EXHIBIT

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ESTIMATES OF PEOPLE DENIED VOTING RIGHTS DUE TO A FELONY CONVICTION

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OVERVIEW

In the past 25 years, half the states have changed their laws and practices to expand voting access to people with felony convictions. Despite these important reforms, 5.2 million Americans remain disenfranchised, 2.3 percent of the voting age population.

In this presidential election year, the question of voting restrictions, and their disproportionate impact on Black and Brown communities, should receive greater public attention.

This report is intended to update and expand our previous work on the scope and distribution of felony disenfranchisement in the United States (see Uggen, Larson, and Shannon 2016; Uggen, Shannon, and Manza 2012; Uggen and Manza 2002; Manza and Uggen 2006). For the first time, we present estimates of the percentage of the Latinx population disenfranchised due to felony convictions. Although these and other estimates must be interpreted with caution, the numbers presented here represent our best assessment of the state of felony disenfranchisement as of the November 2020 election.

Our key findings include the following:

- As of 2020, an estimated 5.17 million people are disenfranchised due to a felony conviction, a figure that has declined by almost 15 percent since 2016, as states enacted new policies to curtail this practice. There were an estimated 1.17 million people disenfranchised in 1976, 3.34 million in 1996, 5.85 million in 2010, and 6.11 million in 2016.
- One out of 44 adults – 2.27 percent of the total U.S. voting eligible population– is disenfranchised due to a current or previous felony conviction.
- Individuals who have completed their sentences in the eleven states that disenfranchise at least some people post-sentence make up most (43 percent) of the entire disenfranchised population, totaling 2.23 million people.
- Rates of disenfranchisement vary dramatically by state due to broad variations in voting prohibitions. In three states – Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee more than 8 percent of the adult population, one of every thirteen people, is disenfranchised.
- We estimate that nearly 900,000 Floridians who have completed their sentences remain disenfranchised, despite a 2018 ballot referendum that promised to restore their voting rights. Florida thus remains the nation's disenfranchisement leader in absolute numbers, with over 1.1 million people currently banned from voting – often because they cannot afford to pay court-ordered monetary sanctions or because the state is not obligated to tell them the amount of their sanction.
- One in 16 African Americans of voting age is disenfranchised, a rate 3.7 times greater than that of non-African Americans. Over 6.2 percent of the adult African American population is disenfranchised compared to 1.7 percent of the non-African American population.
- African American disenfranchisement rates vary significantly by state. In seven states – Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wyoming – more than one in seven African Americans is disenfranchised, twice the national average for African Americans.
- Although data on ethnicity in correctional populations are still unevenly reported, we can conservatively estimate that over 560,000 Latinx Americans or over 2 percent of the voting eligible population are disenfranchised.
- Approximately 1.2 million women are disenfranchised, comprising over one-fifth of the total disenfranchised population.

STATE DISENFRANCHISEMENT LAW

Table 1. Summary of State Felony Disenfranchisement Restrictions in 2020

No restriction (2)	Prison only (17)	Prison & parole (3)	Prison, parole & probation (17)	Prison, parole, probation, & post-sentence — some or all (11)
Maine	Colorado	California[a]	Alaska	Alabama[d]
Vermont	Hawaii	Connecticut	Arkansas	Arizona[e]
	Illinois	New York[b]	Georgia	Delaware[f]
	Indiana		Idaho	Florida[g]
	Maryland		Kansas	Iowa[h]
	Massachusetts		Louisiana[c]	Kentucky[i]
	Michigan		Minnesota	Mississippi[j]
	Montana		Missouri	Nebraska[k]
	Nevada		New Mexico	Tennessee[l]
	New Hampshire		North Carolina	Virginia[m]
	New Jersey		Oklahoma	Wyoming[n]
	North Dakota		South Carolina	
	Ohio		South Dakota	
	Oregon		Texas	
	Pennsylvania		Washington	
	Rhode Island		West Virginia	
	Utah		Wisconsin	

a. California - In 2016, lawmakers restored voting rights to people convicted of a felony offense housed in jail, but not in prison. That year, officials authorized persons sentenced to prison to be released to probation rather than parole, affirming voting rights for residents under felony community supervision.
b. New York – In 2018, Governor Cuomo reviewed and restored voting rights to persons currently on parole via executive order. There is currently no assurance that this practice will continue, however, so New York is listed as a state that continues to disenfranchise people on parole.
c. Louisiana – In 2019, authorized voting for residents under an order of imprisonment for a felony who have not been incarcerated for five years, including those on probation and parole.
d. Alabama - In 2016, legislation eased the rights restoration process after completion of sentence for persons not convicted of a crime of "moral turpitude." The state codified the list of felony offenses that are ineligible for re-enfranchisement in 2017.
e. Arizona - Permanently disenfranchises persons with two or more felony convictions. In 2019, removed the requirement to pay outstanding fines before rights are automatically restored for first time felony offenses only.
f. Delaware – In 2013, removed the five-year waiting period to regain voting eligibility. Apart from some disqualifying offenses, people convicted of a felony are now eligible to vote upon completion of sentence and supervision.
g. Florida – In 2018, voters passed an amendment to restore voting rights to most people after sentence completion. In 2019, legislation was passed that made restoration conditional on payment of all restitution, fees, and fines. As of October, 2020, only the rights of those who had paid all legal financial obligations (fines and fees) had been restored.
h. Iowa – In 2020, Governor Reynolds signed an executive order restoring voting rights to people who have completed their sentences, except for those convicted of homicide. This follows previous executive orders from Governor Vilsack (restoring voting rights to individuals who had completed their sentences in 2005) and Governor Branstad (reversing this executive order in 2011).
i. Kentucky – In 2019, Governor A. Beshear issued an executive order restoring voting rights to those who had completed sentences for nonviolent offenses. This follows a similar 2015 executive order by Governor S. Beshear, which had been rescinded by Governor Bevin later that year.
j. Mississippi – Permanently disenfranchises individuals convicted of certain offenses.
k. Nebraska – In 2005, Reduced its indefinite ban on post-sentence voting to a two-year waiting period.
l. Tennessee - Disenfranchises those convicted of certain felonies since 1981, in addition to those convicted of select crimes prior to 1973. Others must apply to the Board of Probation and Parole for restoration.
m. Virginia – In 2019, Governor Northam reported that his administration has restored voting rights to 22,205 Virginians previously convicted of felonies. Governor McAuliffe had earlier restored rights to 173,166.
n. Wyoming – In 2017, restored voting rights after five years to people who complete sentences for first-time, non-violent felony convictions.

To compile estimates of disenfranchised populations, we take into account new U.S. Census data on voting eligible populations and recent changes in state-level disenfranchisement policies, including those reported in *Felony Disenfranchisement: A Primer* (Chung 2019) and *Expanding the Vote* (Porter 2010; McLeod 2018). Since 2016, five states have re-enfranchised some non-incarcerated populations: Nevada (all non-prison, including post-sentence), Colorado (parole), Louisiana (probation and many on parole), New Jersey (probation and parole), and New York (parole). Other states have revised their waiting periods and streamlined the process for regaining civil rights. In November 2018, Florida voters passed Amendment 4, which allowed most people who have completed their sentences to vote (with the exception of people convicted of sex offenses and murder). A legal battle has ensued over whether legal financial obligations (LFOs) must be paid before voting rights are restored. In June of this year, U.S. District Judge Robert Hinkle ruled that it is unconstitutional to require payment of LFOs in order to vote, but on September 11, 2020, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit in Atlanta reversed that ruling.

As shown in Table 1, Maine and Vermont remain the only states that allow persons in prison to vote (as well as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico). In July 2020, the Washington, D.C. Council passed an emergency bill that authorized all incarcerated residents with a felony conviction to vote in the November 2020 election. The Council intends to make the change permanent. Twenty-seven U.S. states deny voting rights to felony probationers, and 30 states disenfranchise people on parole. In the most extreme cases, 11 states continue to deny voting rights to some or all of the individuals who have successfully fulfilled their prison, parole, or probation sentences.

In addition to Florida, other states partly condition reenfranchisement on payment of outstanding fines, fees, court costs, and restitution. With regard to the categories in Table 1, Margaret Love and David Schlussel (2020) note that one state in the "Prison & parole" column (CT), and five states in the "Prison, parole & probation" column (AR, GA, KS, SD, TX), appear to disenfranchise some people post-sentence, on the basis of unpaid legal financial obligations. Connecticut requires payment of fines for out-of-state and federal convictions; Arkansas requires payment of court costs, fines, and restitution; Georgia requires payment of fines; Kansas requires payment of restitution and fines; South Dakota requires payment of fines, fees, and restitution; and Texas requires payment of fines. Three states in addition to Florida condition eligibility for reenfranchisement on payment of some or all legal financial obligations. Alabama conditions reenfranchisement after a first felony on payment of fines, fees, court costs, and victim restitution; Arizona conditions restoration after a first felony on payment of restitution; and Tennessee conditions restoration on payment of restitution, court costs (unless a finding of indigency was made), and child support. The scope and enforcement of such restrictions varies greatly across these states, such that we cannot provide firm estimates on the number of people impacted. Nevertheless, they serve as an additional driver of disenfranchisement, above and beyond the restrictions reported in Table 1 and the numbers reported in Tables 3, 4, and 5.

METHODOLOGY

We estimated the number of people released from prison and those who have completed their terms of parole or probation based on demographic life tables for each state, as described in Uggen, Manza, and Thompson (2006) and Shannon et al. (2017). We modeled each state's disenfranchisement rate in accordance with its distinctive felony voting policies, as listed in Table 1. For example, some states impose disenfranchisement for two years after release from supervision, some states only disenfranchise those convicted of multiple felonies, and some only disenfranchise those convicted of violent offenses.[1]

In brief, we compiled demographic life tables for the years 1948-2020 to determine the number of released individuals lost to recidivism (and therefore already included in our annual head counts) and to mortality each year. This allows us to estimate the number of individuals who have completed their sentences in a given state and year who are no longer under correctional supervision yet remain disenfranchised. Because data on correctional populations are currently available only through year-end 2018, we extended state-specific trends from 2015-2018 to obtain estimates for 2020. Our duration-specific recidivism rate estimates are derived from large-scale national studies of recidivism for people released from prison or on probation. Based on these studies, our models assume that most released individuals will be re-incarcerated (66 percent) and a smaller percentage of those on probation or in jail (57 percent) will cycle back through the criminal justice system. We also assume a substantially higher mortality rate for people convicted of felony offenses relative to the rest of the population. Both recidivists and deaths are removed from the post-sentence pool to avoid overestimating the number of individuals in the population who have completed their sentences. Each release cohort is thus reduced each successive year – at a level commensurate with the age-adjusted hazard rate for mortality and duration-adjusted hazard rate for recidivism – and added to each new cohort of releases. Overall, we produced more than 200 spreadsheets covering 72 years of data. These provide the figures needed to compile disenfranchisement rate estimates that are keyed to the appropriate correctional populations for each state and year.

1. In Florida, some can avoid a formal felony conviction by successfully completing a period of probation. According to the Florida Department of Law Enforcement, as much as 40 percent of the total probation population holds this "adjudication withheld" status. According to reports by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, only about 50 percent of Florida probationers successfully complete probation. In light of this, we reduce the annual current disenfranchised felony probation numbers by 40 percent and individuals disenfranchised post-sentence by 20 percent (.4*.5=.20) in each year in the life tables.

2. Our data sources include numerous United States Department of Justice (DOJ) publications, including the annual Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, Probation and Parole in the United States, as well as the Prisoners and Jail Inmates at Midyear series. Where available, we used data from state departments of corrections rather than national sources, as in the case of Minnesota. For early years, we also referenced National Prisoner Statistics, and Race of Prisoners Admitted to State and Federal Institutions, 1926-1986. We determined the median age of released prisoners based on annual data from the National Corrections Reporting Program. The recidivism rate we use to decrease the releasee population each year is based upon the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1989) "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983" study and "Recidivism of Felons on Probation 1986-1989." For those in prison or on parole, we use a reincarceration rate of 18.6 percent at one year, 32.8 percent at two years, 41.4 percent at 3 years. Although re-arrest rates have increased since 1983, the overall reconviction and reincarceration rates used for this study are much more stable (Langan and Levin (2002), p. 11). For those on probation or in jail, the corresponding three-year failure rate is 36 percent, meaning that individuals are in prison or jail and therefore counted in a different population.

   To extend the analysis to subsequent years, we calculated a trend line using the ratio of increases provided by Hoffman and Stone-Meierhoefer (1980) on federal prisoners. By year 10, we estimate a 59.4 percent recidivism rate among released prisoners and parolees, which increases to 65.9 percent by year 62 (the longest observation period in this analysis). Because these estimates are higher than most long-term recidivism studies, they are likely to yield conservative estimates of the formerly incarcerated population. We apply the same trend line to the 3-year probation and jail recidivism rate of 36 percent; by year 62, the recidivism rate is 57.3 percent. 1948 is the earliest year for which detailed data are available on releases from supervision.

DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN 2020

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the 5,177,780 disenfranchised individuals across correctional populations. Three-quarters of the disenfranchised population are people living in their communities, having fully completed their sentences or remaining supervised while on probation or parole, including nearly half (43%) who have completed their sentence. People currently in prison and jail now represent about one-fourth (25 percent) of those disenfranchised. Our intent here is to provide a portrait of disenfranchisement that would be accurate as of the 2020 November election, though we stress that much of the data we report are based on estimates rather than head counts.

Figure 1. Disenfranchisement Distribution Across Correctional Populations, 2020

Figure 2. Total Felony Disenfranchisement Rates, 2020

VARIATION ACROSS STATES

Due to differences in state laws and rates of criminal punishment, states vary widely in the practice of disenfranchisement. These maps and tables represent the disenfranchised population as a percentage of the adult voting eligible population in each state. As noted, we estimate that 5,177,780 Americans are currently ineligible to vote by state law. As Figure 2 and the statistics in Table 3 show, state-level disenfranchisement rates in 2020 varied from 0.18 percent in Massachusetts (and zero in Maine and Vermont) to more than 8 percent in Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

These figures reflect significant but uneven change in recent decades. Although half of the states have scaled back voting restrictions for people with felony convictions, the others have retained such restrictions and their disenfranchised populations have increased commensurate with the expansion of the criminal legal system.

The cartogram in Figure 3 provides another way to visualize the impact of these policies by highlighting the large regional differences in felony disenfranchisement laws. Cartograms distort the land area on the map under an alternative statistic, in this case the total felony disenfranchisement rate. Southeastern states appear bloated because they disenfranchise hundreds of thousands of people who have completed their sentences. In contrast, the many Northeastern and Midwestern states shrink because they limit disenfranchisement to individuals currently in prison, or not at all. This distorted map thus provides a clear visual representation of the great range of differences in the scope and impact of felony disenfranchisement across the 50 states.

Figure 3. Cartogram of Total Disenfranchisement Rates by State, 2020

Figure 4. Number Disenfranchised for Selected Years, 1960-2020

TRENDS OVER TIME

Figure 4 illustrates the historical trend in U.S. disenfranchisement, showing growth in the disenfranchised population for selected years from 1960 to 2020. The number disenfranchised dropped from approximately 1.8 million to 1.2 million between 1960 and 1976, as states expanded voting rights in the civil rights era. Many states have pared back their disenfranchisement provisions since the 1970s (see Behrens, Uggen, and Manza, 2003; Manza and Uggen, 2006). Nevertheless, the total number banned from voting continued to rise with the significant expansion in U.S. correctional populations since 1970.The total disenfranchised population rose from 3.3 million in 1996 to 4.7 million in 2000, to 5.4 million in 2004, to 5.9 million in 2010, and 6.1 million in 2016. Today, we estimate that 5.2 million Americans are disenfranchised by virtue of a felony conviction. Roughly the same number of voters will be disenfranchised in the 2020 presidential election as in 2004.

Figure 5. African American Felony Disenfranchisement Rates, 2020

VARIATION BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

Disenfranchisement rates vary widely across racial and ethnic groups; felony disenfranchisement provisions have an outsized impact on communities of color. Ethnicity data in particular have not been consistently collected or reported in the data sources used to compile our estimates, so our ability to construct these estimates is limited. This is especially the case for Latinx populations, who now constitute a significant portion of criminal justice populations. Race data on criminal justice populations is more complete, and we have used the most recent data available from the Bureau of Justice Statistics to develop a complete set of state-specific disenfranchisement estimates for the African American voting eligible population.

Figure 5 shows the corresponding rates for 2020. African American disenfranchisement rates in Tennessee and Wyoming now exceed 20 percent of the adult voting age population.

Data are limited regarding ethnicity, but more states are now consistently reporting Latinx or Hispanic ethnicity for justice-involved populations. We therefore compiled estimates for these populations but present them with the caveat that these figures likely undercount the true rate of Latinx disenfranchisement in many states. Although data on Latinx ethnicity in correctional populations are still unevenly reported, we can conservatively estimate that over 560,000 Latinx

Figure 6. Latinx Felony Disenfranchisement Rates (Available Data), 2020

Americans (over 2 percent of the voting eligible population) are disenfranchised. In Arizona and Tennessee over 7 percent of the Latinx voters are disenfranchised due to felony-level convictions. Even with the likely undercounting, 34 states report a higher rate of disenfranchisement in the Latinx population than in the general population. Many of those disenfranchised today were convicted at a time when the Latinx population was significantly smaller than it is today. Because the overall U.S. Latinx population has quadrupled since 1980, we anticipate that Latinx disenfranchisement will comprise an increasing share of those disenfranchised due to felony convictions in coming years.

SEX AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT

To estimate the percentage of disenfranchised male and female voters, we compiled national prison, probation, parole and jail statistics, and prepared a national life table to obtain the post-sentence sex distribution. By this method, we estimate that approximately 1.24 million women are disenfranchised in 2020, making up over one-fifth of the total disenfranchised population.

RECENT CHANGES

The total disenfranchisement rate in 2020 (2.27 percent) shows a small decline relative to the figures our team reported in 2016 (2.47 percent) and 2006 (2.42 percent), due in part to state changes in disenfranchisement policy and population growth. Our estimates for African American disenfranchisement in 2020 are also lower than those for 2016: 6.26 percent, versus 7.44 percent in 2016, 7.66 percent in 2010, and 8.25 percent in 2004. For the 2020 estimates, we used the American Community Survey to obtain denominators for the African American voting eligible population. For 2020, 2016 and 2010, we used race-specific recidivism rates (resulting in a higher rate for African Americans) that more accurately reflect current scholarship on recidivism. This results in a higher rate of attrition in our life tables, but produces a more conservative and, we believe, more accurate portrait of the number of disenfranchised African Americans. Though lower than in 2004, the 6.26 percent rate of disenfranchisement for African Americans remains 3.7 times greater than the non-African American rate of 1.69 percent.

Given the size of Florida's disenfranchised population, we also note our estimation procedure for this state. Based on a state-specific recidivism report in 1999, our 2004 estimates included much higher recidivism rates for African Americans in Florida (up to 88 percent lifetime). A 2010 report from the Florida Department of Corrections shows that rates of recidivism for African Americans are now more closely in line with the national rates we apply to other states. In light of this more recent evidence, we apply our national rate of recidivism for African Americans (up to 73 percent lifetime) to Florida's African American population with prior felony convictions from 2005 onward.

As detailed in the notes to Table 1, there have been numerous significant changes in state disenfranchisement policies since our last report in 2016. States have advanced a diversity of reform measures. Perhaps most notably, Florida voters passed Amendment 4 in 2018, which should have reenfranchised most people who have completed their sentences (with some offenses exempted). We estimate that almost 900,000 people who owe outstanding legal financial obligations (fines, fees, and restitution) remain disenfranchised. Wyoming in 2017 restored voting rights after five years to people who complete sentences for first-time, non-violent felony convictions. Governors in Iowa (2020) and Kentucky (2019) issued executive orders restoring civil rights to people who had completed their sentences, and the New York governor (2018) restored voting rights to people on parole. In Virginia (2016), Governor McAuliffe issued an executive order that would have reenfranchised 200,000 people, but was invalidated by the Virginia Supreme Court, which held that such reenfranchisement required individual action. After this decision, Governor McAuliffe signed individual restorations for 173,000 people. California restored voting rights to people serving time for felony convictions in jails (though not prisons) in 2016. Colorado and Nevada authorized voting rights for residents on parole in 2019. Maryland (2016), Louisiana (2019), and New Jersey (2019) reenfranchised people serving probation and parole terms.

RESTORATION OF VOTING RIGHTS

States typically provide some limited mechanism for disenfranchised persons to restore their right to vote. These vary greatly in scope, eligibility requirements, and reporting practices. It is thus difficult to obtain consistent information about the rate and number of disenfranchised Americans whose rights are restored through these generally administrative procedures. Nevertheless, we contacted each of the appropriate state agencies by email and phone and compiled the information they made available to us in Table 2. These numbers provide some information about the frequency of state restoration of rights – outside of law changes regarding eligibility – in those 11 states that disenfranchise beyond sentence completion.

We subtracted all known restorations of civil rights (including full pardons) from each state's total disenfranchised post-sentence figure. Even accounting for these restorations, it is clear that restoration of voting rights is rare in most states. In the states reporting the greatest number of restorations since 2016 – Iowa, Kentucky, and Virginia – the changes have come largely through executive rather than legislative action. Indeed, some states have significantly curtailed restoration efforts since 2016, including Florida. Table 2 shows restorations of voting rights from 2016 to the most recent year available (for restorations in previous years, see Uggen, Larson, and Shannon, 2016).

Table 2. Restoration of Voting Rights Since 2016 in States that Disenfranchise Residents Post-Sentence

State	Restorations
Alabama	3,493
Arizona	1[3]
Delaware	1,676
Florida	3,250
Iowa	45,376
Kentucky	181,361
Mississippi	26
Nebraska	44
Tennessee	3,415[4]
Virginia	195,371
Wyoming	0

3. In Arizona, the 1 restoration listed is a pardon by the state's governor. We caution that our data may be incomplete. Restoration of voting rights may be processed at the court level in Arizona but, to our knowledge, these data have not yet been compiled at the state level.
4. Number of restorations in Tennessee was updated on 10/26/20, based on information provided by the Tennessee Secretary of State's Office. We incorporated these figures in revised estimates in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5, updating the overall numbers to take account of the new restoration figures and making a proportionality assumption to distribute these restorations across racial and ethnic groups. In the course of these updates, we also made a minor adjustment in how we treat Tennessee convictions prior to 1973, but these have a very small impact on the 2020 numbers.

SUMMARY

This report provides new state-level estimates on felony disenfranchisement for 2020 in the United States to update those provided by Uggen, Larson, and Shannon (2016) for previous years. In Tables 3 and 4, we provide state-specific point estimates of the disenfranchised population and African American disenfranchised population, subject to the caveats described below.

Despite significant legal changes in recent decades, about 5.2 million Americans are disenfranchised in 2020. When we break these figures down by race and ethnicity, it is clear that disparities in the criminal justice system are linked to disparities in political representation. The distribution of disenfranchised individuals shown in Figure 1 also bears repeating: about one-fourth of this population is currently incarcerated, and about 4 million adults who live in their communities are banned from voting. Of this total, 1.3 million are African Americans.

It's clear that disparities in the criminal justice system are linked to disparities in political representation

CAVEATS

We have taken care to produce estimates of current populations and "post-sentence" populations that are reliable and valid by social science standards. Nevertheless, readers should bear in mind that our state-specific figures for the 11 states that bar individuals from voting after they have completed their sentences remain point estimates rather than actual head counts.

In addition, the prison, probation, parole, and jail populations we report for 2020 are also estimated, based on year-end 2018 data and the recent state-specific trends in each state. In other work, we have presented figures that adjust or "bound" these estimates by assuming different levels of recidivism, inter-state mobility, and state-specific variation.

With these caveats in mind, the results reported here present our best account of the prevalence of U.S. disenfranchisement in 2020. These estimates will be adjusted if and when we discover errors or omissions in the data compiled from individual states, U.S. Census and Bureau of Justice Statistics sources, or in our own spreadsheets and estimation procedures.

Table 3. Estimates of Disenfranchised Individuals with Felony Convictions, 2020

State	Prison	Parole	Felony Probation	Jail	Post-sentence	Total	VAP	% Disenfranchised
Alabama	25,370	11,302	31,334	1,486	258,706	328,198	3,671,110	8.94
Alaska	4,342	1,003	188	8		5,541	530,385	1.04
Arizona	41,955	7,534	56,117	1,337	126,873	233,816	4,812,764	4.86
Arkansas	17,269	26,595	42,468	855		87,187	2,195,870	3.97
California	123,930	119,252				243,181	25,232,634	0.96
Colorado	21,251			1,356		22,607	3,979,325	0.57
Connecticut	12,990	7,134				20,124	2,600,979	0.77
Delaware	5,380	317	3,229		2,599	11,524	704,108	1.64
Florida	95,634	4,201	137,053	5,788	889,817	1,132,493	14,724,113	7.69
Georgia	53,607	19,206	197,627	4,650		275,089	7,254,693	3.79
Hawaii	4,899					4,899	1,016,556	0.48
Idaho	8,837	5,613	17,621	429		32,500	1,192,742	2.72
Illinois	37,115			1,890		39,005	9,055,187	0.43
Indiana	28,668			1,991		30,659	4,876,218	0.63
Iowa	10,262	7,014	11,581	447	4,923	34,227	2,312,666	1.48
Kansas	10,731	5,764	4,032	729		21,256	2,077,566	1.02
Kentucky	23,209	15,003	29,509	2,354	127,597	197,672	3,338,198	5.92
Louisiana	29,871	39,499	4,389	3,165		76,924	3,452,767	2.23
Maine						0	1,059,542	0.00
Maryland	17,874			904		18,778	4,262,388	0.44
Massachusetts	7,873			1,084		8,956	4,964,686	0.18
Michigan	37,012			1,806		38,819	7,472,668	0.52
Minnesota	8,988	8,097	46,932	683		64,700	4,037,295	1.60
Mississippi	19,624	10,887	26,272	1,488	176,881	235,152	2,228,659	10.55
Missouri	26,353	22,902	44,916	1,314		95,485	4,585,994	2.08
Montana	3,903			319		4,221	804,263	0.52
Nebraska	5,865	910	5,759	376	9,485	22,396	1,358,786	1.65
Nevada	13,581			816		14,397	1,973,652	0.73
New Hampshire	2,735			170		2,905	1,048,201	0.28
New Jersey	18,924			973		19,896	6,117,615	0.33
New Mexico	6,563	2,870	8,384	634		18,451	1,485,490	1.24
New York	41,461			2,882		44,343	13,686,685	0.32
North Carolina	32,091	15,078	34,630	2,037		83,837	7,413,181	1.13
North Dakota	1,640			180		1,821	562,632	0.32
Ohio	48,400			2,002		50,402	8,797,915	0.57
Oklahoma	26,861	1,778	27,033	1,323		56,995	2,819,168	2.02
Oregon	15,368			503		15,871	3,002,261	0.53
Pennsylvania	45,125			3,699		48,823	9,748,290	0.50
Rhode Island	2,588					2,588	789,062	0.33
South Carolina	17,400	5,739	20,265	1,180		44,584	3,731,348	1.19
South Dakota	3,904	3,818	5,421	196		13,339	635,405	2.10
Tennessee	21,713	9,937	56,687	2,787	360,103	451,227	4,964,909	9.09
Texas	165,861	109,337	217,621	7,655		500,474	17,859,496	2.80
Utah	7,078			909		7,987	1,982,911	0.40
Vermont						0	494,674	0.00
Virginia	35,684	2,203	64,469	3,286	260,424	366,065	6,096,244	6.00
Washington	19,260	13,558	10,848	1,423		45,090	5,173,974	0.87
West Virginia	6,183	5,786	4,734	570		17,274	1,442,035	1.20
Wisconsin	24,304	21,417	22,295	1,329		69,344	4,347,413	1.60
Wyoming	2,689	1,038	4,317	151	3,208	11,403	432,284	2.64
Total	**1,242,223**	**504,792**	**1,135,731**	**69,165**	**2,225,868**	**5,177,780**	**228,407,007**	**2.27**

Table 4. Estimates of Disenfranchised Black Americans with Felony Convictions, 2020

State	Prison	Parole	Felony Probation	Jail	Post-sentence	Total	VAP	% Disenfranchised
Alabama	13,309	6,739	10,421	770	118,478	149,716	962,519	15.55
Alaska	443	91	16	0		551	17,254	3.19
Arizona	6,112	910	6,559	255	13,078	26,914	212,026	12.69
Arkansas	7,060	9,829	12,158	356		29,403	331,460	8.87
California	35,159	15,201				50,360	1,711,799	2.94
Colorado	3,669			407		4,076	155,659	2.62
Connecticut	5,479	2,633				8,111	254,176	3.19
Delaware	3,208	173	1,365		3,094	7,839	150,907	5.19
Florida	44,842	2,245	33,915	2,366	255,066	338,433	2,194,488	15.42
Georgia	32,109	10,577	101,003	1,911		145,601	2,322,275	6.27
Hawaii	219					219	21,173	1.03
Idaho	242	169	177	18		606	6,563	9.24
Illinois	20,510			1,023		21,533	1,340,632	1.61
Indiana	9,440			398		9,838	431,560	2.28
Iowa	2,613	1,328	2,026	115	1,180	7,263	63,856	11.37
Kansas	2,912	1,530	1,094	204		5,740	118,653	4.84
Kentucky	4,882	3,018	5,092	516	25,157	38,665	256,024	15.10
Louisiana	20,008	23,669	2,630	1,644		47,951	1,087,270	4.41
Maine						0	7,846	0.00
Maryland	12,527			783		13,310	1,285,703	1.04
Massachusetts	2,153			264		2,417	313,707	0.77
Michigan	19,783			1,036		20,820	1,009,883	2.06
Minnesota	3,221	2,150	7,705	256		13,333	184,269	7.24
Mississippi	12,225	6,444	15,082	770	95,980	130,501	817,493	15.96
Missouri	8,786	6,875	10,066	502		26,229	509,168	5.15
Montana	101			8		108	3,234	3.35
Nebraska	1,627	202	735	94	3,468	6,126	57,843	10.59
Nevada	4,215			220		4,435	184,740	2.40
New Hampshire	178			18		197	12,277	1.60
New Jersey	11,579			452		12,031	841,994	1.43
New Mexico	463	169	392	70		1,095	31,136	3.52
New York	20,015	0		1,388		21,402	2,095,434	1.02
North Carolina	16,560	7,452	14,838	1,140		39,989	1,625,122	2.46
North Dakota	182			29		211	10,287	2.06
Ohio	21,750			782		22,532	1,028,789	2.19
Oklahoma	6,767	658	3,489	325		11,240	205,844	5.46
Oregon	1,402			47		1,449	52,290	2.77
Pennsylvania	20,903			1,454		22,357	1,009,279	2.22
Rhode Island	751					751	42,294	1.78
South Carolina	10,363	3,571	9,867	700		24,501	1,002,736	2.44
South Dakota	302	220	419	22		962	6,999	13.75
Tennessee	9,177	4,183	19,549	1,045	141,043	174,997	814,576	21.48
Texas	54,153	38,598	43,854	2,321		138,926	2,372,001	5.86
Utah	477			65		542	19,111	2.84
Vermont						0	4,750	0.00
Virginia	19,785	1,486	27,640	1,724	139,970	190,605	1,195,603	15.94
Washington	3,394	2,121	673	259		6,447	180,900	3.56
West Virginia	786	569	387	170		1,912	51,252	3.73
Wisconsin	10,165	7,330	4,450	427		22,371	249,187	8.98
Wyoming	134	47	97	15	1,048	1,341	3,702	36.22
Total	**486,138**	**160,186**	**335,701**	**26,372**	**798,933**	**1,807,329**	**28,867,743**	**6.26**

Table 5. Estimates of Disenfranchised Latinx Americans with Felony Convictions, 2020

State	Prison	Parole	Felony Probation	Jail	Post-sentence	Total	VAP	% Disenfranchised
Alabama	261	49	322	60	2,254	2,947	70,238	4.20
Alaska	124	37	7	0		167	29,913	0.56
Arizona	16,255	2,858	18,559	364	39,797	77,832	1,092,101	7.13
Arkansas	552	974	1,615	56		3,197	74,003	4.32
California	54,660	23,230				77,890	7,374,123	1.06
Colorado	6,688			387		7,075	605,212	1.17
Connecticut	3,465	1,797				5,261	300,896	1.75
Delaware	260	8	186		327	781	37,159	2.10
Florida	12,000	409	18,544	749	59,113	90,816	2,854,688	3.18
Georgia	2,118	1,114	5,013	306		8,551	324,368	2.64
Hawaii	225					225	85,884	0.26
Idaho	1,352	994	1,149	146		3,642	91,366	3.99
Illinois	4,780			245		5,025	987,195	0.51
Indiana	1,147			152		1,298	186,226	0.70
Iowa	655	629	914	48	569	2,815	73,841	3.81
Kansas	1,329	649	500	113		2,592	138,716	1.87
Kentucky	317	160	369	71	2,512	3,429	54,997	6.23
Louisiana	31	137	15	63		247	102,494	0.24
Maine						0	12,978	0.00
Maryland	664			100		763	213,436	0.36
Massachusetts	2,075			328		2,403	411,760	0.58
Michigan	356			113		470	242,530	0.19
Minnesota	535	586	2,792	76		3,989	107,405	3.71
Mississippi	180	128	270	39	1,101	1,719	35,809	4.80
Missouri	478	462	769	84		1,794	113,614	1.58
Montana	77			19		95	22,735	0.42
Nebraska	819	84	809	75	2,705	4,493	77,167	5.82
Nevada	2,833			189		3,021	363,507	0.83
New Hampshire	172			18		191	26,645	0.72
New Jersey	2,962			194		3,156	878,964	0.36
New Mexico	3,914	1,743	4,330	602		10,589	626,184	1.69
New York	10,066			616		10,682	1,955,580	0.55
North Carolina	1,742	684	1,328	137		3,890	291,933	1.33
North Dakota	101			22		123	14,496	0.85
Ohio	1,363			89		1,452	220,859	0.66
Oklahoma	2,001	211	1,534	199		3,945	152,914	2.58
Oregon	1,883			73		1,956	213,432	0.92
Pennsylvania	4,369			491		4,860	482,098	1.01
Rhode Island	620					620	78,894	0.79
South Carolina	416	62	315	21		814	99,565	0.82
South Dakota	144	148	200	4		496	14,449	3.44
Tennessee	461	307	1,722	90	9,174	11,754	111,238	10.57
Texas	55,066	32,571	85,062	2,480		175,180	5,243,729	3.34
Utah	1,413			196		1,609	165,480	0.97
Vermont						0	7,475	0.00
Virginia	979	13	1,213	101	5,066	7,372	314,949	2.34
Washington	2,508	933	171	203		3,815	366,411	1.04
West Virginia	24	18	36	18		95	15,805	0.60
Wisconsin	1,906	1,928	1,171	95		5,100	164,926	3.09
Wyoming	346	123	390	17	248	1,125	29,769	3.78
Total	**206,692**	**73,047**	**149,307**	**9,452**	**122,989**	**561,486**	**27,560,156**	**2.04**

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