

# Tennessee Criminal Justice Data Snapshot

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**BJA**  
Bureau of Justice Assistance  
U.S. Department of Justice



**Justice Center**  
THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

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# About this Snapshot

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**Identifying and understanding criminal justice data is key to developing responsive solutions to state challenges and assessing what changes are successful. State leaders may be grappling with issues such as increased recidivism rates, significant corrections costs, fentanyl and methamphetamine use, upticks in violent crime, or the prevalence of people with mental illness intersecting with the justice system.**

At the same time, state leaders may also be struggling to address acute shortages in the workforce, improve services for victims of crime, and increase opportunities for people returning to their communities from incarceration. Effectively addressing these challenges requires state leaders to carefully examine system operations, define the outcomes they want to see, and work collaboratively to adjust key policies, practices, and budgets to bridge the gaps.

Data is a critical tool for leaders who want to understand their state's unique criminal justice challenges. This snapshot contains both national and state-specific data on crime, correctional populations, recidivism, and other important criminal justice metrics to equip state leaders to make informed decisions. These snapshots represent 1,200 pages of unique analyses for 50 states and the District of Columbia of data collected from over 75 sources. Not all data points were available in every state, so some figures may be left blank.

The snapshot examines data about the criminal justice system process at key decision-making points within the system. Starting with the point of entry of crime and arrest, through the corrections population — including those in custody and non-custodial settings — and ending with reentry and recidivism.

The goal of this snapshot is to provide state leaders with a big picture of key state data points across the criminal justice system. These data ground policy discussions and offer common starting points for essential conversations on how and where to improve the criminal justice system in each state.



Both national and state-specific data are included in the snapshot. The icon in the top-left corner of each page indicates whether the charts on that page use national or state data.

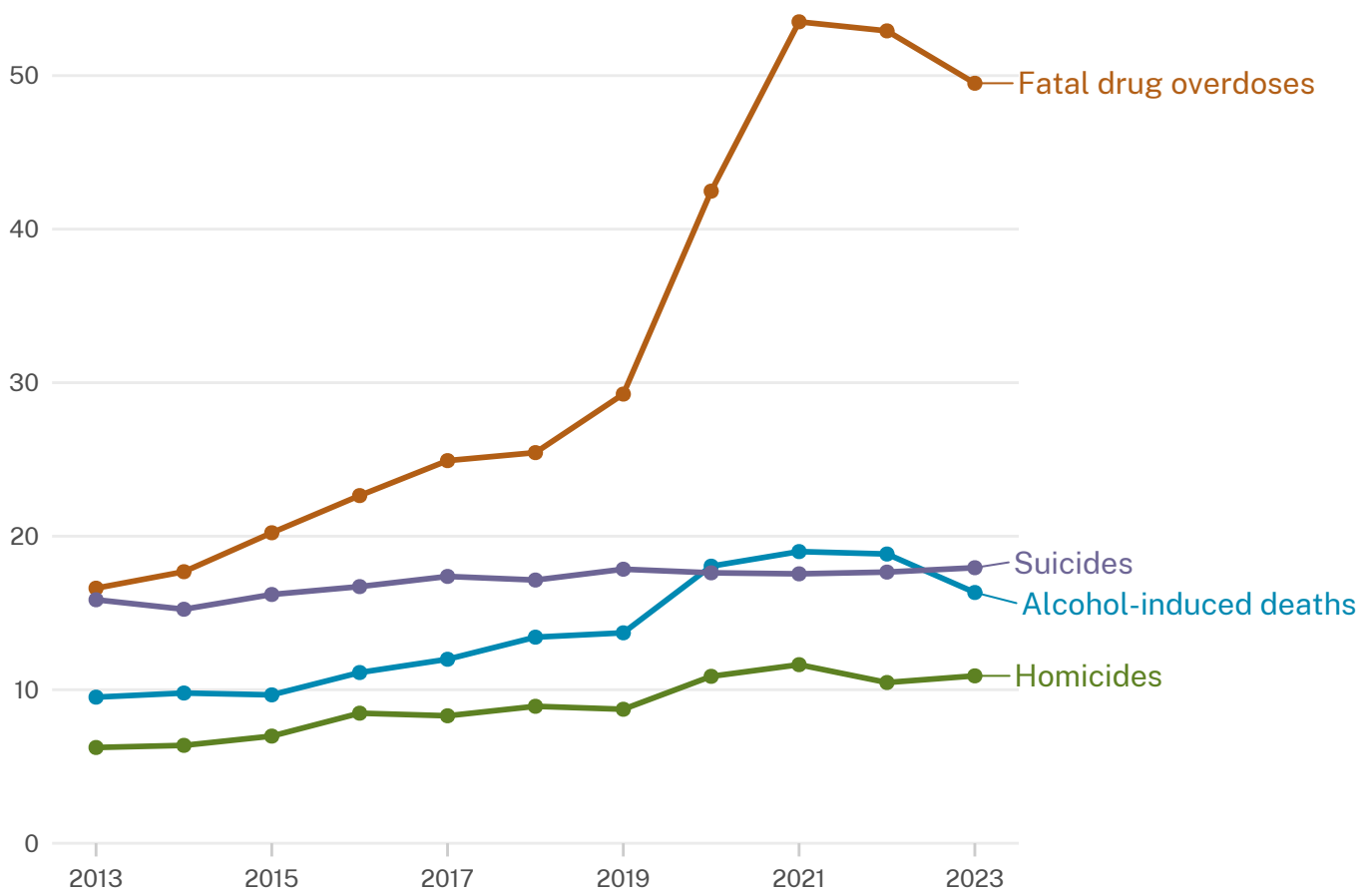


# Despite concerns about increasing violent crime, far more people die due to suicide, alcohol, and drugs than homicide in the United States.

Nationally, over four times more people died of drug overdoses and twice as many people died from suicide compared to homicide in 2023.

In Tennessee in 2023, 3,528 people died from drug overdoses, 1,279 people died by suicide, 1,164 deaths were alcohol induced, and 777 people were victims of homicide.

**Figure 1. Cause of death**  
Rate per 100k residents, Tennessee



CDC National Center for Health Statistics



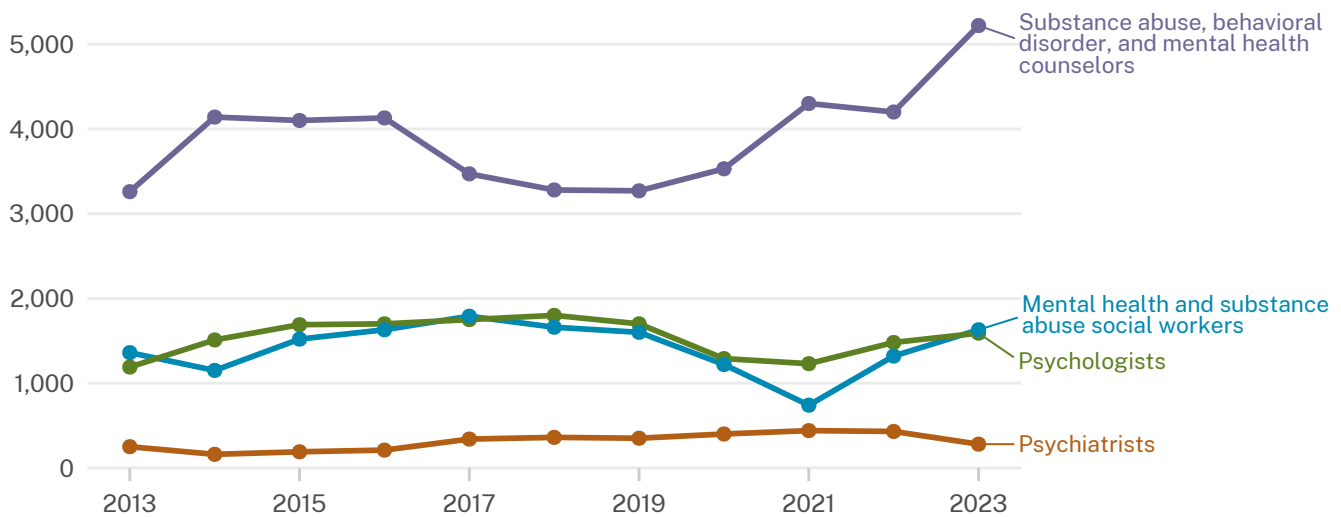
## Community and Behavioral Health

### Behavioral health service providers

People involved in the criminal justice system are also often utilizers of behavioral health services. However, this means that the justice system can become a provider of last resort when these services are not available or are insufficient to meet a person’s needs. These people can often be served more effectively and at lower cost through robust community-based behavioral health services.

**Figure 2. Number of behavioral health providers**

Tennessee

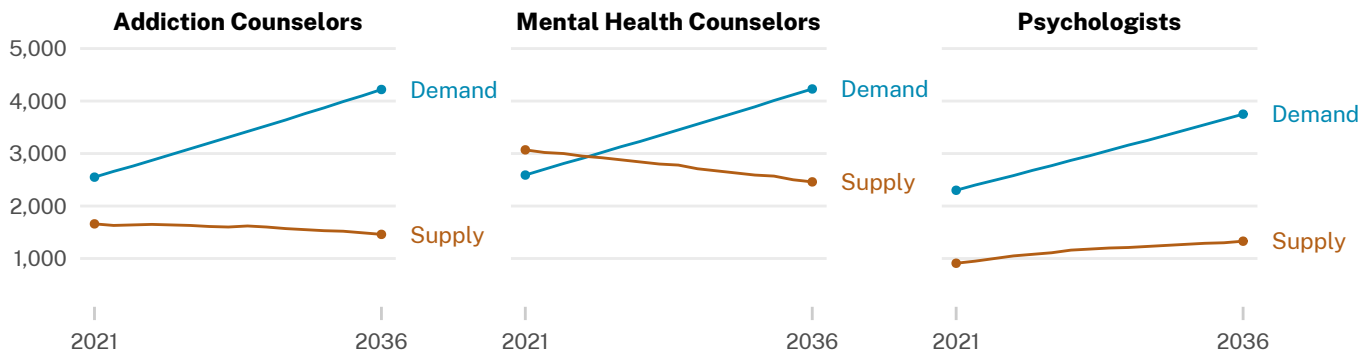


BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics

By 2036, the projected number of addiction counselors, mental health counselors, and psychologists in Tennessee is estimated to be less than the projected need.

**Figure 3. Projected supply and demand of behavioral health providers**

Tennessee



HRSA National Center for Health Workforce Analysis

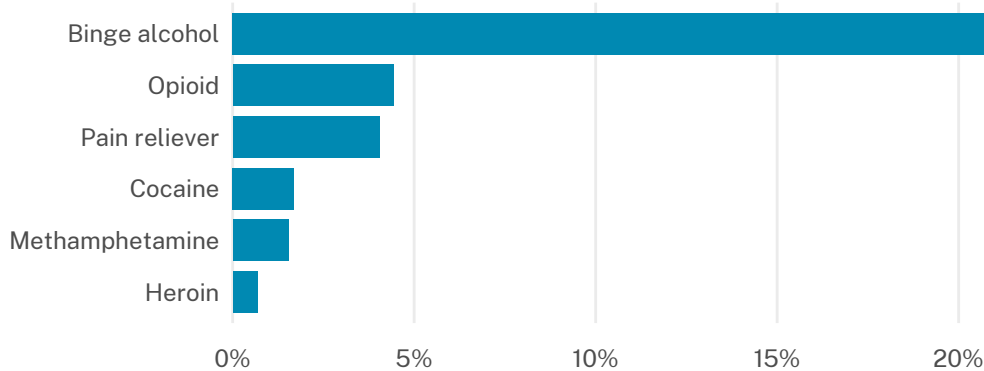


## Community and Behavioral Health

### Substance use challenges and needs

State and local leaders face significant mental health, substance use, and housing challenges in their communities. Cross-system collaboration between public safety, health, and housing organizations and agencies is critical to improving outcomes for people in the justice system.

**Figure 4. Share of adults reporting alcohol or drug misuse in the past year**  
Tennessee, 2022



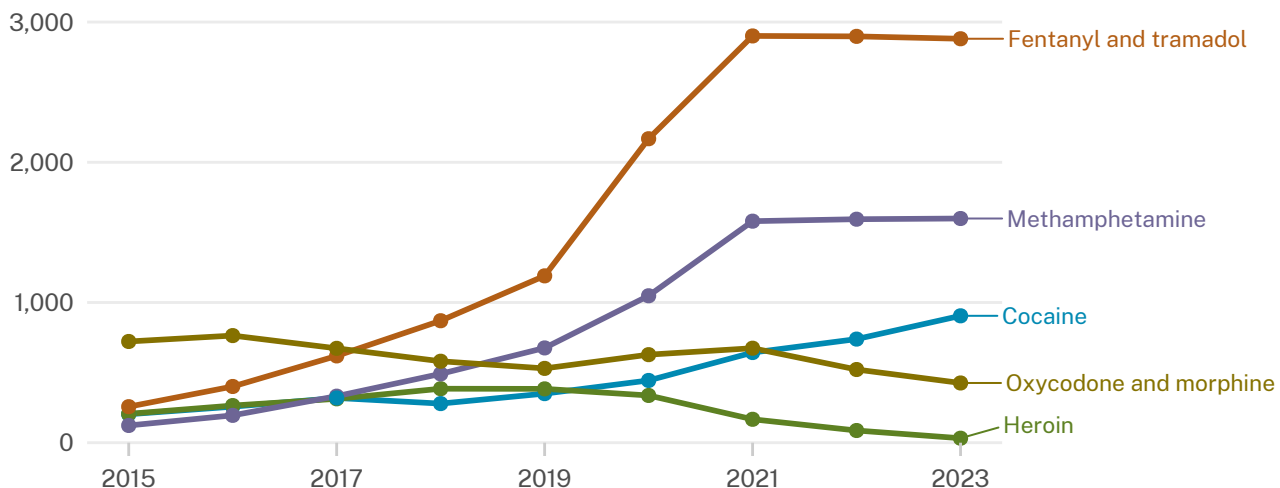
SAMHSA National Survey on Drug Use and Health

Based on admissions data from substance abuse treatment facilities, in 2023, 4,006 people in Tennessee were admitted for methamphetamine use, 3,486 for other opioid use, and 2,168 for alcohol use.

SAMHSA Treatment Episode Data Set

In 2023, 49 percent of drug overdose deaths in Tennessee were due to fentanyl or tramadol. There were 11.2 times more fentanyl deaths in 2023 than in 2015.

**Figure 5. Deaths due to overdose by drug type**  
Tennessee



CDC National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System



## Community and Behavioral Health

Mental health needs and services

# The need for behavioral health services in the state is substantial.

### 1,068,000

adults in Tennessee experienced mental illness in 2022.

### 765,000

adults in Tennessee experienced serious mental illness in 2022.

### 1,370,000

adults in Tennessee received mental health services of any kind in 2022.

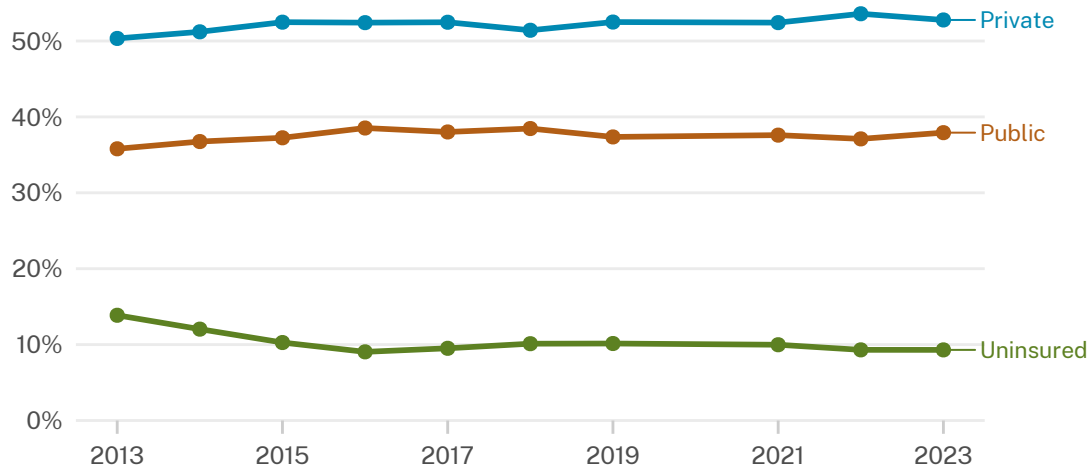
### 309,000

adults in Tennessee needed, but did not receive, treatment at a specialized facility for substance use in 2022.

SAMHSA National Survey on Drug Use and Health

Since 2013, the share of people in Tennessee without health insurance has decreased from 13.9 percent to 9.3 percent of the total community population.

**Figure 6. Share of community population by health insurance coverage type**  
Tennessee



U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey

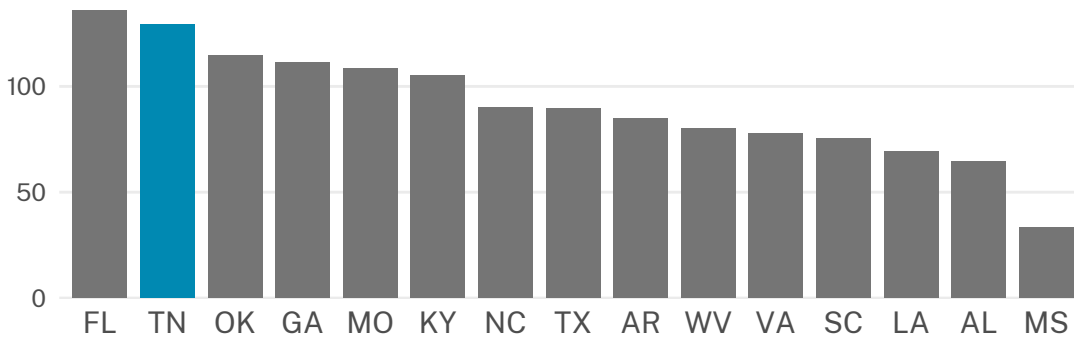


## Community and Behavioral Health

### Homelessness and poverty

9,215 people in Tennessee were experiencing homelessness in January 2023. The rate of 129 per 100,000 residents is the 2nd-highest state homelessness rate in the region and the 21st highest in the country.

**Figure 7. People experiencing homelessness**  
Rate per 100k residents, Southern Region, 2023



HUD Annual Homelessness Assessment Report

# 123,830

people in Tennessee were unemployed in July 2024.

This community unemployment rate of 3.6 percent was the 12th lowest in the country.

BLS Local Area Unemployment Statistics

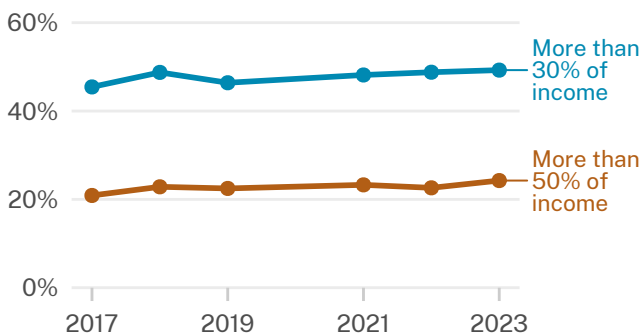
# 978,460

people in Tennessee had incomes below the federal poverty level in 2023.

This rate of 14.0 percent was 1.4 percentage points above the national poverty rate of 12.6 percent.

U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey

**Figure 8. Share of renters with high rent burden**  
Tennessee



U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey

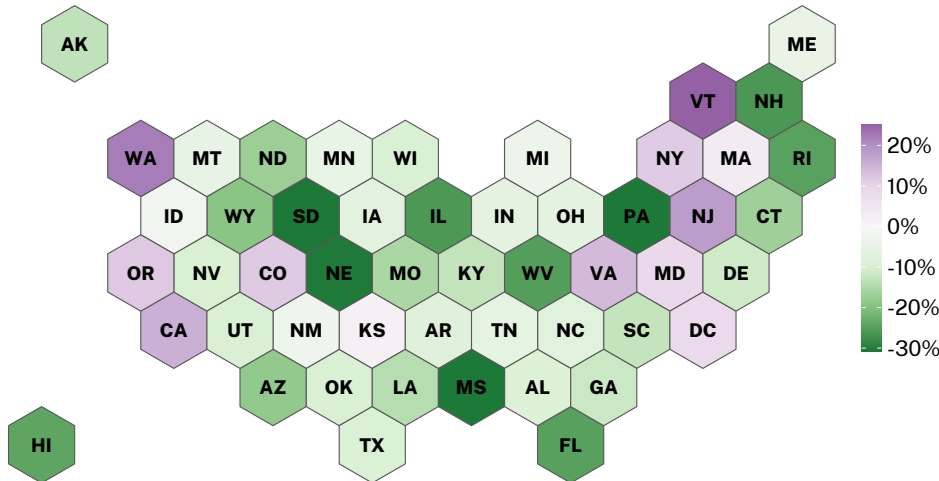
In Tennessee in 2023, 208,208 people (24 percent of all renters) had rent that was more than half their incomes.





# Between 2020 and 2023, violent crime fell in 39 states and rose in 12 states.

Figure 9. Percent change in violent crime, 2020 to 2023



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

The FBI stopped Uniform Crime Reporting Program Summary Reporting System (SRS) data collection after data year 2020 and required law enforcement agencies to use the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to report crime statistics to the FBI. This change decreased the number of agencies that submitted their crime data and thus reduced the reliability of state estimates in 2021. In 2022 and 2023, the FBI allowed agencies who were unable to submit NIBRS data to submit SRS data again. Ninety-four percent of the U.S. population was covered in the 2023 crime data submissions to the FBI, with most states providing close to complete data. However, the population upon which the estimates were derived decreased by over 10 percent in three states: Florida, Mississippi, and Wyoming, so conclusions about crime changes in those states should be interpreted with additional caution.

# Murder is down 18 percent year to date compared to last year.

Figure 10. Year-to-date murders

277 cities, as of October 21



Figure was recreated from AH Datalytics YTD Murder Comparison, October 21, 2024

In 277 cities that publish murder data publicly, 174 cities had fewer murders in 2024 than in 2023. In data reported as of October 21, there have been 1,356 fewer murders this year compared to the same point last year in these cities.



## Crime in the Community

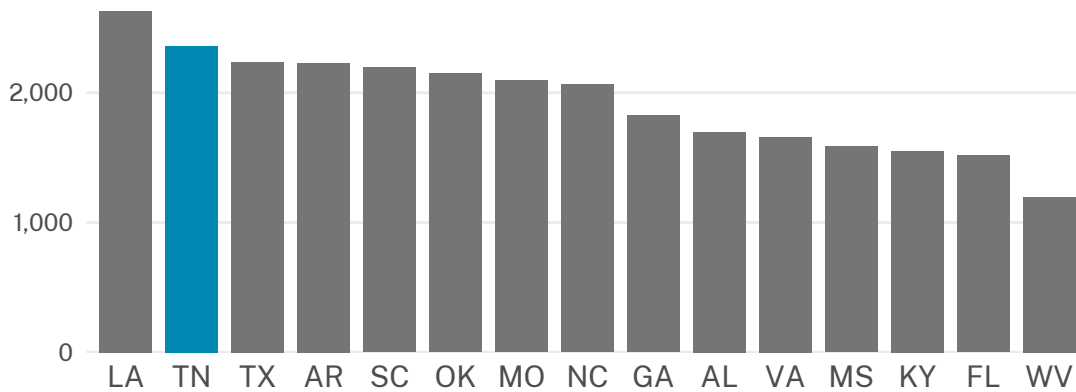
Reported property and violent crime rates

# There were 168,314 property index crime incidents reported to police in Tennessee in 2023.

Tennessee had the 2nd-highest property crime rate in the region and the 8th-highest property crime rate in the country.

**Figure 11. Property index crime reported to police**

Rate per 100k residents, Southern Region, 2023



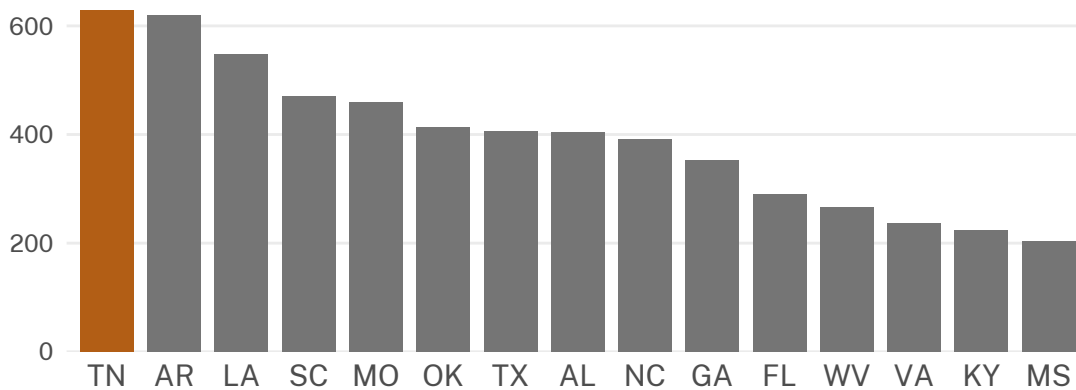
FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

# There were 44,769 violent index crime incidents reported to police in Tennessee in 2023.

Tennessee had the highest violent crime rate in the region and the 4th-highest violent crime rate in the country.

**Figure 12. Violent index crime reported to police**

Rate per 100k residents, Southern Region, 2023



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



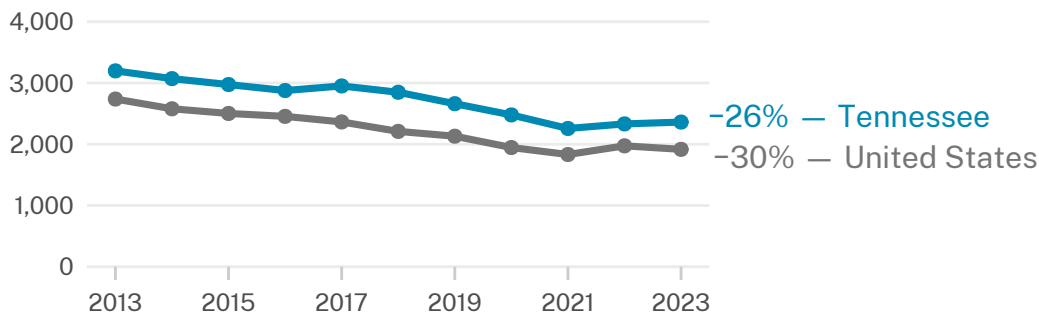
# Crime in the Community

## Property crime trends

In 2023, the property crime rate in Tennessee (2,362 per 100,000 residents) was 23 percent higher than the national average (1,954 per 100,000). Between 2013 and 2023, property crime decreased by 26 percent in Tennessee.

**Figure 13. Property index crime reported to police**

Rate per 100k residents

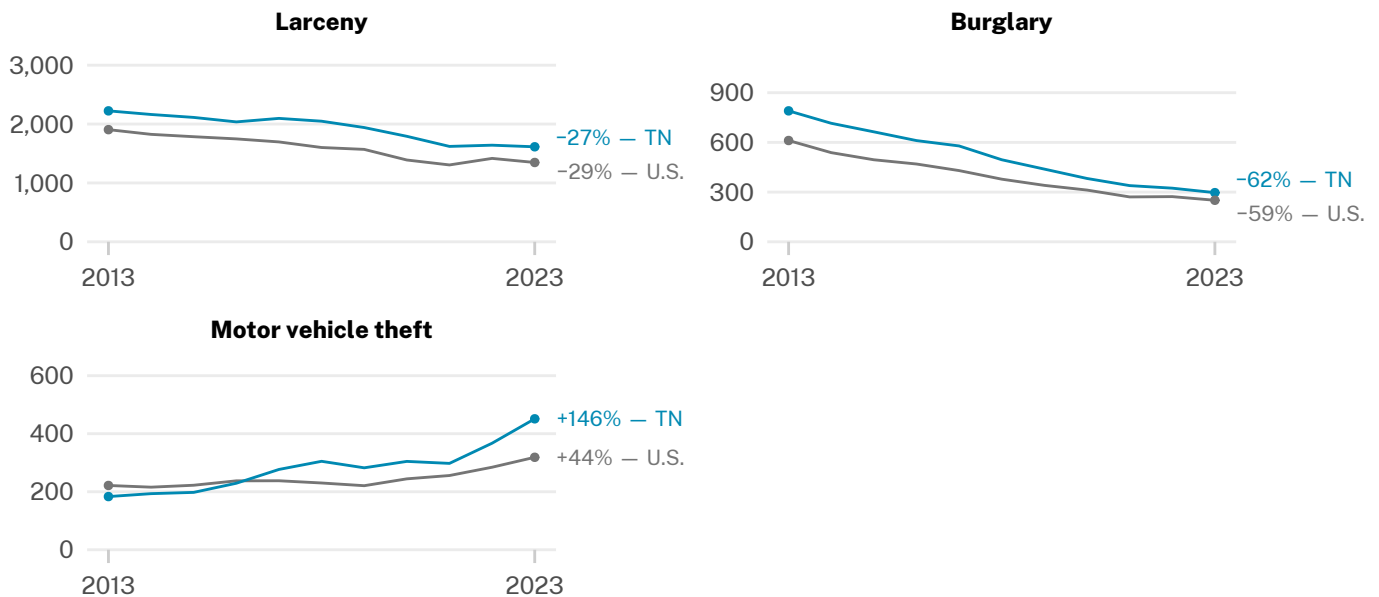


FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

The rates of burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft were higher in Tennessee than the national average. Motor vehicle theft increased by 146 percent, the largest change of any property crime. The next largest change was burglary, which decreased by 62 percent.

**Figure 14. Property index crime reported to police by offense**

Rate per 100k residents



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



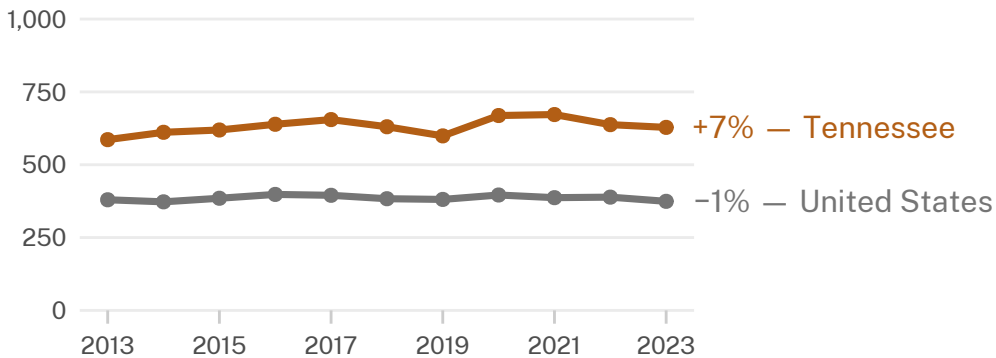
# Crime in the Community

## Violent crime

In 2023, the violent crime rate in Tennessee (628 per 100,000 residents) was 68 percent higher than the national average (374 per 100,000). Between 2013 and 2023, violent crime increased by 7 percent in Tennessee.

**Figure 15. Violent index crime reported to police**

Rate per 100k residents

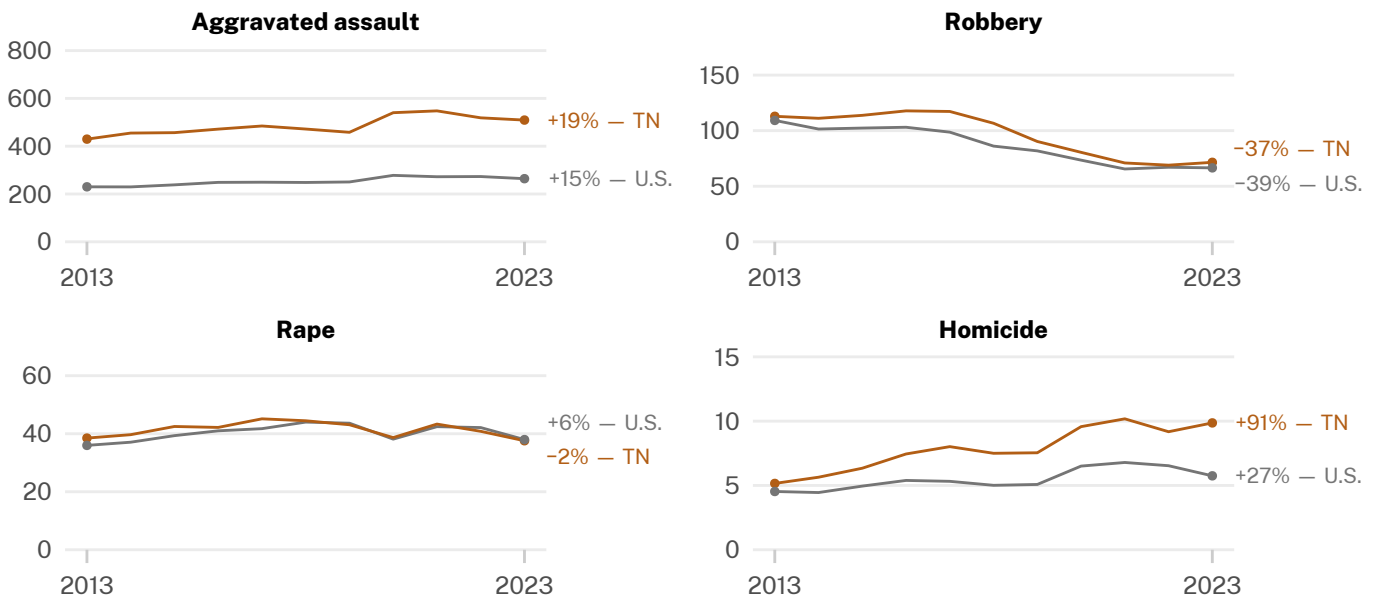


FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

The rates of aggravated assault, homicide, and robbery were higher in Tennessee than the national average, while the rate of rape was lower. Homicide increased by 91 percent, the largest change of any violent crime. The next largest change was robbery, which decreased by 37 percent.

**Figure 16. Violent index crime reported to police by offense**

Rate per 100k residents



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

In 2013, the FBI updated its rape definition to be more inclusive, so comparisons before and after should be interpreted with caution.



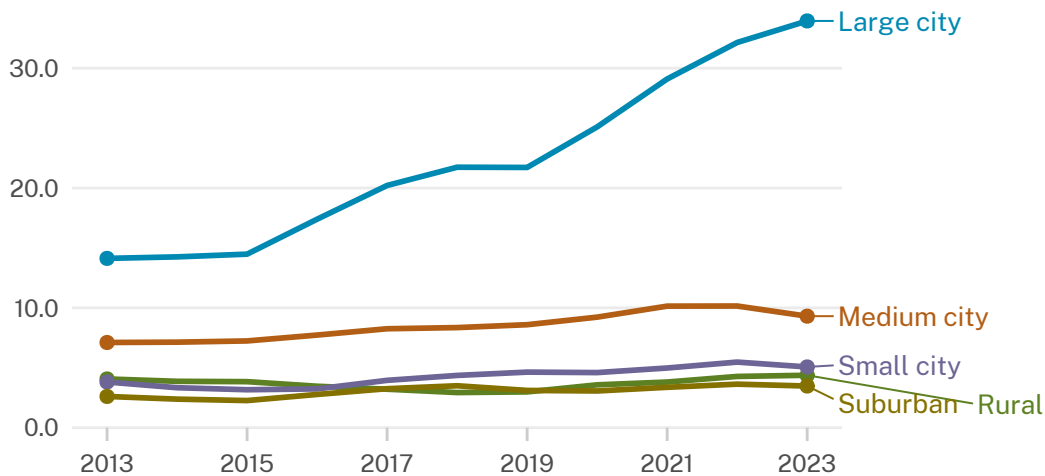
## Crime in the Community

### Homicide in rural and urban areas

**Focusing just on crime in urban areas ignores a growing challenge in rural America where nationally, homicides increased 41 percent between 2013 and 2023, from 3.5 per 100k to 4.9 per 100k.**

**Figure 17. Homicides by jurisdiction type**

Rate per 100k residents, 3-year moving average, Tennessee



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

### Tennessee law enforcement agencies with the highest homicide rates, 2023

Agency	Number of homicides	Homicide rate per 100k	Jurisdiction Types
Memphis Police Department <i>Large city</i>	396	64.3	<b>Large city</b> Population greater than 250k
Marion County Sheriff's Office <i>Suburban</i>	6	31.7	<b>Medium city</b> Population between 50k and 250k
Chattanooga Police Department <i>Medium city</i>	33	17.8	<b>Small city</b> Population less than 50k
Monroe County Sheriff's Office <i>Rural</i>	6	17.5	<b>Suburban</b> Non-city within a metropolitan area
Cookeville Police Department <i>Small city</i>	6	16.4	<b>Rural</b> Not in a metropolitan area

FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS  
Includes agencies with 5 or more reported homicides.

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



## Victimization

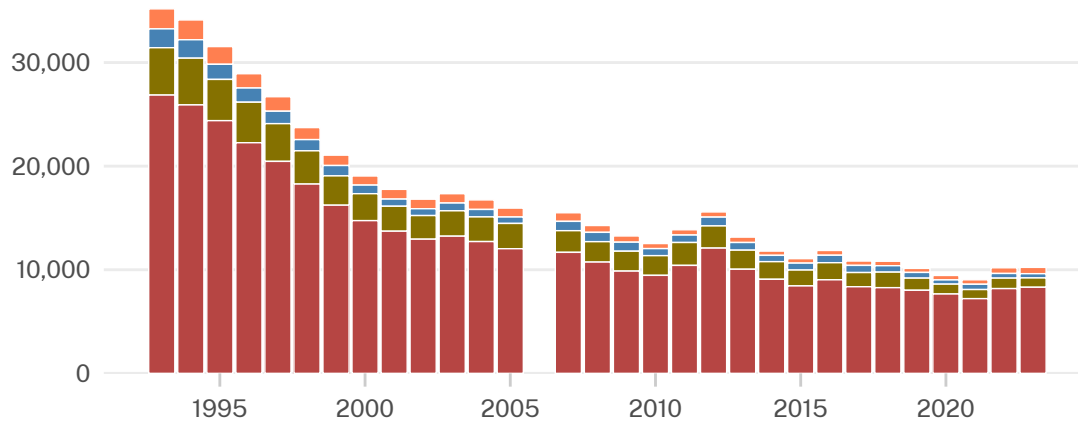
Long-term victimization trends

# The rate of property victimizations in 2023 was 71 percent lower than in 1993.

**Figure 18. Property victimizations**

Rate per 100k households, United States

■ Other theft ■ Burglary ■ Trespassing ■ Motor vehicle theft



BJS National Crime Victimization Survey

# The rate of violent victimizations in 2023 was 72 percent lower than in 1993.

**Figure 19. Violent victimizations**

Rate per 100k residents, United States

■ Simple assault ■ Aggravated assault ■ Robbery ■ Rape



BJS National Crime Victimization Survey



## Victimization

### Demographic profile of victims of violent crime

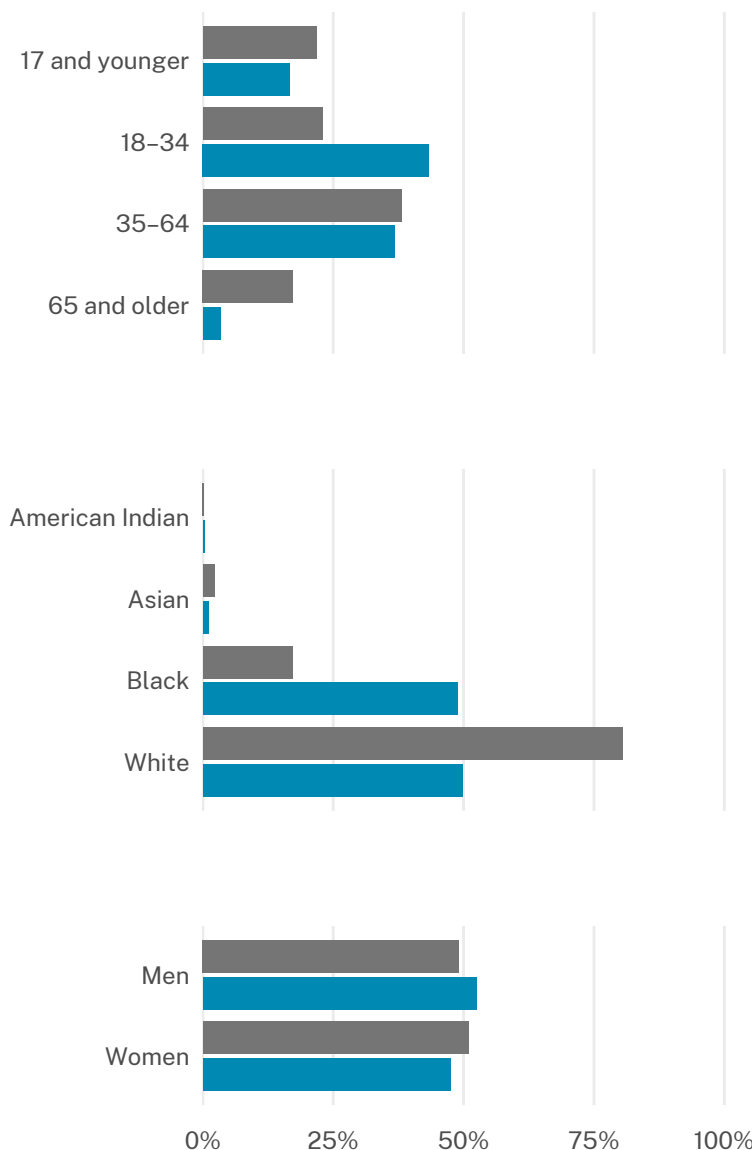
According to the National Crime Victimization Survey, only 42 percent of violent victimizations nationwide were reported to the police in 2022.

Of the victimizations that were reported to police, the demographic make-up of victims differs from the general population. People of certain age groups, races, and genders are more often victims of crime than would be expected based on their share of the total population.

**Figure 20. Share of victims of violent crime compared to share of total population**

Tennessee, 2022

■ Total population ■ Victims of violent crime



People between the ages of 18 and 34 were 1.9 times more likely to be victims of violent crime relative to their share of the total Tennessee population.

Black people were victims of violent crime 2.8 times more often than their share of the Tennessee population.

In Tennessee, 77 percent of victims of violent crime were of the same race as the person perpetrating violence against them.

The share of women and men who were victims of violent crime was almost the same as their percentage in the total population.

FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program NIBRS

Race categories include people of any ethnicity, and many Latino people may be counted as White. Not enough law enforcement agencies collect ethnicity data to make reliable estimates for the Latino population.

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



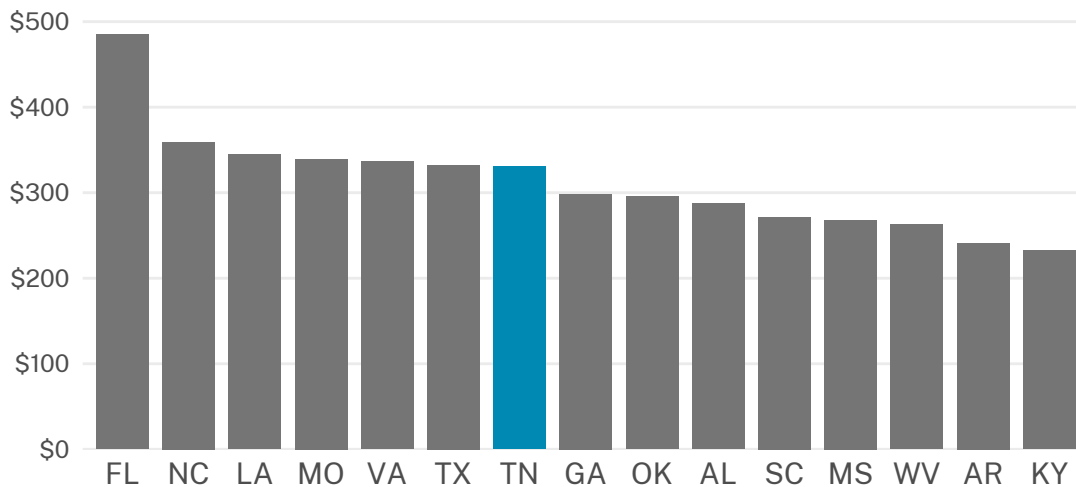
## Law Enforcement

### Staffing and expenditures

In 2021, state and local governments in Tennessee spent \$2,303,915,000 on law enforcement services. This was 3.3 percent of the overall state and local expenditures and \$331 per resident.

**Figure 21. Law enforcement expenditures**

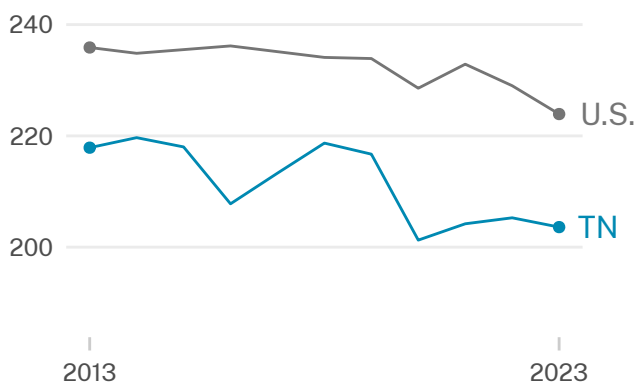
Total per resident, Southern Region, 2021



U.S. Census Bureau Annual Survey of State and Local Government Finances

**Figure 22. Police officers and detectives employed**

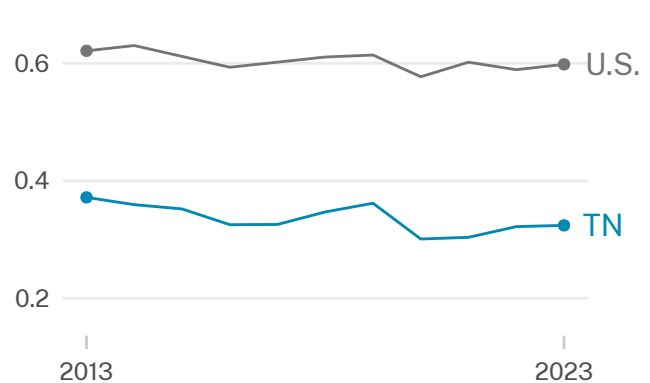
Rate per 100k residents



BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics

**Figure 23. Police officers and detectives per violent crime**

Rate per reported violent crime incidents



BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics  
FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

Law enforcement staffing can impact how agencies allocate resources to solve violent crime. For example, severe staff shortages can reduce investigative personnel or increase the number of cases that individual officers are managing. It is critical that agencies have the personnel to implement effective evidence-based policing strategies in collaboration with their communities.





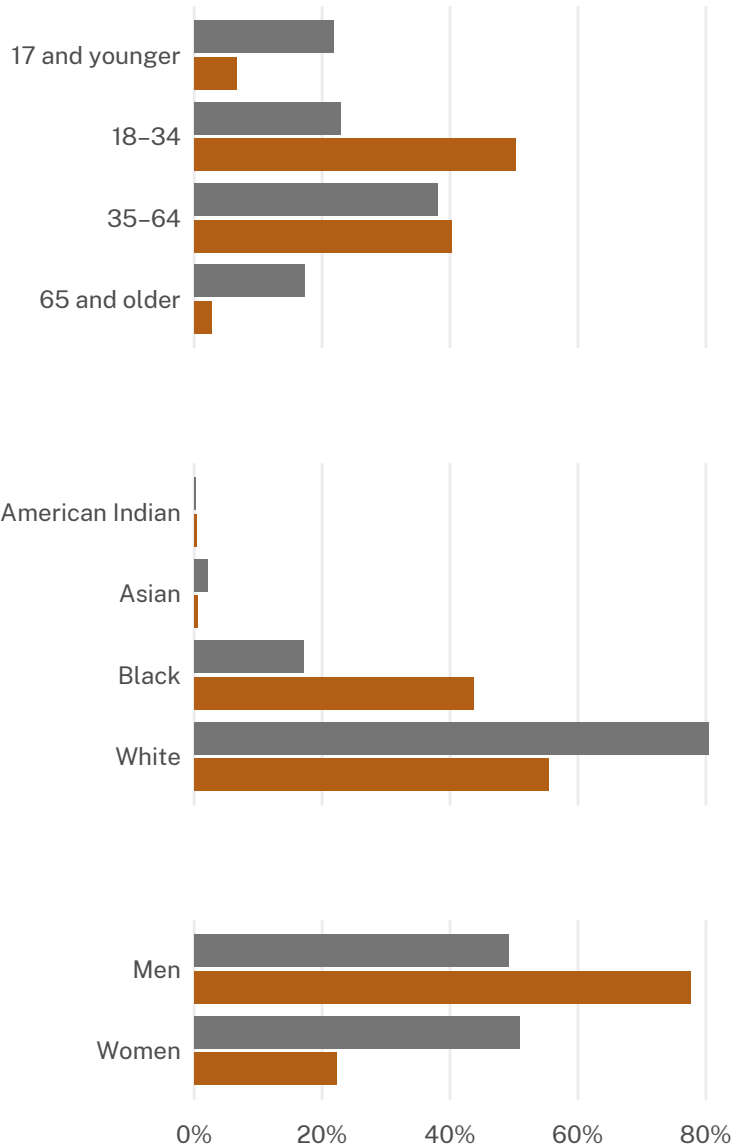
## Law Enforcement

### Demographic profile of people arrested for violent crime

The demographic make-up of people arrested for violent crime differs from the general population. People of certain age groups, races, and genders are arrested more often than would be expected based on their share of the total population.

**Figure 24. Share of people arrested for violent crime compared to share of total population Tennessee, 2022**

■ Total population ■ People arrested for violent crime



People between the ages of 18 and 34 were 2.2 times more likely to be arrested for violent crime relative to their share of the total Tennessee population.

Black people were arrested for violent crime 2.6 times more often than their share of the Tennessee population.

Men were arrested for violent crime 1.6 times more often than their share of the Tennessee population.

FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program NIBRS

Race categories include people of any ethnicity, and many Latino people may be counted as White. Not enough law enforcement agencies collect ethnicity data to make reliable estimates for the Latino population.

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



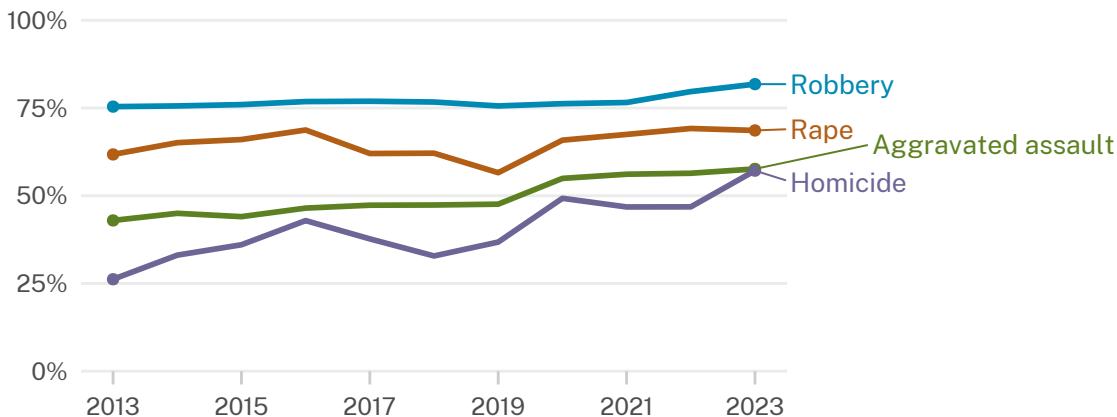
## Law Enforcement

### Unsolved violent crime

Between 2013 and 2023, the number of violent crimes reported to law enforcement that were not cleared by an arrest or other means increased. Nationally, 59 percent of violent crimes known to law enforcement went unsolved in 2023.

**Figure 25. Unsolved rate of violent crime reported to police**

Tennessee



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

In 2013, the FBI updated its rape definition to be more inclusive, so comparisons before and after should be interpreted with caution.

In Tennessee, 61 percent of violent crimes were not solved in 2023, 2 percentage points worse than the national average. Robbery was the violent crime least frequently solved in 2023, with 82 percent of incidents reported to police not solved.

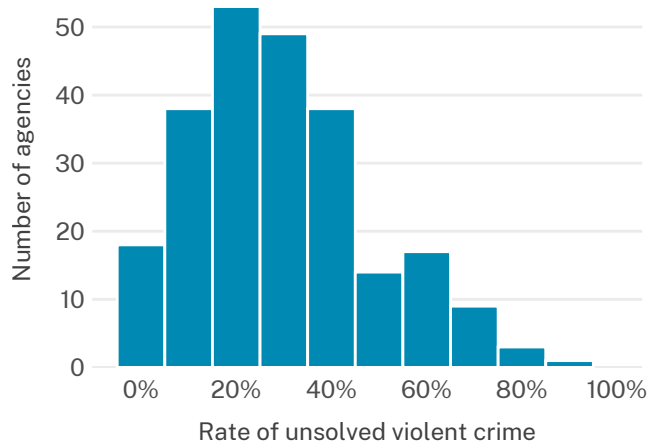
### Agencies with the lowest rate of unsolved violent crimes in Tennessee:

- Gallatin Police Department (2%)
- Hardeman County Sheriff's Office (3%)
- Robertson County Sheriff's Office (3%)
- Warren County Sheriff's Office (7%)
- McMinn County Sheriff's Office (8%)

Includes agencies with 50 or more reported violent crimes.

Rates of unsolved crime vary across agencies for many different reasons including jurisdiction size, staffing, and access to investigative resources. Better understanding of the drivers of agency clearance rates can help policymakers target resources and identify opportunities for technical assistance where it might be needed most.

**Figure 26. Number of law enforcement agencies by rate of unsolved violent crime**  
Tennessee, 2023



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program SRS

See note on page 7 for more information about FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program data quality.



## Institutional Corrections

### Total correctional control

Nationally, the rate of total correctional control across prisons, jails, and community supervision has fallen since 2007. In 2020, all correctional populations dipped sharply. In 2021 and 2022, prison and probation populations remained steady, while jail populations increased and parole populations decreased.

However, despite this downward trend, the current rate of correctional control is still nearly twice as high as it was in 1980. The majority of people under correctional control are on community supervision with more than half on probation in 2022. About 12 percent of people under correctional control are in jail, the smallest population group.

### Figure 27. Population under correctional control

Rate per 100k residents, United States



Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice



## Institutional Corrections

### Long-term jail population trends

Nationally, the rate of jail incarceration in 2022 was down 24 percent from its peak in 2007. Jail populations rebounded in 2021 and 2022 after dropping sharply in 2020, but still remain below the pre-pandemic rate.

#### Figure 28. Jail population

Rate per 100k residents, United States

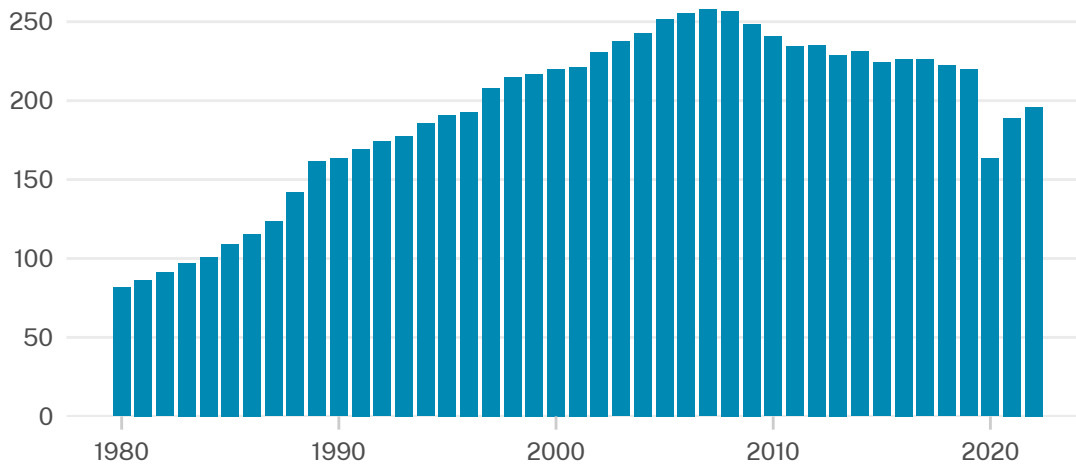
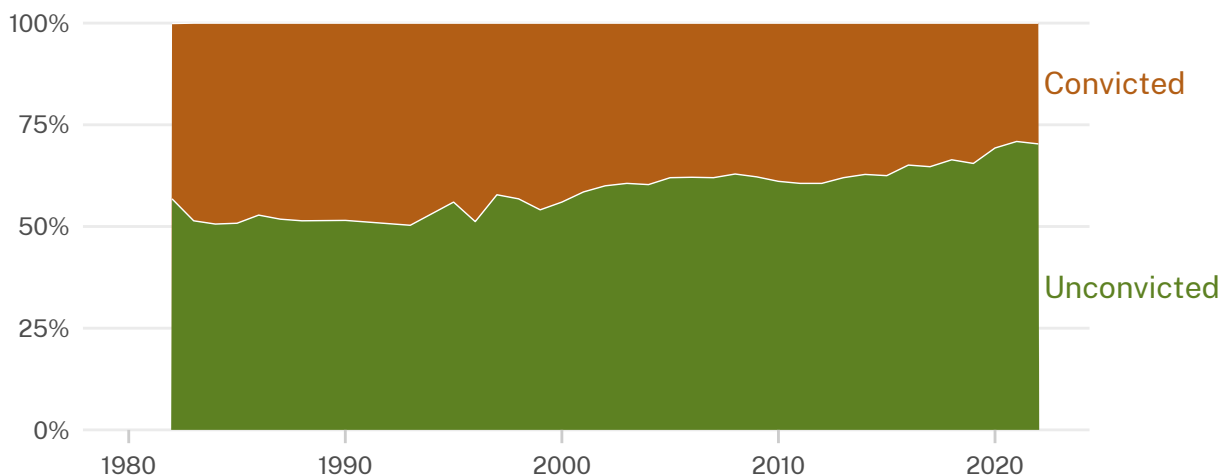


Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice

In 2022, 70 percent of people (466,000 people) confined in jail in the United States were not convicted of a crime and awaiting court action on a current charge or being held for other reasons. In 1982, 57 percent of people in jail were being held without conviction.

#### Figure 29. Share of jail population by conviction status

United States



BJS Jail Inmates Series



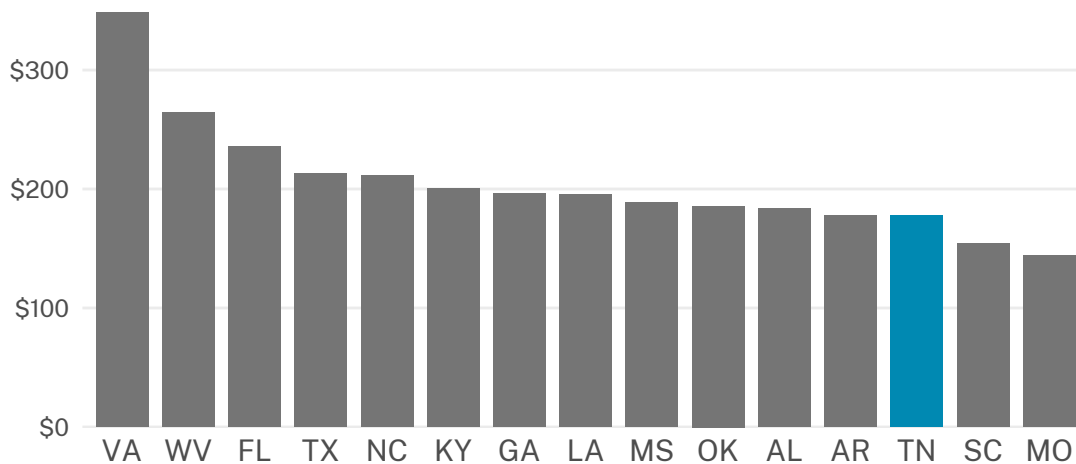
## Institutional Corrections

### Prison staffing and expenditures

In 2021, state and local governments in Tennessee spent \$1,235,780,000 on corrections. This was 1.8 percent of the overall state and local expenditures and \$177 per resident.

**Figure 30. State and local corrections expenditures**

Total per resident, Southern Region, 2021

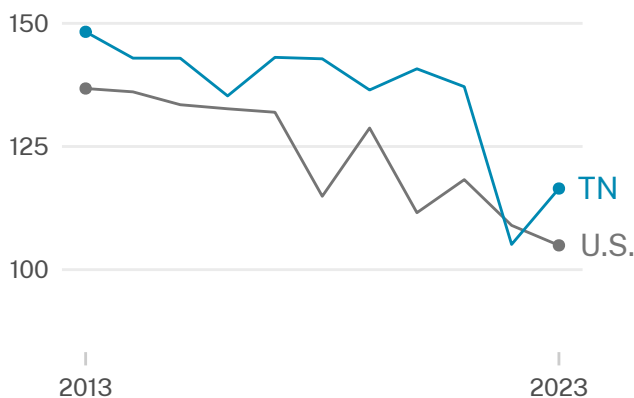


U.S. Census Bureau Annual Survey of State and Local Government Finances

Nationally, states are struggling to hire and retain corrections officers. Staffing shortages impact correctional system operations, the availability of programming and reentry services, as well as the overall safety of staff and people who are incarcerated.

**Figure 31. Corrections officers employed**

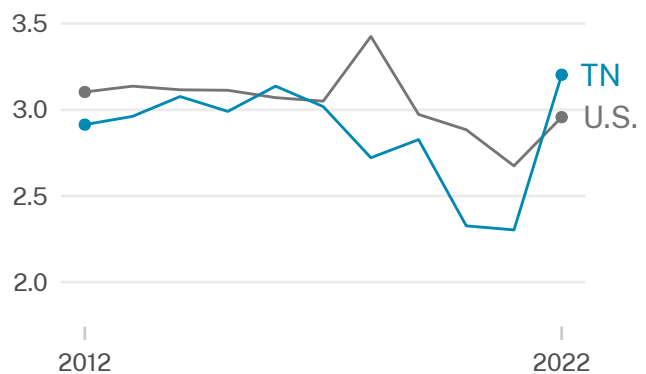
Rate per 100k residents



BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics

**Figure 32. Number of incarcerated persons per corrections officer**

Rate per corrections officer



BLS Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics  
BJS Prisoners in the United States



## Institutional Corrections

### Long-term prison population trends

Nationally, the prison incarceration rate in 2022 was down 29 percent from its peak in 2007.

**Figure 33. State prison population**

Rate per 100k residents, United States

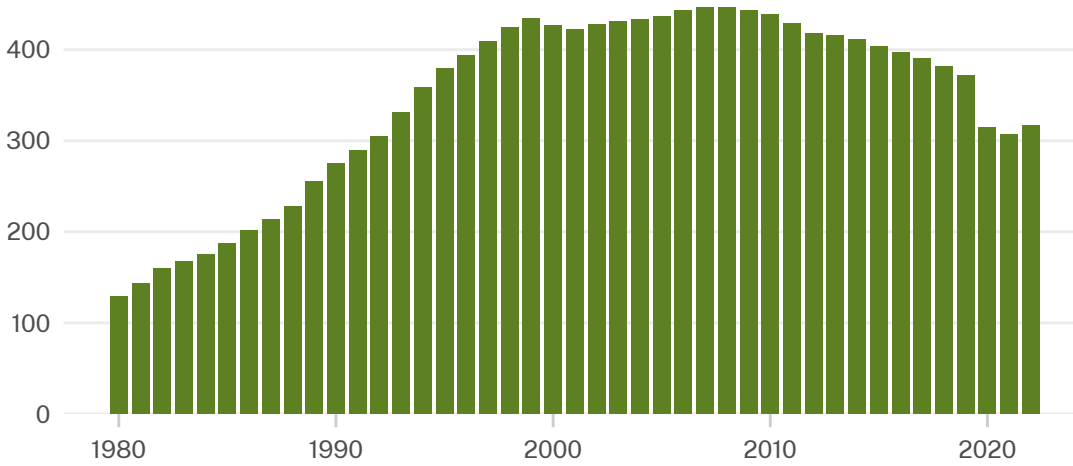


Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice

In 2021, 63 percent of people in state prison were convicted of a violent crime, compared to 46 percent in 1990. Compared to 1990, the rate of prison incarceration for violent offenses was 50 percent higher, and the rate of incarceration for drug offenses was 37 percent lower in 2021.

**Figure 34. Share of state prison population by most serious offense**

United States

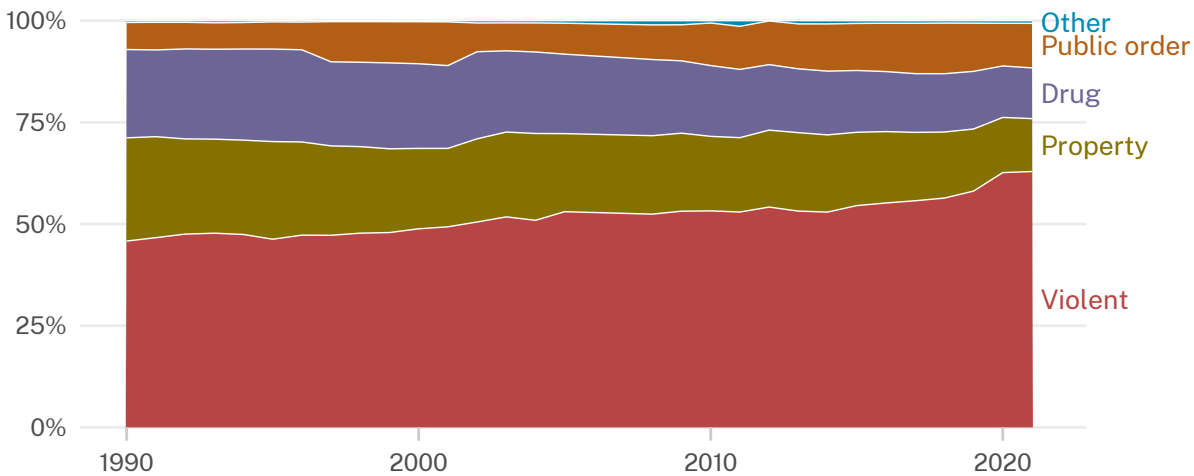


Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice



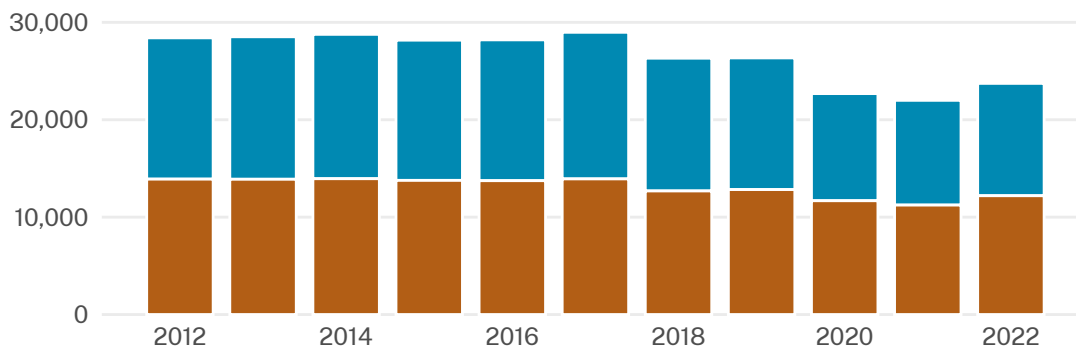
# Declines in the national prison population have primarily been driven by a decrease in people held for nonviolent offenses.

Between 2012 and 2022 in Tennessee, the prison population serving sentences for nonviolent offenses decreased by 20 percent, while the prison population serving sentences for violent offenses decreased by 12 percent.

**Figure 35. Prison population by most serious offense type**

Tennessee

■ Nonviolent ■ Violent

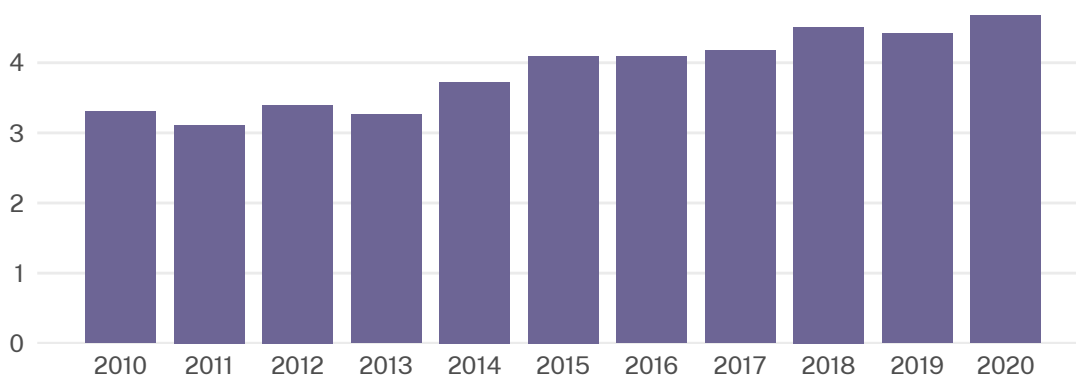


BJS Prisoners in the United States

In 2020, the average length of stay of people released from prison who were serving time for a violent offense in Tennessee was 4.7 years. This is 6 percent lower than the national average prison stay for violent offenses of 5.0 years.

**Figure 36. Average length of stay (years) of people exiting prison**

Tennessee, Prison terms for violent offenses



BJS National Corrections Reporting Program



Nationally, the probation population rate in 2022 was down 38 percent from its peak in 2007.

**Figure 37. Probation population**

Rate per 100k residents, United States

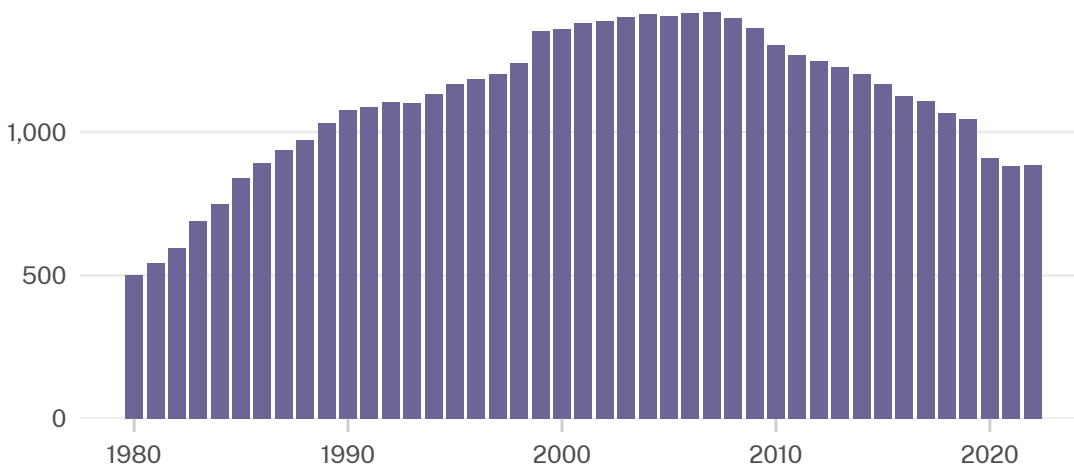
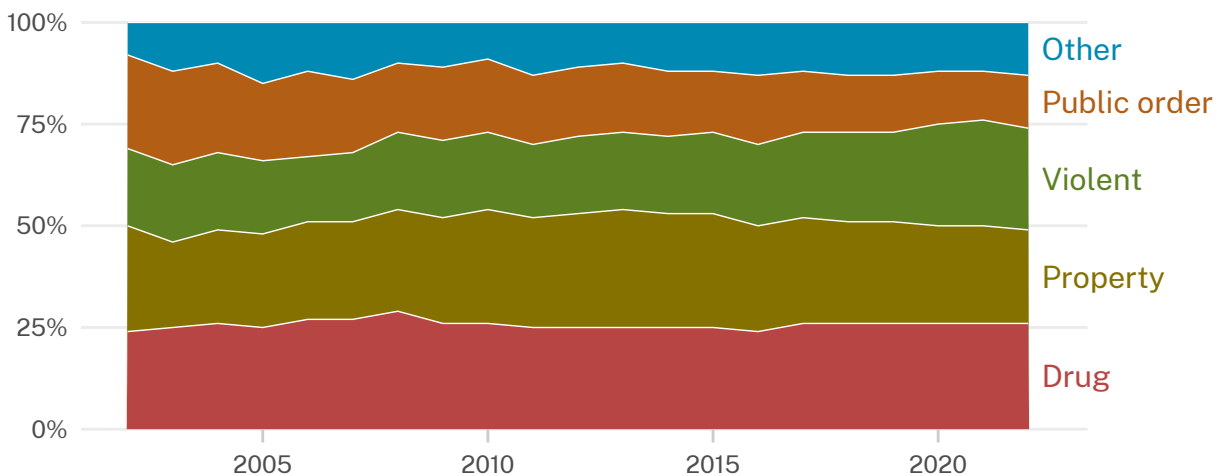


Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice

In 2022, roughly equal numbers of people were on probation for violent, property, and drug offenses. Compared to 2002, a larger share of people on probation in 2022 had been convicted of a violent offense, and a smaller share had been convicted of a public order offense.

**Figure 38. Share of probation population by most serious offense**

United States



BJS Probation and Parole in the United States



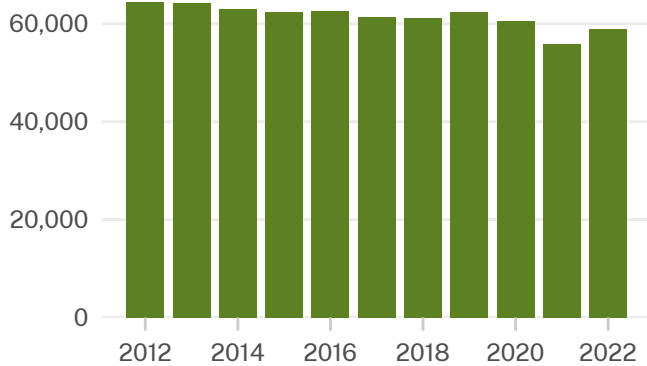


## Tennessee had the 19th-highest probation supervision rate in the country in 2022.

States across the country have taken steps to safely reduce supervision populations, improve supervision success, and focus resources on those most likely to reoffend. The focus of these policy changes includes implementing evidence-based interventions to encourage behavior change, limiting returns to prison for technical violations, and providing earned compliance credits to reduce supervision terms among others.

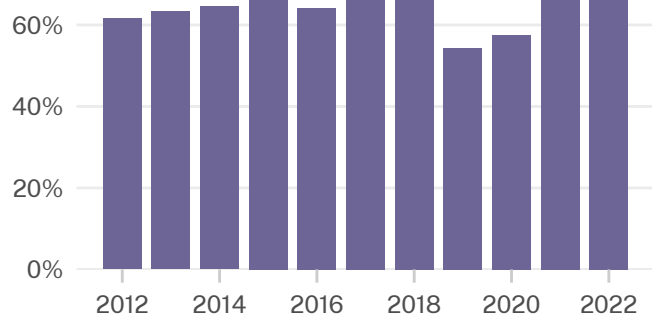
Since 2012, the number of people on probation in Tennessee has decreased by 8 percent.

**Figure 39. Probation population**  
Tennessee



BJS Probation and Parole in the United States

**Figure 40. Share of successful exits from probation**  
Tennessee

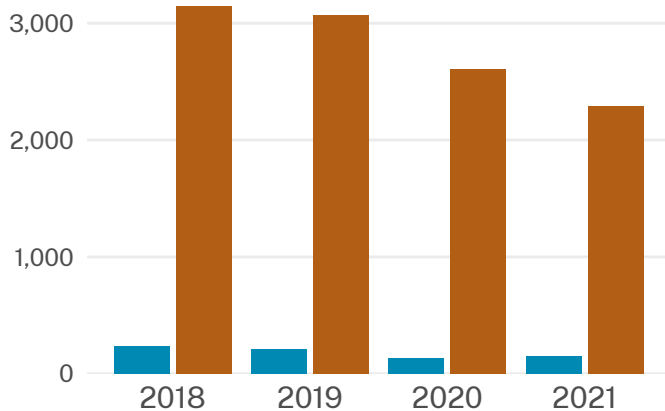


BJS Probation and Parole in the United States

**Figure 41. Admissions to prison for probation violations**

Tennessee

■ New offense ■ Technical violation



In 2021, 94 percent of probation violation admissions were for technical violations.

CSG Justice Center Supervision Violations and Their Impact on Incarceration



# Reentry is a significant aspect of our criminal justice system. More than 90 percent of incarcerated individuals are released back into the community.

Effectively preparing someone for release and providing the support they need in the community affects whether they succeed or return to the corrections system.

Parole release policies and practices have a significant impact on prison populations. In Tennessee in 2020, there were at least 6,217 people in prison with sentences between 1 and 25 years who were eligible for parole. This group made up 34 percent of the total prison population.

**Figure 42. Parole eligibility of prison population**

Tennessee, 2020

■ Currently eligible ■ Eligible in 1-5 years ■ Eligible in 6+ years ■ Not eligible or missing



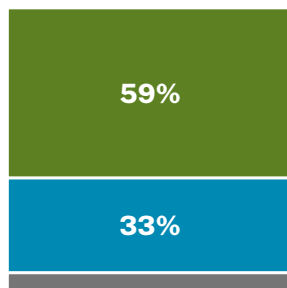
BJS National Corrections Reporting Program

In 2020, 59 percent of people leaving prison in Tennessee were granted conditional release. 6 percent of people released from prison were released 3 years or more after their parole eligibility date.

**Figure 43. Releases from prison by post-release status**

Tennessee, 2020

■ Conditional ■ Other or unknown ■ Unconditional

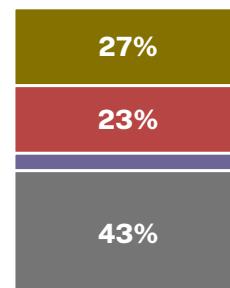


BJS National Corrections Reporting Program

**Figure 44. Releases from prison by time to parole eligibility**

Tennessee, 2020

■ On-time or early ■ 1-2 years after eligibility ■ 3 years or more after eligibility ■ Unknown or missing



BJS National Corrections Reporting Program



Nationally, the parole population rate in 2022 was down 24 percent from its peak in 2007.

**Figure 45. Parole population**  
Rate per 100k residents, United States

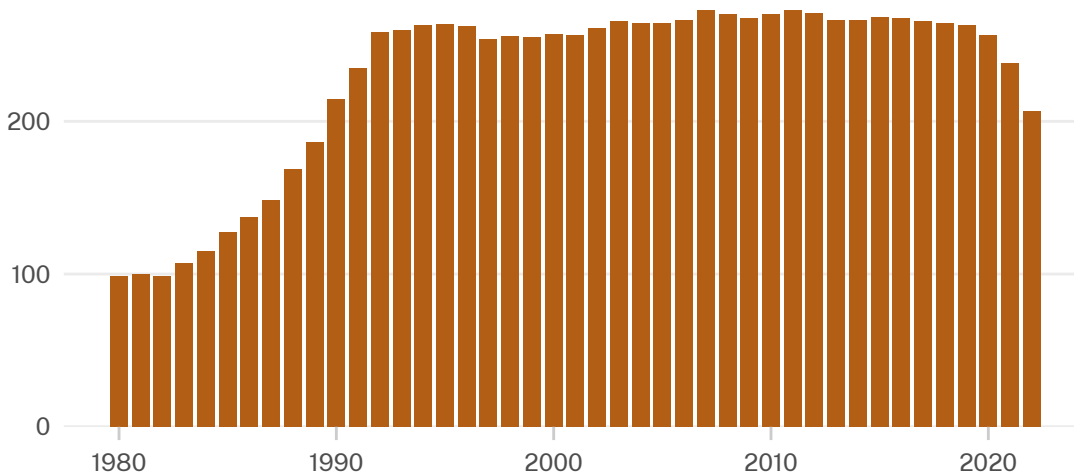


Figure was recreated from the Council on Criminal Justice

In 2022, 39 percent of people on parole had been in prison for a violent offense, and 27 percent of people had been in prison for a drug offense. Compared to 2002, a larger share of people on parole in 2022 had been convicted of a violent offense, and a smaller share had been convicted of a drug offense.

**Figure 46. Share of parole population by most serious offense**  
United States



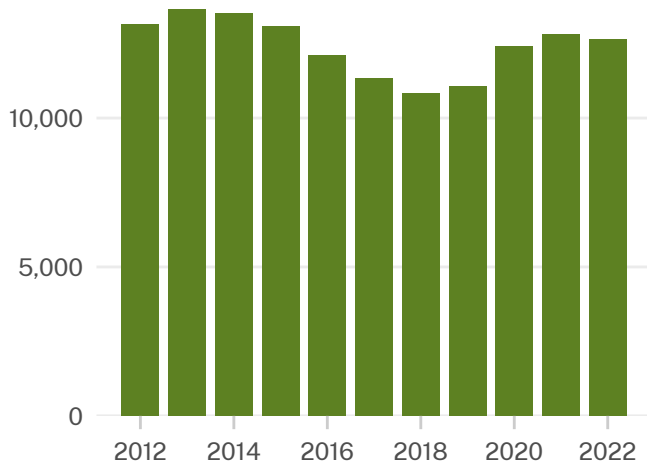
BJS Probation and Parole in the United States



## Tennessee had the 16th-highest parole supervision rate in the country in 2022.

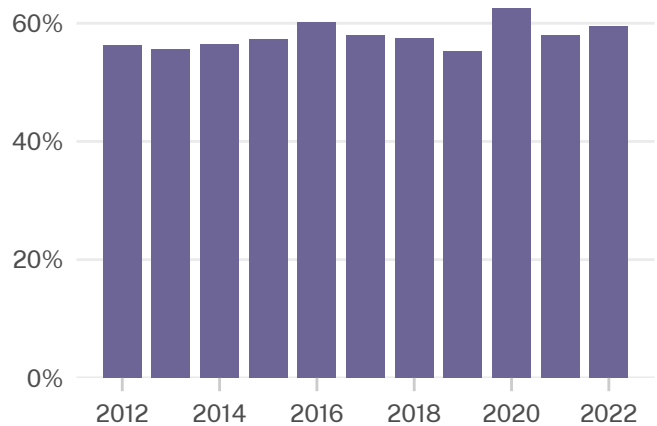
Since 2012, the number of people on parole in Tennessee has decreased by 4 percent. The share of people successfully completing parole was 59 percent in 2022 and 56 percent in 2012.

**Figure 47. Parole population**  
Tennessee



BJS Probation and Parole in the United States

**Figure 48. Share of successful exits from parole**  
Tennessee



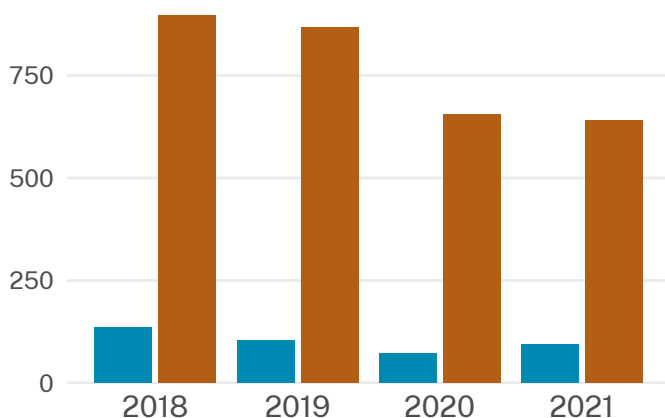
BJS Probation and Parole in the United States

In 2021, 8 percent of Tennessee prison admissions were for parole violations.

**Figure 49. Admissions to prison for parole violations**

Tennessee

■ New offense ■ Technical violation



CSG Justice Center Supervision Violations and Their Impact on Incarceration

In 2021, 87 percent of parole violation admissions were for technical violations.



## Reentry and Recidivism

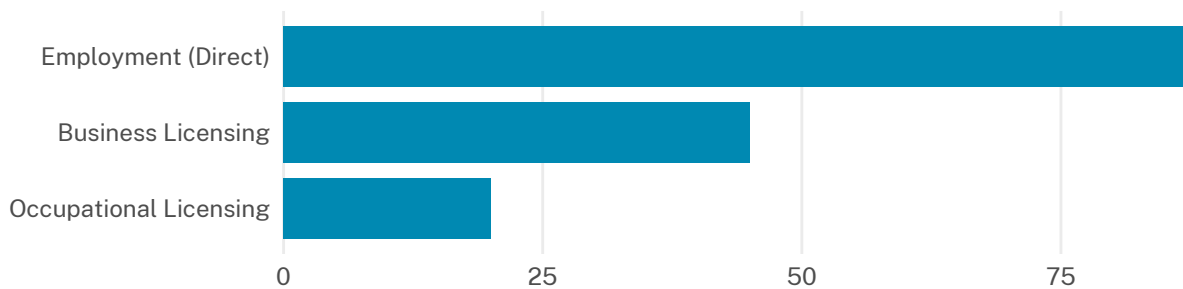
### Collateral consequences of convictions

Collateral consequences impact employment opportunities either by restricting access to occupational licenses needed to work in certain fields, restricting access to business licenses needed to pursue self-employment, or directly limiting the ability of employers to hire or retain workers with certain conviction histories.

In Tennessee, 77 percent of collateral consequences for convictions are employment related.

**Figure 50. Number of employment-related collateral consequences by type**

Tennessee



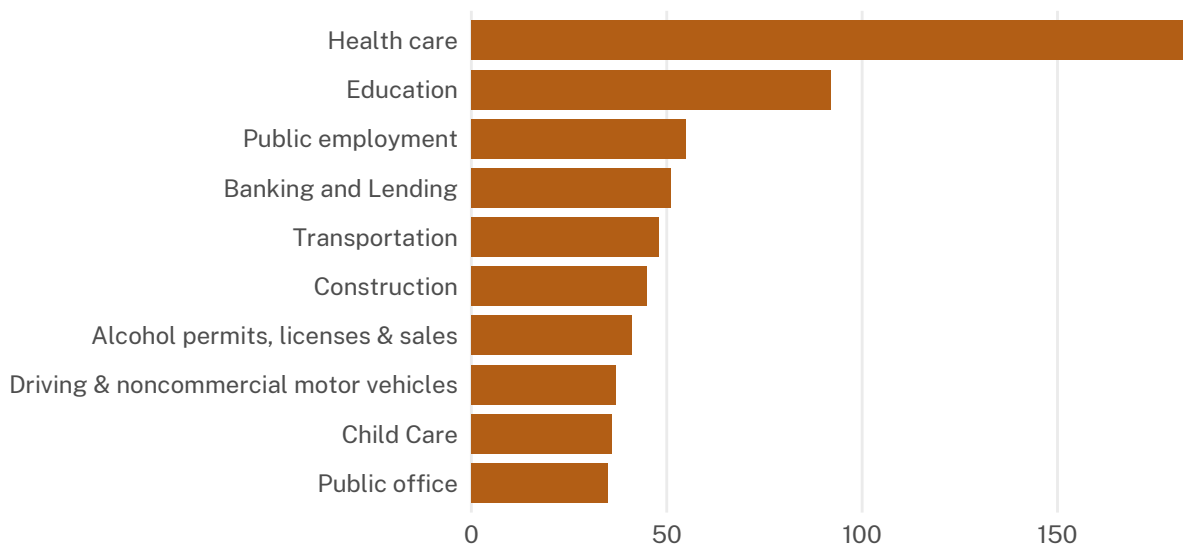
National Inventory of Collateral Consequences of Conviction

51 percent of consequences in Tennessee are mandatory and prohibit, without exception, the employment, retention, or licensing of a person with a conviction for a specified offense.

62 percent of consequences in Tennessee may be indefinite in duration.

**Figure 51. Number of employment-related collateral consequences by field**

Tennessee



National Inventory of Collateral Consequences of Conviction



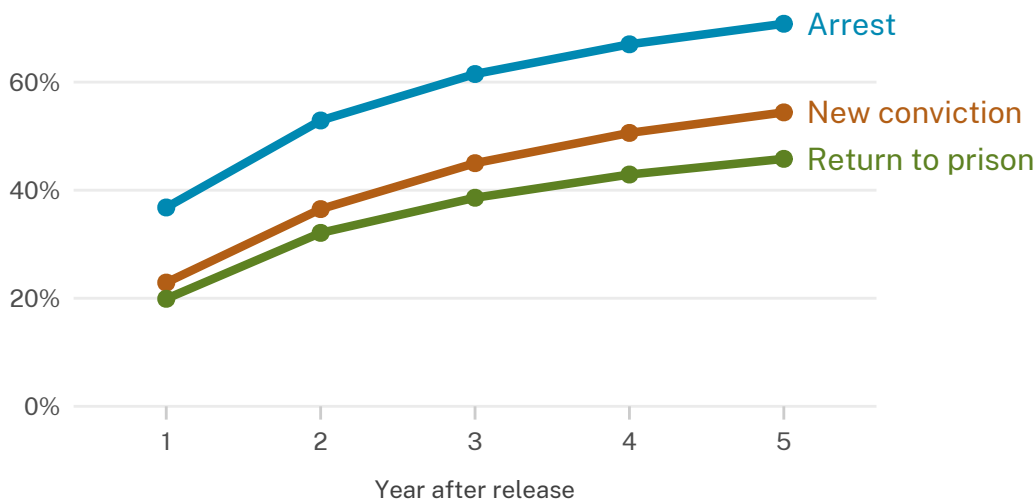
## Reentry and Recidivism

Arrests, convictions, and returns to prison

Of people released from prison in 2012, 71 percent were arrested within 5 years of release, 54 percent were convicted of a new offense, and 46 percent returned to prison.

**Figure 52. Cumulative percentage of people released from prison who had a recidivism event within 5 years of release**

34 states, 2012 releases



BJS Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 34 States in 2012

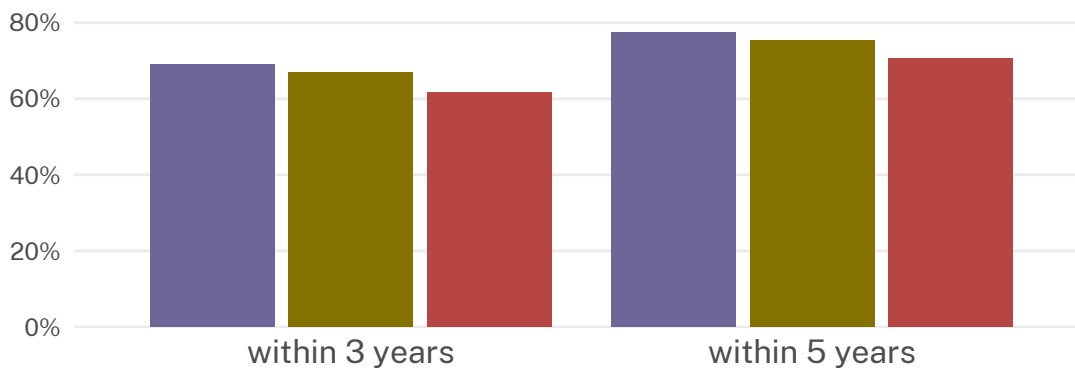
### Nationally, the recidivism rate has been decreasing.

In 2005, 77 percent of people released from state prison were arrested within 5 years of release. Of people released in 2012, 71 percent were arrested within 5 years.

**Figure 53. Percentage of people released from prison who were arrested following release**

United States

Release year ■ 2005 ■ 2008 ■ 2012



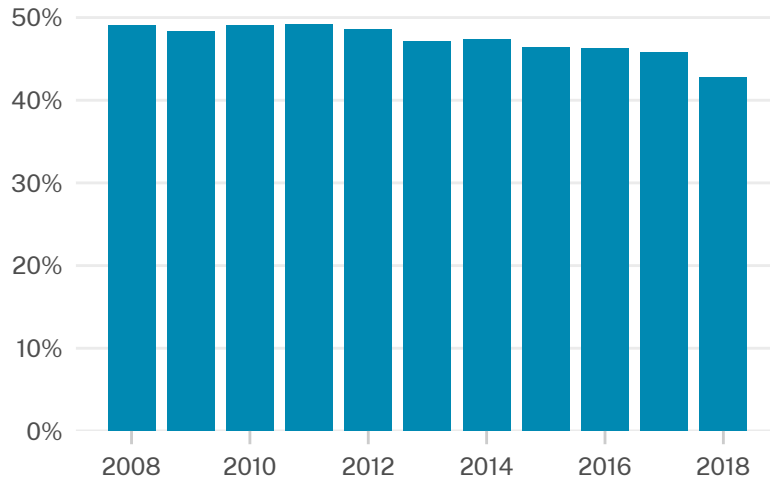
BJS Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 34 States in 2012



## 43 percent of people exiting prison in Tennessee in 2018 were reincarcerated within 3 years.

**Figure 54. Prison reincarceration rate**

Tennessee, three-year lookback period



State-specific recidivism reports

## The probation reincarceration rate in Tennessee is not available.

**Figure 55. Probation incarceration rate**

Tennessee, three-year lookahead period

*Data is not available.*

State-specific recidivism reports



# Nationally, racial disparities between Black and White populations have decreased over the past decade. However, large disparities still exist.

**In the community:** Disparities in non-fatal violent victimization were almost eliminated in the past decade, but the disparities in arrest rate has remained the same where the arrest rate for Black individuals is double the rate it is for White people.

	Black-White disparity, 2013	Black-White disparity, 2023	Percent change
Non-fatal violent victimization	1.2	1.1	-8%
Arrest	2.1	2.1	0%

BJS National Crime Victimization Survey and FBI Crime in the United State Annual Report

**Community supervision:** Disparities in community supervision decreased. While disparities shrunk by about a quarter, the parole supervision rate in the Black community remains more than 3 times higher than in the White population.

	Black-White disparity, 2012	Black-White disparity, 2022	Percent change
Probation	2.9	2.8	-3%
Parole	4.9	3.7	-24%

BJS Probation and Parole in the United States

**Institutional corrections:** Disparities in institutional correctional settings have also decreased; however, the prison incarceration rate remains nearly 5 times higher for the Black population compared to the White Population.

	Black-White disparity, 2012	Black-White disparity, 2022	Percent change
Jail	4.1	3.5	-15%
Prison	5.8	4.9	-16%

BJS Annual Survey of Jails and BJS Prisoners in the United States





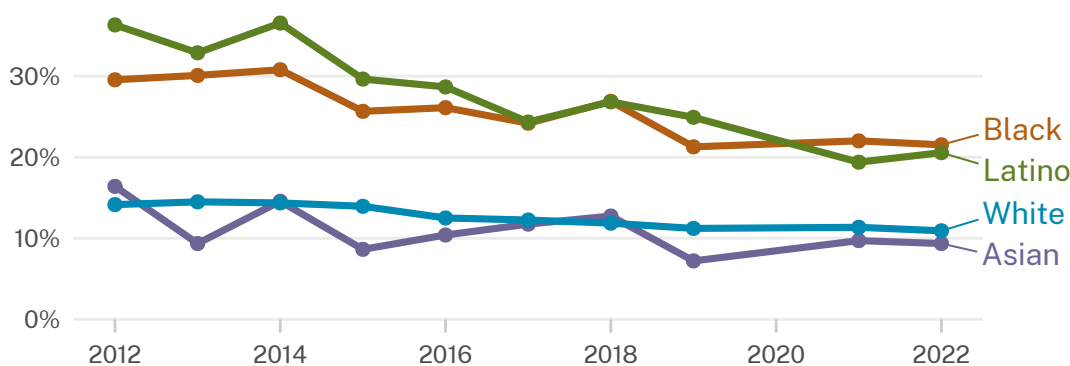
# Racial disparities are pervasive across multiple community and behavioral health outcomes, in addition to the criminal justice system.

In Tennessee in 2024, the Black unemployment rate was 2.0 times higher, and the Latino unemployment rate was 1.5 times higher, than the White unemployment rate.

In Tennessee in 2022, 22 percent of Black people and 21 percent of Latino people earned incomes below the federal poverty level.

**Figure 56. Share of people with income below the poverty line by race and ethnicity**

Tennessee



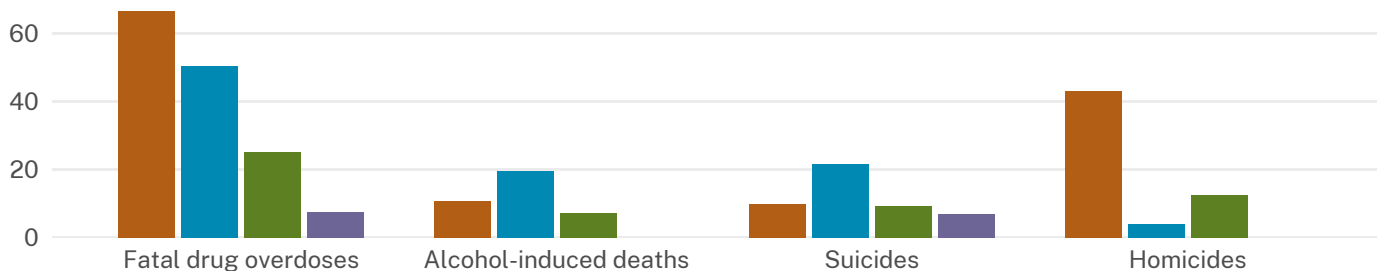
U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey

In Tennessee in 2023, White people died at a higher rate than Black people due to alcohol and suicide. Black people died at a higher rate than White people due to drug overdoses and homicide.

**Figure 57. Cause of death by race and ethnicity**

Rate per 100k residents, Tennessee, 2023

Black White Latino Asian and Pacific Islander



CDC National Center for Health Statistics

Rates for some racial and ethnic groups are not available due to data suppression rules for small populations.



# There are racial disparities for both victims of crime and people arrested.

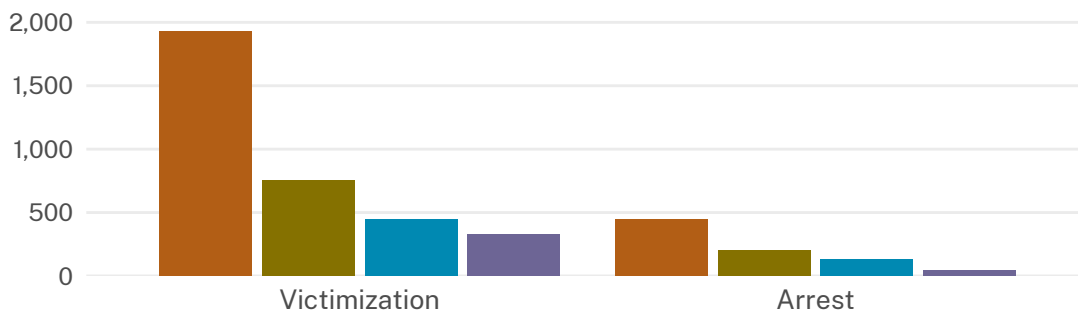
The following victimization estimates only include those incidents that are reported to the police. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey, in 2022, national reporting rates across different racial and ethnic groups varied slightly, with White, Black, and Latino individuals reporting at higher rates (between 42 percent and 48 percent) compared to Asian and other racial groups (between 22 percent and 34 percent).

In 2022, the Black violent victimization rate was 4.4 times higher than the White violent victimization rate in Tennessee. Black people were arrested for violent crimes at a rate 3.5 times higher than White people.

**Figure 58. Victimization and arrests for violent crime by race**

Rate per 100k residents, Tennessee, 2022

Black American Indian White Asian

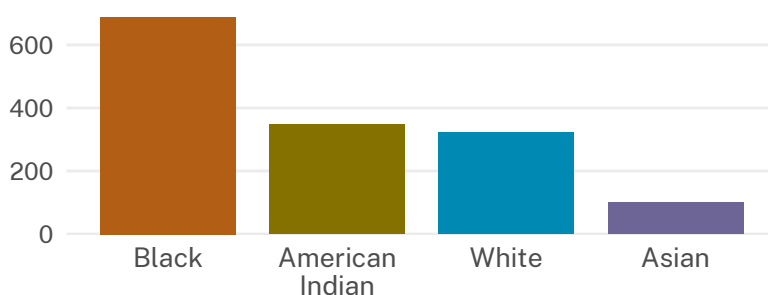


FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program NIBRS

In 2022, Black people were arrested for property crimes at a rate 2.1 times higher than White people.

**Figure 59. Arrests for property crime by race**

Rate per 100k residents, Tennessee, 2022



FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program NIBRS

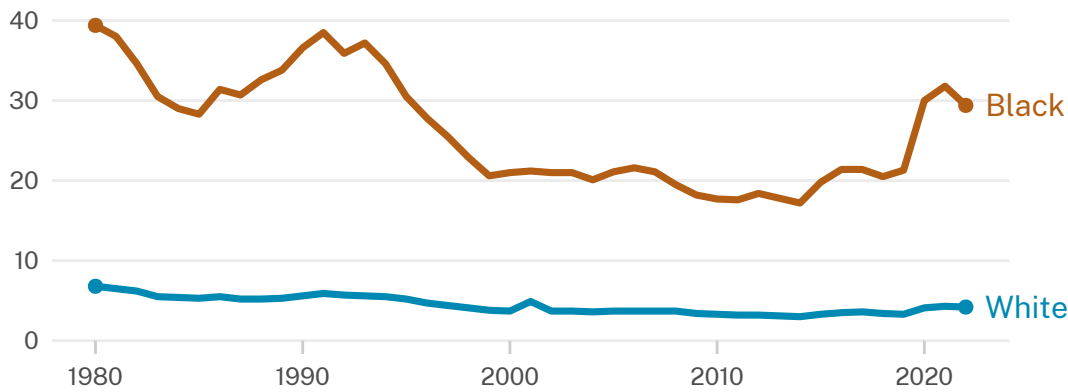
Race categories include people of any ethnicity, and many Latino people may be counted as White. Not enough law enforcement agencies collect ethnicity data to make reliable estimates for the Latino population.



# The national homicide rate of Black victims has been persistently higher than the rate of White victims, but the disparity grew between 2019 and 2022.

In 2022, Black people died by homicide at a rate 7 times higher than White people.

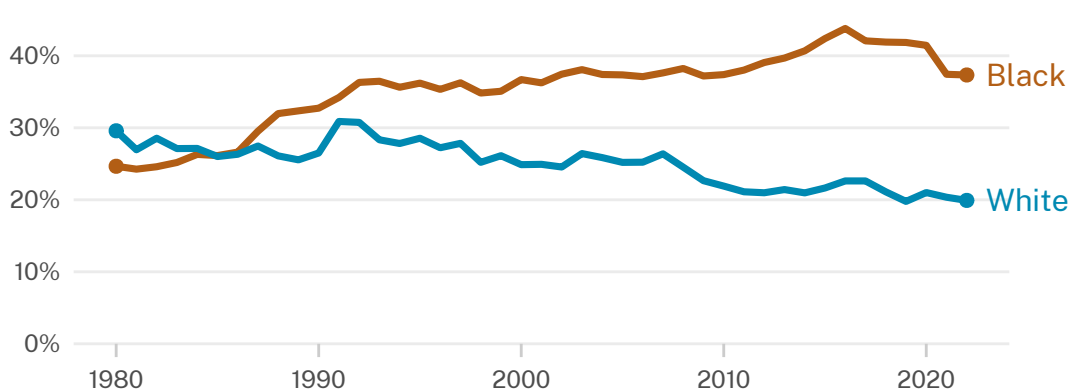
**Figure 60. Age-adjusted homicide deaths by race of victim**  
Rate per 100k residents, United States



CDC National Center for Health Statistics, Michigan Department of Health & Human Services

Nationally, homicides of Black victims were almost twice as likely to go unsolved in 2022 as homicides of White victims.

**Figure 61. Percentage of unsolved homicides by race of victim**  
United States



Murder Accountability Project



## Demographics

### Correctional control

Nationally, Black people experience the highest rates of correctional control, but other racial and ethnic groups also experience disparate outcomes compared to White people. These disparities are the result of many factors both in and outside of the criminal justice system.

Compared to White adults, Black adults in Tennessee are...

**2.2x**

more likely to be arrested

**2.2x**

more likely to be on probation

**3.3x**

more likely to be in prison

**2.9x**

more likely to be on parole

Compared to White adults, Latino adults in Tennessee are...

**N/A**

arrest rate

**46%**

less likely to be on probation

**57%**

less likely to be in prison

**57%**

less likely to be on parole

Compared to White adults, American Indian adults in Tennessee are...

**63%**

less likely to be arrested

**N/A**

probation supervision rate

**22%**

less likely to be in prison

**N/A**

parole supervision rate

Compared to White adults, Asian adults in Tennessee are...

**81%**

less likely to be arrested

**N/A**

probation supervision rate

**N/A**

prison incarceration rate

**N/A**

parole supervision rate

FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program NIBRS, BJS Probation and Parole in the United States, and BJS Prisoners in the United States

# Data Sources and Methodology

Data Source	Description	Location in Snapshot
<p><b>YTD Murder Comparison</b></p> <p>AH Datalytics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2024</p> <p><a href="http://www.ahdatalytics.com">www.ahdatalytics.com</a></p>	<p>AH Datalytics collects and displays year-to-date murder data made publicly available by more than 250 of the largest cities in the United States. Data include counts of year-to-date murders for the current and prior years, along with the “as of” date for which the count was made, and a link to the source of the count. This data is a good proxy indicator for the national change in murder from year to year and is available far earlier than national data from the FBI.</p>	<p>Figure 10</p>
<p><b>Annual Survey of Jails</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2022</p> <p><a href="http://bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/annual-survey-jails-asj">bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/annual-survey-jails-asj</a></p>	<p>The Bureau of Justice Statistics administers the Annual Survey of Jails (ASJ), which describes the number of persons held in local jails, jail incarceration rates, inmate demographics, conviction status and most serious offense, the number of admissions to jail, jail capacity, inmate turnover rates, and staff employed in local jails. The ASJ surveys a representative sample of jails and estimated state and national figures from this sample. The 2022 ASJ sample consisted of 892 active jail jurisdictions, represented by 935 reporting units.</p>	<p>Figure 29</p> <p>Text: page 30</p>
<p><b>National Corrections Reporting Program</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2020</p> <p><a href="http://bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/national-corrections-reporting-program-ncrp">bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/national-corrections-reporting-program-ncrp</a></p>	<p>The Bureau of Justice Statistics National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP) has been collecting administrative data on individuals in the prison and parole populations annually for 40 years. Case-level data on admissions, releases, and custodial prison populations are available, as well as data on parole entries and discharges, for participating jurisdictions. Nearly all states currently participate in the annual NCRP project, although many states do not submit complete data. Demographic data on age, sex, race, ethnicity, veteran status, and educational attainment are included in the collections.</p>	<p>Figures: 36, 42, 43, 44</p>
<p><b>National Crime Victimization Survey</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2023</p> <p><a href="http://bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/ncvs">bjs.ojp.gov/data-collection/ncvs</a></p>	<p>The Bureau of Justice Statistics National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is conducted annually through interviews with a nationally representative sample of about 240,000 people in about 150,000 households. The NCVS collects information about criminal victimization both reported and not reported to police and is a key source in understanding the full scope of victimization. NCVS data for 2006 are not comparable with other years and are omitted from the charts included here.</p>	<p>Figures: 18, 19</p> <p>Text: pages 13, 30, 32</p>
<p><b>Prisoners in the United States</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2022 (2021 for custodial populations by crime type)</p> <p><a href="http://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/prisoners-2022-statistical-tables">bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/prisoners-2022-statistical-tables</a></p>	<p>The Bureau of Justice Statistics annual Prisoners in the United States reports are based on the National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) Program and provide an annual count of sentenced individuals who are under the jurisdiction of state correctional authorities or under the jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. To be included in the NPS survey, individuals must have received a sentence of more than one year, with the exception of unified correctional systems in AK, CT, DE, HI, RI, and VT, and consequently report on all individuals in their custody. The series includes prison population counts on the last day of the calendar year, prison admissions and releases, and rates of imprisonment. Demographic and offense characteristics of the imprisoned population are also collected and included in the statistical tables and reports. Additional detail in Prisoners in the United States is based on National Corrections Reporting Program data.</p>	<p>Figures: 32, 35</p> <p>Text: pages 30, 34</p>

<p><b>Probation and Parole in the United States</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Most recent data: 2022</p> <p><a href="https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/probation-and-parole-united-states-2022">bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/probation-and-parole-united-states-2022</a></p>	<p>The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) annual Probation and Parole in the United States reports are based on the the BJS Annual Probation Survey, Annual Parole Survey, and Federal Justice Statistics Program, which collect data on adults placed on correctional supervision (entries) or removed from supervision (exits) during the reporting year and on characteristics of the population at year end. The data include population characteristics such as sex, race or ethnicity, and most serious offense.</p>	<p>Figures: 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48</p> <p>Text: pages 30, 34</p>
<p><b>Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 34 States in 2012: A 5-Year Follow-Up Period</b></p> <p>Bureau of Justice Statistics</p> <p>Report available:</p> <p><a href="https://bjs.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh236/files/media/document/rpr34s125yfup1217.pdf">bjs.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh236/files/media/document/rpr34s125yfup1217.pdf</a></p>	<p>BJS uses criminal history records to study the number and types of crimes committed by state prisoners both prior to and following their release. The first study tracked a sample of state prisoners released in 11 states in 1983, and the second study followed a sample of state prisoners released in 15 states in 1994. Both studies had a 3-year follow-up period. The latest study tracked a sample of prisoners released in 34 states in 2012 for 5 years after release. These studies documented the arrest, conviction, and incarceration experiences of the former inmates within and outside of the state that released them.</p>	<p>Figures: 52, 53</p>
<p><b>Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics</b></p> <p>Bureau of Labor Statistics</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="https://www.bls.gov/oes/">www.bls.gov/oes/</a></p>	<p>The Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics (OEWS) program produces employment and wage estimates annually for approximately 830 occupations beginning with the May 2012 reference period. These estimates are available as a whole, for individual states, and for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas; national occupational estimates for specific industries are also available.</p>	<p>Figures: 2, 22, 23, 31, 32</p>
<p><b>Local Area Unemployment Statistics</b></p> <p>Bureau of Labor Statistics</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2024</p> <p><a href="https://www.bls.gov/lau/">www.bls.gov/lau/</a></p>	<p>The Local Area Unemployment Statistics (LAUS) program produces monthly and annual employment, unemployment, and labor force data for Census regions and divisions, states, counties, metropolitan areas, and many cities. The state unemployment data in this report uses non-seasonally adjusted rates for the community population.</p>	<p>Text: page 6</p>
<p><b>Multiple Cause of Death</b></p> <p>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="https://wonder.cdc.gov/mcd.html">wonder.cdc.gov/mcd.html</a></p>	<p>The Multiple Cause of Death database contains mortality and population counts for all U.S. counties. Data are based on death certificates for U.S. residents.</p>	<p>Figures: 1, 5, 57</p>
<p><b>Provisional Drug Overdose Death Counts</b></p> <p>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="https://wonder.cdc.gov/mcd.html">wonder.cdc.gov/mcd.html</a></p>	<p>Provisional drug overdose death counts are based on death records received and processed by the National Center for Health Statistics. Data for 2023 is still considered provisional and subject to change. Drug overdose deaths may involve multiple drugs; therefore, a single death might be included in more than one category when describing the number of drug overdose deaths involving specific drugs.</p>	<p>Figure 5</p>

<p><b>Tracking the Size of America's Criminal Justice System</b></p> <p>Council on Criminal Justice</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2022</p>	<p>This series of interactive charts summarizes trends in crime, arrests, and correctional control (incarceration and community supervision), comparing current levels with their most recent peaks or valleys. Analyses reflect national data from the last two to six decades. Data were collected across various reports, data tools, and databases.</p>	<p>Figures: 27, 28, 33, 34, 37, 45</p>
<p><b>Supervision Violations and Their Impact on Incarceration</b></p> <p>The Council of State Governments Justice Center</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2021</p>	<p>The Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center's third report on the impact of supervision violations is based on 4 years of survey data from all 50 state corrections departments. Each state submitted survey data on the number of annual admissions and the year-end population of people who violated their community supervision annually from 2018 through 2021. The survey also broke down whether people were incarcerated for committing technical violations or violations associated with new criminal activity.</p>	<p>Figures: 41, 49</p>
<p><b>Uniform Crime Report Program National Incident-Based Reporting System</b></p> <p>Federal Bureau of Investigation</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="https://bjs.ojp.gov/national-incident-based-reporting-system-nibrs">bjs.ojp.gov/national-incident-based-reporting-system-nibrs</a></p>	<p>NIBRS is designed to improve the accuracy and reliability of crime statistics gathered by law enforcement agencies. Unlike the Summary Reporting System, which collects summary data on eight major crimes, NIBRS compiles detailed information on a broader range of offenses and collects data on each incident, including details about victims, offenders, and property involved. Not all law enforcement agencies and states report NIBRS data to the FBI, so some figures using NIBRS data are not included in this report. For other states, the FBI, along with BJS, developed estimation techniques to account for nonreporting agencies and missing or unknown information within a reported incident, where appropriate. Whenever NIBRS data is used in this report, we rely on the state-level estimates released by the FBI and BJS. States with too much missing data to make reliable estimates are excluded.</p>	<p>Figures: 20, 24, 58, 59</p> <p>Text: page 34</p>
<p><b>Uniform Crime Reporting Program Summary Reporting System</b></p> <p>Federal Bureau of Investigation</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/">cde.ucr.cjis.gov/</a></p>	<p>The Uniform Crime Reporting Program Summary Reporting System (SRS) gathers information from law enforcement agencies across the country on eight major index crimes, as well as additional details such as the number of arrests, clearance rates, and basic characteristics of the victims and offenders. One key difference between the SRS and NIBRS is that SRS is aggregate count data reported to the FBI by agency and by month, rather than incident-level data. Additionally, the range of offenses covered by SRS data is smaller than NIBRS data. One benefit of SRS data is that nearly all law enforcement agencies in the country are able to report SRS data to the FBI, meaning that SRS data released represents nearly all the report index crimes. In 2021, the FBI did not accept SRS data because of the transition to NIBRS. But in 2022, the FBI again began accepting SRS data from agencies who were not yet able to report NIBRS data. Because of this, 2022 and 2023 estimates use both NIBRS and SRS data and are more reliable than 2021 estimates. In this report, when we use state-level SRS data, we use the "Estimated Crimes" dataset released by the FBI and used in the FBI's Crime in the U.S. reports. We also use the agency-level Offenses Known and Clearances by Arrest dataset released by the FBI and cleaned and aggregated by Jacob Kaplan.</p>	<p>Figures: 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 26</p> <p>Text: pages 11, 30</p>

<p><b>Workforce Projections</b> National Center for Health Workforce Analysis Most Recent Data: 2023 <a href="https://data.hrsa.gov/topics/health-workforce/workforce-projections">data.hrsa.gov/topics/health-workforce/workforce-projections</a></p>	<p>Workforce Projections provide projections for the national supply of and demand for health professions by discipline using the Health Resources &amp; Services Administration’s Health Workforce Simulation model. The estimates represent the supply, demand, and distribution of health care workers, to inform public policy decisionmakers to help prevent shortages and surpluses.</p>	<p>Figure 3</p>
<p><b>Age-Adjusted Homicide Death Rates by Race and Sex 1980-2021</b> Michigan Department of Health and Human Services Most Recent Data: 2022 <a href="http://www.mdch.state.mi.us/osr/deaths/Homicidx.asp">www.mdch.state.mi.us/osr/deaths/Homicidx.asp</a></p>	<p>The Division for Vital Records &amp; Health Statistics within the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) compiles the annual rate of deaths by homicide per 100,000 people in a specified group. DHHS calculates this rate for the state of Michigan and also calculates a national rate using the CDC’s National Center for Health Statistics. An age-adjusted death rate is defined as “a summary rate of death that is developed using a standard population distribution to improve the comparability of rates for areas or population subgroups with differing age distributions.”</p>	<p>Figure 60</p>
<p><b>Homicide by Race</b> Murder Accountability Project Most Recent Data: 2023 <a href="http://www.murderdata.org">www.murderdata.org</a></p>	<p>The Murder Accountability Project is a nonprofit group organized in 2015 and dedicated to educating Americans on the importance of accurately accounting for unsolved homicides within the United States. This website gives police and the public easy-to-use access to two datasets maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation: the Uniform Crime Report from 1965 to the present and the Supplementary Homicide Report from 1976 to the present. The Murder Accountability Project, using the Freedom of Information Act, has also obtained data on more than 39,000 homicides that were not reported to the Justice Department in either of those databases. This information is the most complete data on U.S. homicides available anywhere.</p>	<p>Figure 61</p>
<p><b>National Inventory of Collateral Consequences</b> The National Reentry Resource Center Most Recent Data: 2024 <a href="http://niccc.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/consequences">niccc.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/consequences</a></p>	<p>National Inventory of the Collateral Consequences of Conviction (NICCC) is an online searchable database that identifies and categorizes the statutes and regulations that impose collateral consequences in all 50 states, the federal system, and the District of Columbia, U.S. Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. Each consequence is given a brief description and categorized by a number of features that describe the nature and operation of the consequence. This categorization helps with searching and filtering the consequences in the database and allows users to identify relevant consequences based on their common characteristics. It is searchable by keyword, consequence type, offense type, discretion, and duration.</p>	<p>Figures: 51, 52</p>
<p><b>National Survey on Drug Use and Health</b> Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration Most Recent Data: 2022 <a href="http://www.samhsa.gov/data/nsduh/state-reports">www.samhsa.gov/data/nsduh/state-reports</a></p>	<p>The National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) releases state estimates for a limited number of substance use and mental health measures. They are generally based on two years of combined data and cover each state and the District of Columbia. NSDUH is a household survey of people living in the U.S. over the age of 12, not living in institutions such as prisons or nursing homes, not experiencing homelessness, and speak English or Spanish. State data tables provide estimates for 35 measures of substance use and mental health by age group.</p>	<p>Figure 4 Text: page 5</p>



<p><b>Treatment Episode Data Set</b></p> <p>Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="http://www.samhsa.gov/data/data-we-collect/teds-treatment-episode-data-set">www.samhsa.gov/data/data-we-collect/teds-treatment-episode-data-set</a></p>	<p>The Treatment Episode Data Set (TEDS) system comprises demographic and drug history information about individuals undergoing substance abuse treatment. TEDS data include data for individuals who are 12 years old or older and their demographic information such as age, sex, race/ethnicity, and employment status. Additionally, individuals' substance abuse characteristics such as substances used, age at first use, route of use, frequency of use, and number of previous admissions are included.</p>	<p>Text page 4</p>
<p><b>American Community Survey</b></p> <p>U.S. Census Bureau</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="http://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs">www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs</a></p>	<p>The American Community Survey is a nationwide survey that collects and produces information on social, economic, housing, and demographic characteristics about our nation's population every year. In each year, the ACS surveys approximately two million households. One-year ACS estimates from 2020 are considered unreliable because of decreased data collection due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and are excluded. In this report, we use ACS tables B03002 (population by race and ethnicity), B27010 (health insurance), B25070 (rent burden), and B17001 (poverty).</p>	<p>Figures: 6, 8, 56 Text: page 6, 31</p>
<p><b>Annual Survey of State and Local Government Finances</b></p> <p>U.S. Census Bureau</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2021</p> <p><a href="http://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/gov-finances.html">www.census.gov/programs-surveys/gov-finances.html</a></p>	<p>This survey provides local government data on debt and assets as well as revenues and expenditures by governmental function (i.e., police protection, fire protection, correction, etc.) of counties, cities, township governments, special districts and dependent agencies. In the data presented in this report, total expenditures of state and local governments are combined.</p>	<p>Figures: 21, 30</p>
<p><b>Annual Homelessness Assessment Report</b></p> <p>U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development</p> <p>Most Recent Data: 2023</p> <p><a href="http://www.huduser.gov/portal/home.html">www.huduser.gov/portal/home.html</a></p>	<p>The Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) includes Point-In-Time (PIT) estimates of the number of people experiencing homelessness, both sheltered and unsheltered. Estimates are based on one-night PIT counts conducted by local continuums of care (CoCs). HUD provides CoCs with methodological standards for conducting the PIT count, but CoCs determine their own methodology for conducting the counts, typically held during the last ten days of January. The AHAR contains national, state, and CoC-level PIT estimates of homelessness.</p>	<p>Figure 7</p>
<p><b>State-by-State Recidivism Data</b>, Figures 54 and 55</p> <p>Recidivism definitions vary by state. In these snapshots, we utilize whenever available, <i>3-year reincarceration rates for all prison releases</i> and <i>3-year revocation rates</i> for those serving time on probation. These definitions were most commonly seen across states. For some states, these definitions were not available; in these cases, other measures of recidivism are shown, including 3-year parole reincarceration rates and 3-year felony reconviction rates.</p> <p>Most Recent Data: The most recent available 3-year recidivism data were those released from prison or supervised on probation in year 2019. For a significant portion of states, 2019 release/probation cohorts were not available and hence earlier release/probation cohorts were used. This included primarily those released in 2018 and 2017, but in some cases, earlier release cohorts were the most recent data found. Note that some states use calendar years when reporting on recidivism rates while others use fiscal years. For more information about recidivism in Tennessee, see: <a href="http://www.tn.gov/content/dam/tn/correction/documents/StatisticalAbstract2022.pdf">www.tn.gov/content/dam/tn/correction/documents/StatisticalAbstract2022.pdf</a>.</p>		

# Credits

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