at any single decision point potentially resulting in large disparities downstream. Some of the key decision points that have been found to be influenced by race and ethnicity include law enforcement contact, arraignment, release and pre-adjudicatory decisions; adjudication and sentencing; probation and community-based alternatives to incarceration; jail and prison custody; and parole and reentry.⁵

To better examine each state's racial and ethnic disparities in reincarcerations from parole revocations in 2020, The Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center analyzed publicly available data from state departments of corrections.

Report Methodology

Data Sources

¹ William J. Sabol and Thaddeus L. Johnson, *Justice System Disparities: Black-White National Imprisonment Trends, 2020-2022* (Washington, DC: Council on Criminal Justice, 2022).

² National Academies Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *Reducing Racial Inequality in Crime and Justice: Science, Practice, and Policy Consensus Study Report* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.17226/26705>.

³ Megan C. Kurlychek and Brian D. Johnson, "Cumulative Disadvantage in the American Criminal Justice System," *Annual Review of Criminology* 2 (2019): 291–319.

⁴ National Academies Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *Reducing Racial Inequality in Crime and Justice: Science, Practice, and Policy Consensus Study*; Megan C. Kurlychek and Brian D. Johnson, "Cumulative Disadvantage in the American Criminal Justice System."

⁵ Margaret Bull Kovera, "Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System: Prevalence, Causes, and a Search for Solutions," *Journal of Social Issues* 75, no. 4 (2019): 1139–1164.

This report’s investigation of racial and ethnic disparities uses publicly available data rather than survey data collected for the larger supervision project. Because of this, the CSG Justice Center was only able to calculate racial disparities metrics for the individuals who enter prison from parole rather than from both parole and probation. There are no publicly available national or state data on the incarcerated population from probation (e.g., reincarcerated individuals).

The publicly available data used in this report comes from the [National Corrections Reporting Program \(NCRP\)](#) and the [National Prisoner Statistics](#)—both published by the U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Justice Programs’ Bureau of Justice Statistics—and the [Property Owners and Managers Survey Public Use File \(POMS\)](#), published by the U.S. Census. Due to differences in the way each data source records race and ethnicity, only the following categories were included: White, Black, and Hispanic.

National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP). This program collects individual-level data from state departments of corrections annually, which includes information on the demographics of all incarcerated individuals, in addition to sentencing information and whether the prison admission was for a new court commitment or a return to prison from parole. State participation in NCRP is voluntary and has varied by year (for example, 47 states submitted data in 2016 while in 2021 there were only sufficient data from 38 states to include in the CSG Justice Center’s analysis). The NCRP only reports four race and ethnicity categories: White, Black, Hispanic, and Other. The CSG Justice Center’s analyses use the NCRP data to generate offense-specific distributions of individuals in state prisons after serving some period of time on parole by race and Hispanic origin, as well as estimates of admissions and populations by race and Hispanic origin.

National Prisoner Statistics. The counts of White, Black, and Hispanic individuals on parole by state was pulled from the Bureau of Justice Statistics’ annual *Probation and Parole in the United States* reports, which provide estimates of the number of individuals on parole and the percentage of individuals on parole by race and Hispanic origin, as defined and reported in state and local agencies’ administrative systems. The percent distribution of people on parole by race is derived from agencies that reported data by race. The latest year that this was available by state was 2018.

U.S. Census. The CSG Justice Center calculated the community population using data from the Property Owners and Managers Survey Public Use File (POMS) to get information on the racial and ethnic breakdown of each state for each year from 2015 to 2020.

Calculations

For this analysis, the CSG Justice Center developed four disparity metrics to mirror the data collected in its annual community supervision survey, specifically looking at both prison admissions and populations from people on parole.

These metrics help examine racial disparities in two distinct ways: by disparities in the single point at parole readmissions/reincarcerated populations (called “portion of disparities attributable to parole revocations”) and by the total disparities in the parole readmissions/reincarcerated populations. The following figures illustrate the two concepts, with letters that will be used in the rest of the report to help identify which metric refers to which type of disparity:

Figure 1. Disparity Metrics in Readmissions from Parole

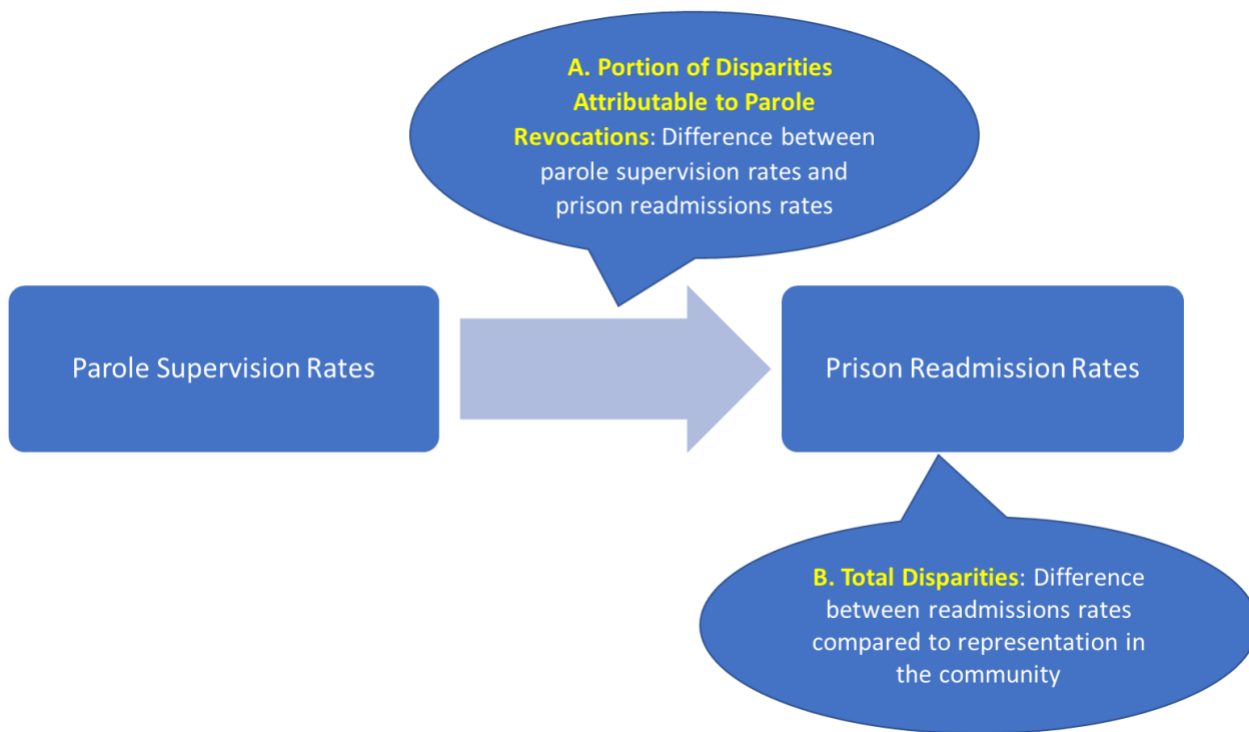
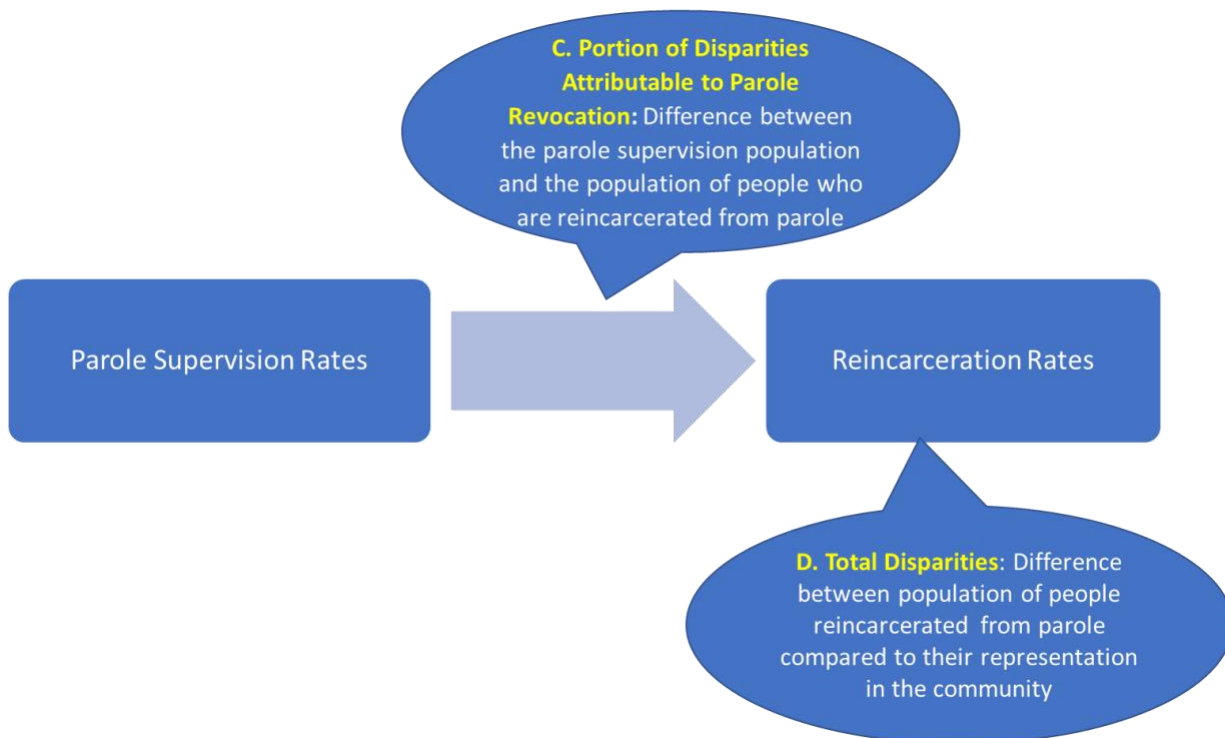


Figure 2. Disparity Metrics in Populations Reincarcerated from Parole



When looking at the data, there are some key terms to keep in mind:

 Tip

- **The *portion of disparities attributable to parole revocations*** examines the disparities in parole revocations among different racial and ethnic groups. This metric compares the admissions/populations of people who entered prison for parole violations from a racial or ethnic group compared to the representation of people on parole in the same racial or ethnic group.
- ***Total disparities*** examine the accumulation of disparities between racial and ethnic groups for people who had their parole revoked. This metric compares the admissions/populations of people who entered prison for parole violations from a racial or ethnic group compared to the representation in the community in the same racial or ethnic group.
- The CSG Justice Center reports each of these in the form of a **Relative Rate Ratio (also known as a Relative Rate Index, RRI)**, which compares the rate of any outcome experienced by the Black and Hispanic populations to the rate of that same outcome experienced by the White population. First, rates are calculated by taking the number of people who experienced an outcome within a particular racial or ethnic group in that population. Then rates are compared across populations. An RRI between the Black and White populations of 10-to-1 would indicate that the Black population experienced an outcome at a 10 times higher rate than the White population. An RRI between Black and White populations of less than 1 would indicate that the Black population experienced that outcome at a lower rate than the White population.

The calculation for the metrics is described below using admissions to prison from parole as an example. The same equations are used to compute the other three metrics, just using different numerators (e.g., the admissions/populations numbers) and denominators (e.g., the population that it will be divided by):

Step 1: Calculate admissions rates for each race and ethnic population.

$$\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, White Population} = \frac{\text{Number of Yearly Prison Readmissions from Parole of White Individuals}}{\text{Number of White Individuals on Parole}}$$

$$\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, Black Population} = \frac{\text{Number of Yearly Prison Readmissions from Parole of Black Individuals}}{\text{Number of Black Individuals on Parole}}$$

$$\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, Hispanic Population} = \frac{\text{Number of Yearly Prison Readmissions from Parole of Hispanic Individuals}}{\text{Number of Hispanic Individuals on Parole}}$$

Step 2: Calculate the relative rate index (RRI) for Black and White and Black and Hispanic populations.

$$\text{RRI for Parole Revocation, Black and White Populations} = \frac{\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, Black Population}}{\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, White Population}}$$

$$\text{RRI for Parole Revocation, Hispanic and White Populations} = \frac{\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, Hispanic Population}}{\text{Admissions Rate from Parole, White Population}}$$

Summary Table of Rate Calculations

	Admissions	Populations
Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocations	<p>Numerator = Number of individuals admitted to prison from parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>Denominator = Number of individuals on parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>(Metric A in Figure 1)</p>	<p>Numerator = number of individuals in prison from parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>Denominator = number of individuals on parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>(Metric C in Figure 2)</p>
Total Disparities for Individuals in Prison from Parole	<p>Numerator = Number of individuals admitted to prison from parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>Denominator = Number of individuals in the state ages 18 or above, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>(Metric B in Figure 1)</p>	<p>Numerator = Number of individuals in prison who were admitted from parole, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>Denominator = Number of individuals in the state ages 18 or above, by race and ethnicity.</p> <p>(Metric D in Figure 2)</p>

Missing Data and National Estimates

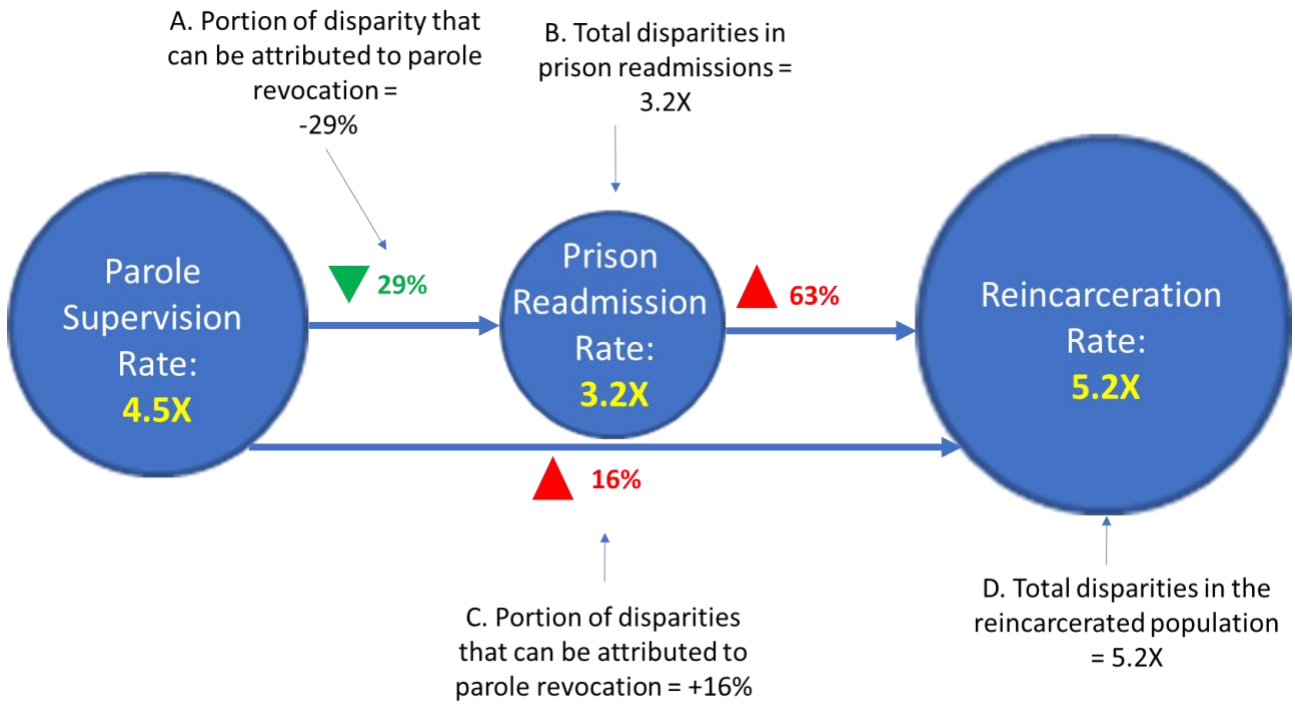
The CSG Justice Center had two types of missing data for these analyses: (1) some states did not submit either admissions or population data from their departments of corrections to either the NCRP and/or National Prisoner Statistics; and (2) the quality of the race and ethnicity data differed by state, with some states reporting on each individual and some states only reporting race and ethnicity for a small portion of the population (or no information on race or ethnicity at all). The CSG Justice Center did not include a group or calculate rates where there were 5 or fewer people of a racial or ethnic group in this report. However, these rates are provided in the state dashboard tool, where a value of 5 was substituted for any group that was 5 or fewer.

See [GITHUB](#) for full documentation of the data availability for each metric for each race and ethnicity category by state.

The estimates for the disparities measures below use all available data but should not be considered nationally representative due to the complex patterns of missing data from the NCRP and National Prisoner Statistics. However, these are the closest estimates to national representation that are possible using these data sources. They are used for illustrative purposes to highlight the meaning of each metric.

Using all available data, the disparity in prison readmissions is -29 percent, meaning that disparities actually shrink by 29 percent between parole and prison readmissions. However, due to the preexisting disparities in the parole supervision rate, there are still significant disparities in prison readmission from parole, such that the rate of readmissions for the Black population is still 3.2 times higher than their representations in the community compared to the White population. The pattern is slightly different when examining populations for who is serving time behind bars after failing parole. Disparities between the parole supervision populations and the reincarcerated populations actually grow 16 percent, resulting in a total disparity of 5.2 between White and Black populations.

Figure 3. Estimates for the Four Disparity Metrics Using All Available Data



Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Readmissions from Parole, State-By-State Analysis

Admissions for parole violations made up 30 percent of all prison admissions in 2020.⁶ As there was wide variability in overall prison readmission rates across the states, there is also wide variability in revocation rates across race and ethnicities and crime type. The report uses the median rather than the average because the median is less sensitive to outliers.

Disparities in readmissions to prison for parole revocations varied a lot by state. (Metrics A and B from Figure 1)

Disparities in the ***parole revocation rates*** (Metric A from Table 1) between Black and White populations had a median of 1.03, but ranged from 0.54 to 2.25, meaning that Black individuals had a readmissions rate that was between 45 percent lower and 2.25 times higher than White individuals. These rates varied by original crime type, with the largest disparities being identified in violent crime (median RRI = 1.58). See Table 1 for disparities in readmissions by state broken down by original conviction offense type.

Disparities in readmissions between White and Hispanic populations also varied a great deal by state, with a median of .80 (Hispanic individuals were readmitted from parole at a 20 percent lower rate than White individuals) but ranged from a low of .08 to 1.38 (from 92 percent lower to 1.38 times higher). The median RRI for readmissions from parole were all under 1, meaning that Hispanic individuals were less likely to have their parole revoked than White individuals. See Table 2 for disparities in readmission rates between Hispanic and White populations broken down by original conviction offense type.

Overall, the disparities identified at the decision point to revoke someone are relatively modest in most states. However, there were some states with noteworthy disparities between Black and White individuals in readmissions, including Wyoming (RRI=2.25), and Rhode Island (RRI=2.05). No states had disparities larger than 1.38 between the White and Hispanic populations.

The ***total disparities in readmissions from parole*** (Metric B from Figure 1) varied a lot by state and were much larger, as they represent compounding disparities that start before criminal justice system involvement and increase as individuals move through the system. These disparities compare the readmissions to prison to the community population, so they represent the disparities in offending patterns and criminal justice system processing.

The median RRI for total disparities in readmissions between Black and White populations was 4.21, meaning that Black individuals were readmitted to prison at a rate of 4.21 times higher than their representation in the community. Total disparities were highest for violent crime (median RRI = 5.94) and lowest for property crime (median RRI = 2.77).

The median RRI for total disparities in readmissions between Hispanic and White populations was 1.3, meaning Hispanic individuals were about 30 percent more likely to be readmitted to prison from parole than their representation in the community. The highest RRIs were for people convicted of violent crime, with a median RRI of 2.06.

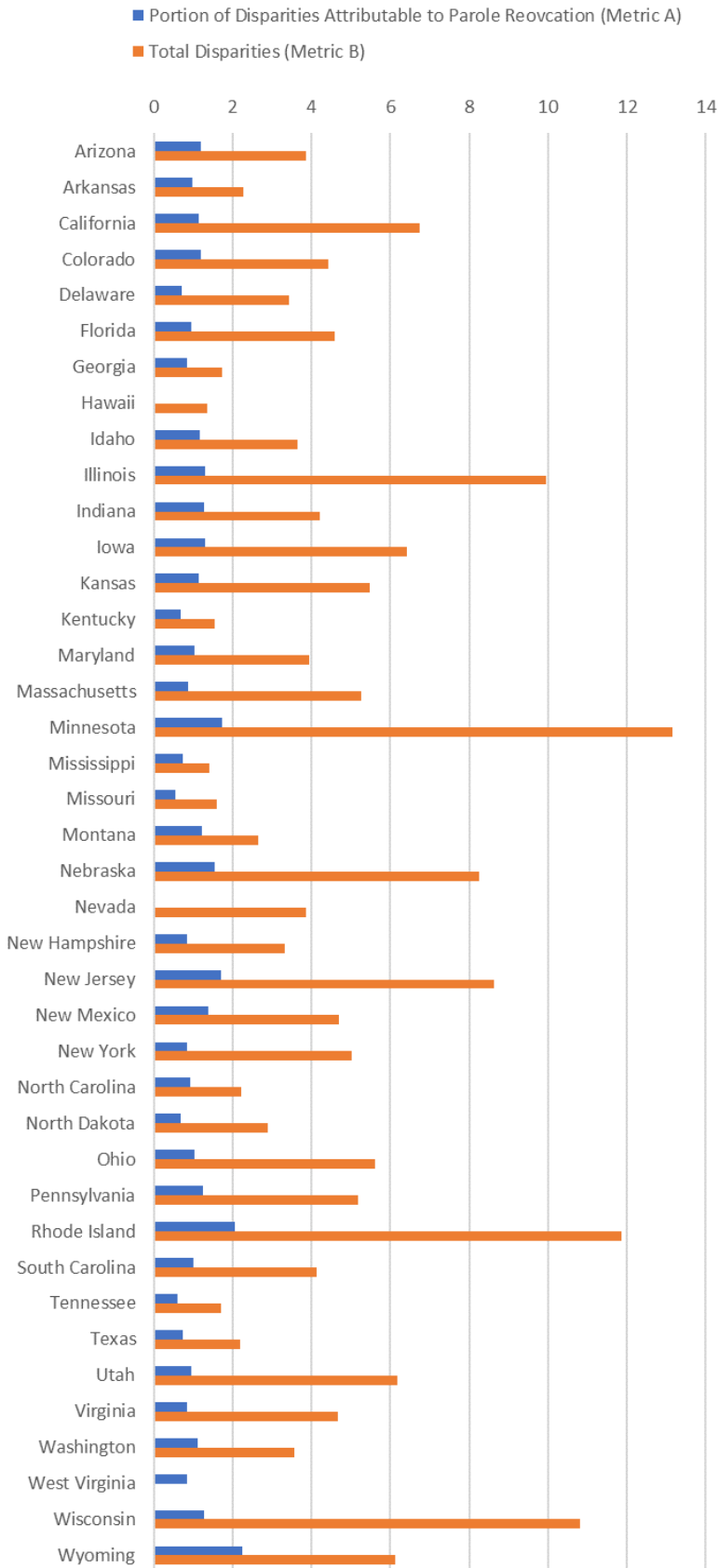
The total disparities are much more pronounced than disparities in the single point of readmission to prison from parole. In fact, the portion of the total disparities that can be attributed to the disparities at the point of readmissions is often small. This means that total disparities observed in readmissions are mainly from those accrued prior to failure on parole.

Black individuals were readmitted at more than a 5 times higher rate than White individuals compared to their representation in the community in 15 states: California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota,

⁶ This only includes states that reported sufficient data to the NCRP.

Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Only one state, Rhode Island, had total disparities that high between Hispanic and White populations.

Figure 4. Disparities in Readmissions to Prison for Parole Revocations Between Black and White Populations, 2020 (or most recent year available) (RRI of 1 = Parity)



Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Incarcerated Populations after Being Readmitted from Parole

Disparities in who is incarcerated after being readmitted to prison from parole is a function of readmissions and length of stay once someone has their parole revoked, and just like with the admissions data, it varied by state.

The ***disparities in the reincarcerated population compared to disparities in who is on parole*** (Metric C from Figure 2) varied by state. The median RRI for disparities in who is reincarcerated in prison after being revoked from parole between Black and White individuals was 1.26 (i.e., Black individuals were 1.26 times more likely to be incarcerated after being revoked from parole), meaning that half the states had RRIs above and half of the states had RRIs below it. Black individuals were in prison after failing parole at a two times higher rate than White individuals in two states: Wyoming and New Jersey. These rates varied by original crime type, with the largest median RRI for disparities being identified in violent crime (median RRI = 1.8). See Table 3 for disparities in reincarcerated populations by state and original offense type between Black and White populations.

Disparities in populations incarcerated for parole violations between White and Hispanic populations also varied a great deal by state, with a median of .92 (Hispanic individuals were incarcerated from parole at an 8 percent lower rate than White individuals) but ranged from a low of .10 to 2.02 (from 90 percent lower to 2 times higher). See Table 4 for disparities in reincarcerated populations by state and original offense type between Hispanic and White populations.

Overall, the disparities in who remains in prison after failing parole compared to who is on parole is relatively modest in most states. However, there are some noteworthy exceptions, particularly when looking by original offense type. Black individuals remained incarcerated after parole at twice the rate or higher than White individuals for drug crimes in Delaware, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Wyoming; and for violent crime in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The ***total disparities in populations incarcerated after being readmitted from parole*** (Metric D from Figure 2) varied a lot by state and were much larger, as they represent compounding disparities that start before criminal justice system involvement and increase as individuals move through the system. These disparities compare the incarceration rate of people who failed parole to the community population, so they represent both the disparities in offending patterns and criminal justice system processing.

The median RRI for total disparities between Black and White populations was 5.36, meaning that Black individuals were incarcerated in prison after failing parole at a rate of 5.36 times higher than their representation in the community. Total disparities were highest for violent crime (median RRI = 7.36) and lowest for property crime (median RRI = 3.65).

The median RRI for total disparities in populations readmitted from parole between Hispanic and White populations was 1.3, meaning that the RRI was less than 1.3 in half of the states where the CSG Justice Center had data to analyze. The highest RRIs were for people convicted of drug crimes, with a median RRI of 2.11.

The total disparities of who is in prison after being readmitted from parole are much more pronounced than disparities between the incarceration rates and who is on parole. In fact, there were several states where the rate of Black individuals serving time after failing parole was over 10 times higher than White individuals, including Maine (RRI=10.78), Minnesota (RRI=11.57), New Jersey (RRI = 11.4), and Wisconsin (RRI = 15.38). The RRIs in total disparities exceeded 10 in 4 states for drug offenses, 5 states for public order offenses, and 11 states for violence offenses. The same pattern holds true with the relative incarceration rates from parole failure for the Hispanic population. Disparities compared to the population on parole were relatively modest (and in many cases,

rates were lower within the Hispanic population), but the total disparities were larger. Again, the majority of the total disparities were accumulating prior to reincarceration from parole and from lengthier sentences after revocations.

Figure 5. Disparities in Populations Readmitted to Prison for Parole Revocations Between Black and White Populations, 2020 (or most recent year available) (RRI of 1 = Parity)

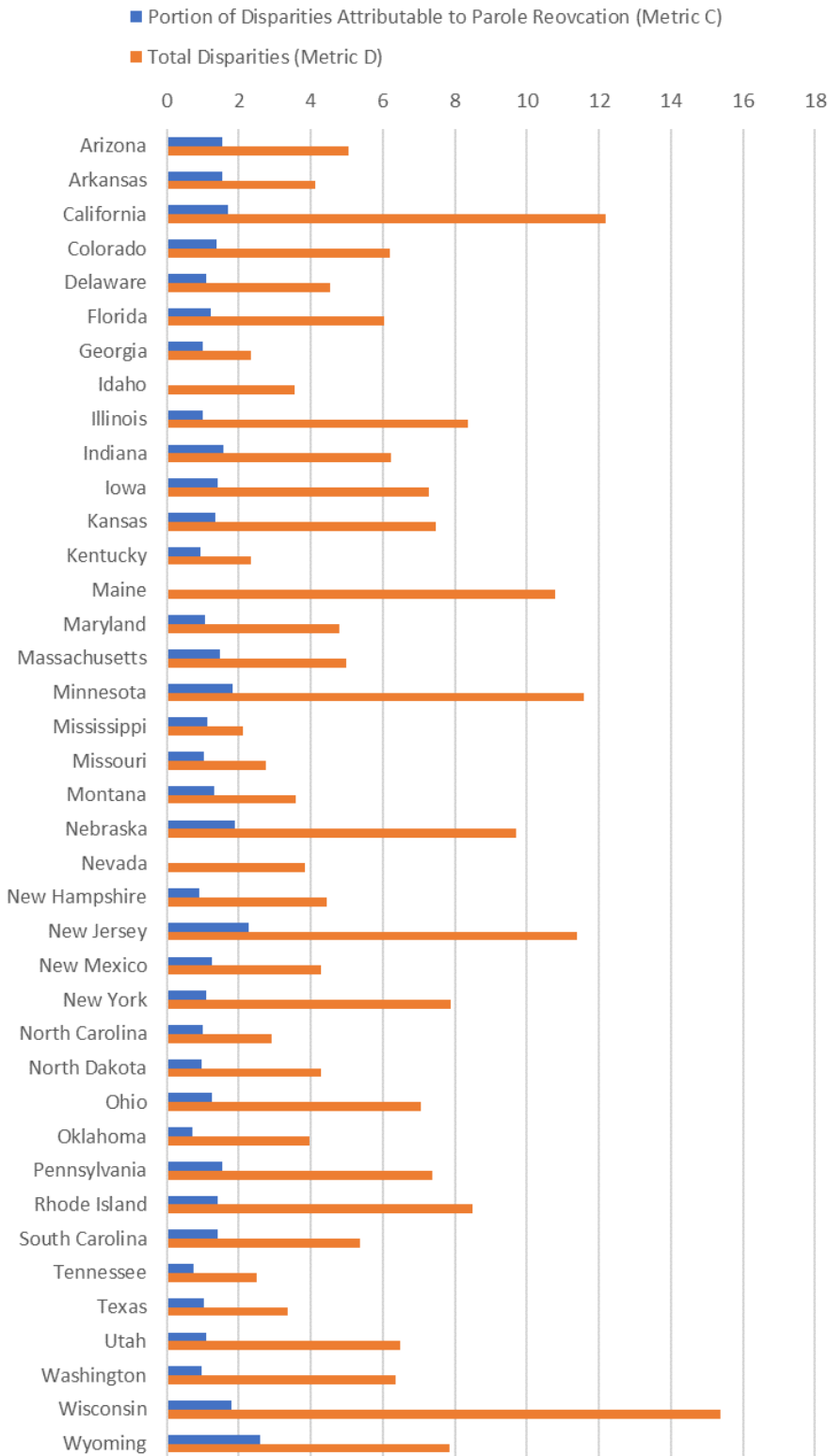


Table 3. Relative Readmission Rates from Parole, Black Populations Compared to White Populations in 2020 or latest year available (Metrics A and B in Figure 1)

STATE	All Categories		Drug Crime		Property Crime		Public Order		Violent	
	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)
Arizona	1.18	3.87	0.91	3	1	3.31	1.32	4.36	2.25	7.41
Arkansas	0.97	2.26	0.9	1.86	0.79	2.01	0.91	1.96	1.9	4.63
California	1.14	6.74	0.71	3.82	0.94	5.41	1.08	6.94	1.57	8.36
Colorado	1.2	4.42	1.35	6.66	0.9	2.77	1.17	4.08	1.62	6.07
Delaware	0.7	3.42	1.83	6.59	0.46	2.46	0.65	3.32	0.96	3.09
Florida	0.96	4.59	1.58	9.23	0.72	2.95	0.87	5.35	1	4.66
Georgia	0.83	1.74	0.74	1.29	0.61	1.19	0.89	2.1	1.3	3.21
Hawaii	-	1.35	-	-	-	0.95	-	-	-	1.89
Idaho	1.16	3.65	0.87	2.95	0.94	5.56	1.23	3.58	1.81	6.19
Illinois	1.3	9.95	1.4	6.84	0.91	6.51	1.64	17.33	1.37	10.85
Indiana	1.27	4.21	1.02	2.93	0.88	2.76	1.78	5.69	1.66	6.07
Iowa	1.29	6.43	1.09	5.32	1.2	5.95	1.49	8.56	2.35	11.3
Kansas	1.14	5.48	0.74	2.79	0.85	4.81	0.99	5.96	1.83	8.48
Kentucky	0.67	1.54	0.61	1.3	0.47	0.99	0.81	2.04	1.39	3.28
Maryland	1.02	3.94	1.74	7.6	0.35	1.26	1.38	7.35	1.26	4.52
Massachusetts	0.86	5.25	0.73	9.08	0.42	3.68	--	11.43	1.11	4.4
Minnesota	1.73	13.16	0.83	5.34	1.4	7.81	1.41	13.52	2.9	20.56
Mississippi	0.74	1.41	0.72	1.48	0.7	1.14	0.9	1.75	1.14	3.23
Missouri	0.54	1.59	0.4	1.02	0.48	1.42	0.54	1.83	1.21	3.47
Montana	1.22	2.65	-	-	1.91	-	-	-	1.25	-
Nebraska	1.55	8.24	1.03	2.02	1.77	4.85	-	10.97	2.86	18.97

	All Categories		Drug Crime		Property Crime		Public Order		Violent	
Nevada	-	3.87	-	2.51	-	2.67	-	5.41	-	7.89
New Hampshire	0.85	3.33	1.1	3.77	0.49	2.17	0.83	5.69	0.99	2.95
New Jersey	1.71	8.62	1.66	8.35	0.66	3.35	1.39	7	2.4	12.07
New Mexico	1.38	4.7	1.68	5.74	0.84	2.88	1.81	6.17	1.7	5.81
New York	0.84	5.02	1.34	6.62	0.44	2.74	1.25	6.91	1.02	6.8
North Carolina	0.91	2.22	0.57	1.09	0.62	1.61	1.32	3.2	1.93	4.64
North Dakota	0.67	2.89	0.76	-	-	-	-	-	1.59	-
Ohio	1.04	5.6	0.86	5.09	0.57	3.21	1.07	5.17	1.56	8.22
Pennsylvania	1.25	5.17	2	7.85	0.53	1.77	1.17	4.83	2.24	9.09
Rhode Island	2.05	11.87	4.44	8.48	0.74	-	1.39	-	1.85	14.41
South Carolina	1	4.14	1.05	3.27	0.76	3.61	1.24	6.89	1.19	5.02
Tennessee	0.61	1.71	0.81	2.49	0.34	0.85	0.43	1.27	1.21	3.36
Texas	0.72	2.18	0.6	1.83	0.71	2.07	0.46	1.55	1.17	3.3
Utah	0.95	6.17	0.47	4.01	0.76	3.48	1.12	7.52	1.66	10.57
Virginia	0.85	4.66	-	-	0.6	-	-	-	0.67	4.35
Washington	1.11	3.57	0.55	1.75	0.71	2.29	1.54	4.96	1.57	5.06
West Virginia	0.85	-	2.19	-	0.34	-	-	-	1.7	5.11
Wisconsin	1.27	10.81	1.18	8.65	0.89	7.02	1.04	10.1	1.81	16.18
Wyoming	2.25	6.13	2.26	-	-	-	-	-	7.33	21.46

Table note: “-“ indicates where data were unavailable or censored due to low numbers.

Table 4. Relative Readmission Rates from Parole, Hispanic Populations Compared to White Populations in 2020 or latest year available (Metrics A and B in Figure 1)

STATE	All Categories		Drug Crime		Property Crime		Public Order		Violent	
	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (A)	Total Disparities (B)
Arizona	0.98	1.96	0.86	1.72	0.85	1.69	1.25	2.48	1.44	2.88
Arkansas	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.09	-	0.05	-	-	-	0.17
California	1.13	2.1	1.19	1.85	0.84	1.44	1.18	2.62	1.36	2.18
Colorado	1.17	2.65	1.04	2.18	0.99	2.4	1.26	2.76	1.43	2.99
Delaware	0.99	1.08	1.49	1.24	-	-	0.96	1.16	1.25	-
Florida	0.8	0.31	0.56	-	1.16	0.4	-	-	0.77	0.31
Georgia	0.27	0.22	0.25	0.22	0.21	-	0.5	0.54	0.22	0.24
Hawaii	-	0.41	-	-	-	0.35	-	-	-	-
Idaho	-	0.06	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	0.79	1.41	0.47	0.58	0.58	1.06	1.26	2.59	0.91	1.62
Indiana	0.29	0.51	0.23	-	0.19	0.87	0.55	-	0.36	0.53
Iowa	0.47	1.27	0.38	1.64	0.56	0.96	0.28	1.05	0.86	-
Kansas	0.8	1.85	0.91	1.94	0.67	1.28	0.88	2.24	0.79	2.06
Kentucky	0.44	0.15	0.29	0.14	0.46	0.16	0.68	-	-	-
Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	-	0.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.26
Massachusetts	0.53	3.44	0.78	11.28	0.49	-	-	7.81	0.45	2.4
Michigan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minnesota	1.02	1.82	0.79	1.39	0.75	1.21	1.13	1.94	1.26	2.3
Mississippi	0.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Missouri	0.79	0.53	0.74	0.51	0.7	0.46	1.27	0.54	0.79	0.73

Montana	1.62	0.78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	1.03	2.22	-	2.14	-	1.9	-	3.02	2.18	2.39
Nevada	-	0.6	-	0.57	-	0.41	-	0.72	-	1.13
New Hampshire	0.79	2.2	1.34	2.79	0.4	-	0.95	3.27	0.6	2.54
New Jersey	0.45	1.33	0.5	1.48	0.2	0.59	-	-	0.59	1.73
New Mexico	1.12	2.54	1.16	2.63	0.95	2.14	1.36	3.07	1.24	2.81
New York	0.39	1.88	0.68	2.59	0.24	1.06	0.42	2.15	0.48	2.66
North Carolina	0.34	0.34	0.21	0.26	0.27	0.29	0.38	0.34	0.77	0.66
North Dakota	1.38	1.62	1.75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio	0.88	0.85	0.55	0.89	0.64	0.44	0.74	0.81	1.42	1.18
Oklahoma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	1.38	2.07	3	3.98	0.83	1.24	0.96	1.46	1.62	2.68
Rhode Island	1.28	5.43	3.31	-	0.55	-	-	-	0.95	7.67
South Carolina	1.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tennessee	0.16	0.16	0.21	-	0.14	-	-	-	0.27	-
Texas	0.94	1.04	0.8	0.88	0.83	0.85	0.94	0.98	1.3	1.5
Utah	0.88	2.43	0.77	1.68	0.69	1.64	1.08	3.74	1.14	3.46
Washington	0.71	0.46	0.8	0.52	0.78	0.51	0.94	0.62	0.45	0.29
Wisconsin	0.78	2.38	0.7	2.2	0.62	1.6	0.66	1.61	1.08	3.81
Wyoming	0.96	2.15	0.98	2.24	0.58	2.07	-	-	1.8	-

Table note: “-“ indicates where data were unavailable or censored due to low numbers.

Table 5. Relative Incarcerated Population Rates from Parole, Black Populations Compared to White Populations in 2020 or latest year available (Metrics C and D from Figure 2)

STATE	All Categories		Drug Crime		Property Crime		Public Order		Violent	
	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)
Arizona	1.53	5.04	1.32	4.35	1.19	3.93	1.65	5.42	2.24	7.39
Arkansas	1.55	4.11	1.15	2.81	1.12	3.27	1.24	2.77	2.99	8.23
California	1.71	12.2	1.39	9.94	1.23	8.99	1.2	8.1	2.09	14.03
Colorado	1.39	6.19	1.29	6.35	1.06	4.27	1.21	3.68	1.89	8.95
Delaware	1.08	4.54	4.38	-	0.64	-	0.81	4.64	1.18	4.76
Florida	1.21	6.05	2.85	20.45	0.73	3.68	1.28	6.61	1.26	6.14
Georgia	1.01	2.33	0.95	1.84	0.65	1.56	0.81	2.07	1.57	3.72
Idaho	-	3.56	-	-	-	5.71	-	-	-	6.54
Illinois	0.99	8.36	0.93	4.6	0.72	5.47	1.11	11.19	1.1	10.66
Indiana	1.57	6.24	1.47	6.03	1.01	4.13	1.93	7.34	1.94	7.45
Iowa	1.42	7.29	1.11	4.93	1.43	8.25	1.52	8.09	3.16	15.91
Kansas	1.35	7.47	0.6	3.21	0.88	4.95	0.86	6.25	2.06	9.91
Kentucky	0.95	2.34	0.85	2.09	0.55	1.27	0.85	2.32	1.87	4.25
Maine	-	10.78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	1.06	4.8	2.63	13.29	0.35	1.52	1.98	11.52	1.09	5.27
Massachusetts	1.48	5	2.36	-	-	-	-	-	1.62	5.24
Minnesota	1.83	11.57	1.13	5.91	1.62	7.34	1.75	14.63	2.6	16.07

Mississippi	1.14	2.13	1.15	1.92	0.96	1.66	0.82	1.82	1.79	4.51
Missouri	1.03	2.75	0.65	1.45	0.64	1.62	0.71	2.36	2.35	5.83
Montana	1.31	3.58	-	-	1.88	-	-	-	1.13	5.13
Nebraska	1.88	9.7	1.29	3.41	1.55	5.76	0.58	9.6	4.17	19.74
Nevada	-	3.84	-	3.39	-	2.39	-	4.19	-	5.53
New Hampshire	0.91	4.45	1.17	3.12	0.53	3.33	0.68	6.4	1.14	5.51
New Jersey	2.26	11.4	2.11	10.61	0.86	4.34	1.76	8.84	2.99	15.07
New Mexico	1.25	4.28	1.76	6.01	1.15	3.93	1.13	3.84	1.09	3.73
New York	1.1	7.87	1.67	8.78	0.55	3.85	1.79	13.16	1.31	9.92
North Carolina	0.99	2.91	0.52	1.27	0.61	1.71	1.3	3.76	2.16	5.8
North Dakota	0.98	4.27	1.15	3.42	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio	1.27	7.06	1.31	6.62	0.67	3.56	0.99	4.61	1.82	10.97
Oklahoma	0.7	3.98	0.83	-	0.7	-	-	-	0.68	4.12
Pennsylvania	1.54	7.36	2.67	10.73	0.47	2.15	1.4	6.84	2.45	12.12
Rhode Island	1.43	8.48	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.45	11.47
South Carolina	1.42	5.36	2.01	6.23	0.79	3.63	1.24	3.83	1.8	6.81
Tennessee	0.73	2.49	1.12	3.72	0.33	1.02	0.47	1.3	1.23	4.4
Texas	1.02	3.37	0.86	2.75	0.79	2.3	0.47	1.5	1.61	5.06
Utah	1.1	6.48	0.56	5.73	0.85	3.46	1.73	8.94	1.5	8.37
Washington	0.97	6.35	-	-	0.31	-	1.19	7.14	1.63	7.36

Wisconsin	1.79	15.38	2.07	16.61	1.08	9.11	1.31	11.19	2.5	21.69
Wyoming	2.58	7.86	2.74	-	-	-	-	-	5.09	11.6

Table note: “-“ indicates where data was unavailable or censored due to low numbers.

Table 6. Relative Incarcerated Population Rates from Parole, Hispanic Populations Compared to White Populations in 2020 or latest year available (Metrics C and D from Figure 2)

STATE	All Categories		Drug Crime		Property Crime		Public Order		Violent	
	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)	Portion of Disparities Attributable to Parole Revocation (Metric C)	Total Disparities (Metric D)
Arizona	1.35	2.69	1.4	2.8	0.99	1.98	1.85	3.68	1.53	3.05
Arkansas	0.1	0.1	0.24	0.16	-	-	-	-	-	-
California	1.12	2.34	1.17	2.73	0.68	1.39	1.22	2.61	1.28	2.57
Colorado	1.26	2.89	1.29	3.31	0.99	2.37	1.34	2.85	1.39	3.2
Delaware	0.93	0.96	-	-	1.19	-	0.65	-	1.31	1.01
Florida	0.76	0.42	1.07	1.03	0.86	0.48	0.61	0.47	0.72	0.39
Georgia	0.25	0.28	0.4	0.41	0.1	0.11	0.36	0.53	0.24	0.2
Idaho	-	0.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	0.63	0.97	0.37	0.47	0.48	0.7	0.78	1.62	0.75	1.12
Indiana	0.37	0.49	0.22	-	0.4	0.56	0.34	0.33	0.44	0.69
Iowa	0.49	1.37	0.5	1.55	0.54	0.77	0.41	1.62	0.5	1.95
Kansas	0.8	1.3	0.82	1.25	0.57	0.9	0.94	1.82	0.82	1.27
Kentucky	0.51	0.19	0.35	0.15	0.46	0.19	0.66	-	0.79	0.27
Louisiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	-	0.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.27
Massachusetts	0.92	3.61	5.83	15.62	-	-	-	-	0.63	2.36
Michigan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minnesota	1.17	2.52	0.98	2.23	0.65	-	1.18	2.64	1.52	3.09
Missouri	0.81	0.46	0.74	0.42	0.68	0.26	1.45	0.68	0.85	0.67
Montana	2.02	0.7	6.53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Nebraska	1.07	2.14	1.37	2.26	0.82	1.38	-	1.88	1.83	3.32
Nevada	-	0.67	-	0.87	-	0.58	-	0.6	-	0.73
New Hampshire	0.96	2.33	1.67	2.15	0.43	1.44	0.84	-	0.98	3.4
New Jersey	0.59	1.74	0.68	1.99	0.29	0.85	0.49	1.43	0.72	2.1
New Mexico	1.22	2.76	1.25	2.84	1.16	2.62	1.25	2.82	1.25	2.82
New York	0.52	3.05	0.78	3.63	0.37	2.22	0.7	4.24	0.53	3.32
North Carolina	0.37	0.34	0.21	0.35	0.29	0.23	0.42	0.24	0.74	0.65
North Dakota	1.27	-	1.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio	0.92	0.89	0.68	0.41	0.61	0.45	0.63	0.89	1.37	1.34
Oklahoma	0.37	3.25	0.97	-	0.58	6.87	-	-	0.15	-
Pennsylvania	1.64	2.8	4	5.86	0.76	1.29	1.18	2.28	1.85	3.37
Rhode Island	0.97	4.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.69	5.64
South Carolina	-	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tennessee	0.16	0.18	0.31	0.35	0.07	-	-	-	0.22	0.27
Texas	0.98	1	0.87	0.89	0.8	0.77	0.99	1.01	1.21	1.21
Utah	0.97	2.66	0.82	2.15	0.72	1.69	1.44	4.3	1.14	3.21
Washington	0.28	-	-	-	0.37	-	-	-	0.22	-
Wisconsin	1.01	2.69	1.06	2.73	0.62	1.75	0.88	1.99	1.37	3.73
Wyoming	1.06	1.84	0.86	2.11	0.59	1.78	-	-	2.25	1.32

Table note: “-“ indicates where data was unavailable or censored due to low numbers.