

PRISONER ENUMERATION AND THE “USUAL RESIDENCE” RULE IN SOUTHERN STATES

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine how the United States Census Bureau should enumerate prisoners. Since 1790 the Census Bureau has applied the “usual residence” rule to prisoners. This method counts prisoners in the institution where they are incarcerated. Currently, the Census Bureau is conducting a post-Census 2000 evaluation to assess its data and plan for the next enumeration in 2010.¹ This paper will help determine whether counting prisoners in their place of incarceration is appropriate in the future.

Where prisoners are enumerated is important. To comport with the constitutional restrictions on redistricting as well as to ensure the accuracy of demographic studies based on Census statistics, prisoners must be counted in the appropriate location. Previous research on this question assumes that the “usual residence” rule as applied to prisoner enumeration results in the movement of prisoners from minority, urban areas to white, rural ones. This assumption does not have nation-wide application, however.

No southern states have yet been analyzed to assess the impact of the “usual residence” rule on prisoner movement. Nevertheless, the South now has a higher incarceration rate than any other region in the United States.² Thus, any course of action by the Census Bureau is ill-

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 1, Technical Documentation*, Appendix C: Data Collection and Processing Procedures: Evaluation and Preparation for 2010, p. C-14, available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf1.pdf> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004) [hereinafter “*Census Technical Documentation*”].

² The south as a region has the highest incarceration rates in the United States (12% higher than the country as a whole in 2001); in addition, the prison and jail populations in the South account for four out of ten incarcerated people in the U.S. See Jason Zidenberg, *Deep Impact: Quantifying the Effect of Prison Expansion in the South*, p.4 available at <http://www.justicepolicy.org/article.php?id=124> (April 4, 2003) [hereinafter “*Deep Impact*”]. In addition, the exponential growth of the prison population in the United States makes the question of prisoner enumeration increasingly important. In 2000, over 1.3 million people were imprisoned in state or federal prisons, up from 218,000 in 1974. See U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 2000*, table 6.27, available at <http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004). Further, in 2003, the total prison population grew by 40,983, the largest increase in four years. See U.S. Department of Justice, *Bureau of Statistics Bulletin: Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2003*, p. 1, available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/pjim03.pdf> (May 2004). Finally, accompanying this expansion of prisoners is

advised unless it accounts for variation in southern states regarding the impact of prisoner enumeration on racial and geographic dispersion.

This research, therefore, provides in-depth statistical studies of two southern states—Georgia and North Carolina. One major finding is that neither Georgia nor North Carolina comport with the assumed pattern of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of a state. In Georgia, incarcerated prisoners are concentrated in a small number of counties, and the counties of origin are not the same as the counties of incarceration. In contrast, in North Carolina, both the counties of residence and incarceration are dispersed throughout the state; the same counties both originate and incarcerate prisoners. Both states, however, exhibit a transfer of prisoners from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas. But, neither reflects a cross race transfer. Although the majority of prisoners in Georgia and North Carolina are African-American, these prisoners do not necessarily move from majority African-American to majority white areas. In other words, in the South, urban does not mean black: in fact, many rural areas have significant African-American populations.

Based upon these findings, the recommended method for counting prisoners is to compile two independent data sets: one indicating current incarceration address and another compiling the home county prior to incarceration.³ The bifurcation of data will provide increased accuracy and flexibility in state-based decisions informed by Census statistics.

The study is organized into six sections. After this introduction in Part 1, part II examines the “usual residence” rule and explains its possible impact on redistricting and the Equal Protection Clause, the allocation of government funding, and the credibility of Census

an explosion in the number of state prison facilities: between the mid-1970s until 2000 the number nearly doubled. See Sarah Lawrence and Jeremy Travis, *The New Landscape of Imprisonment: Mapping America's Prison Expansion*, at 1, (Urban Institute, April 2004) [hereinafter “*New Landscape*”].

³ Nathaniel Persily, *The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them*, pg. 34-35, in Title TBA (Russell Sage Press, forthcoming 2004) (on file with author) [hereinafter “Persily”].

data. The third part surveys previous state-specific research on the relationship between racial and geographic movements of prisoners due to enumeration under the “usual residence” rule. Part IV provides an explanation of the methodology and terminology employed throughout the paper. The heart of the study in part V consists of detailed statistical analysis of the two case studies in Georgia and North Carolina. The last section offers a brief recommendation to bifurcate the data sets to allow for state-based variation. Finally, the appendices compile the data and are organized by state.

II. THE “USUAL RESIDENCE RULE”

A. The Definition and Origin of the “Usual Residence” Rule.

The Census Bureau is charged with counting every person in the country; it recognizes that equally important is actually counting every person in the correct location. Accuracy is particularly important because the fundamental purpose of the census is to fulfill the constitutional requirement in Article 1, Section 2 to apportion the seats in the U.S. House of Representatives among the states.⁴

Since 1790 the governing principle for determining where to count people for Census purposes has been the “usual residence” rule; while this standard means “the place where the person lives and sleeps most of the time,” it is not necessarily the same as the voting or legal residence.⁵ The “usual residence” rule has been the standard to enumerate people, including prisoners, since the first Census in 1790.⁶ The Census Bureau defines “usual residence” as “the living quarters where a person spends more nights during a year than any other place.”⁷ In

⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, *United States Census 2000: Plans and Rules for Taking the Census: Residence Rules*, Fact #1, available at http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/resid_rules.html (last visited Sept. 10, 2004) [hereinafter “*Census Residence Rules*”].

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ See Jason G. Gauthier, *Measuring America: the Decennial Census From 1790 to 2000*, available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/ma.html> (Sept. 2002) [hereinafter “*Measuring America*”].

⁷ *Census Technical Documentation*, *supra* note 1, at C-24 (see the glossary of terms).

addition, anyone without a “usual residence” is counted where they slept on Census Day, April 1. Thus, inmates of correctional institutions, including prisons, jails, detention centers, or halfway houses are counted at the institution where they work, eat, and sleep.⁸

B. Potential Impact of the “Usual Residence” Rule and Prisoner Enumeration

The “usual residence” rule has potential detrimental effects. The degree of harm, however, is state specific. It depends on geographic differences between where prisoners originate and where they are incarcerated: the greater the difference, the greater the potential detriment. Moreover, the harm is exacerbated if the difference between counties of origin and incarceration creates a population shift along racial (black to white) or geographic (urban to rural) lines.

The following highlights three potential dangers of enumerating prisoners in the incorrect location: violating the Equal Protection Clause through improper redistricting; skewing the allocation of government resources; and damaging the credibility of Census data.

First, the Equal Protection Clause may be violated due to redistricting based on inaccurate data. States are required to redraw state legislative districts every ten years in order to keep districts of equal population size.⁹ Within one year of Census Day, the Census Bureau must provide redistricting data to states.¹⁰ Further, states have the option to participate in a voluntary Census Bureau program; participation enables them to receive data for voting districts (e.g.

⁸ *Census Residence Rules*, *supra* note 4, at Fact #11. *See also* District of Columbia v. United States Dep’t of Commerce, 789 F. Supp. 1179, 1180 (D.D.C. 1992); Borough of Bethel Park v. Stans, 449 F.2d 575, 582 (3d Cir. 1971). *See e.g. Measuring America*, *supra* note 6, at 10 (Instructions to census enumerators for the 1850 Census state that all “jailors...are to be considered as heads of their respective families, and the inmates under their care to be registered as members thereof....”).

⁹ *Karcher v. Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725 (1983).

¹⁰ Public Law 94-171 (1975).

election precincts, wards, state house, and senate districts) in addition to standard census geographic areas, such as counties, cities, census tracts, and blocks.¹¹

Under the one-person, one-vote principle mandated by the Supreme Court in *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Equal Protection Clause demands that “the weight of a citizen’s vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives.”¹² However, counting prisoners in the county of incarceration rather than their county of origin can cause the weight of a citizen’s vote to depend on where he lives. For example, assume there is a state where the majority of *prisoners* are from urban, minority areas while the majority of *prisons* are located in rural, white ones.¹³ In this case, shifting prisoners through “usual residence” enumeration has an unconstitutional effect: communities with correctional institutions include the enumerated prisoners in reaching their ideal district size. However, the communities of origin must add additional people to their districts to meet the ideal district size. The result is that the votes are diluted in the communities of origin but inflated in the communities of incarceration.

Moreover, the unconstitutional effect is exacerbated by the inability of prisoners to vote.¹⁴ All but two states have prisoner disenfranchisement laws. Thus, prisoners cannot vote in the communities where incarcerated, even though they are included in reaching the ideal district size. Thus, the vote of each person in a county with a prison counts more than a vote from a county where the prisoner originated.

Significantly, if there is a shift of black prisoners to white areas and these black prisoners are enumerated in their place of incarceration, there may be potential complications related to

¹¹ *Census Technical Documentation*, *supra* note 1, at C-20 Glossary (discussing Public Law 94-171). *See also*, U.S. Census Bureau, *Strength in Numbers: Your Guide to Census 2000 Redistricting Data From the U.S. Census Bureau*, issued July 2000.

¹² *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 567 (1964).

¹³ Peter Wagner, *Importing Constituents: Prisoners and Political Clout in New York*, available at www.prisonpolicy.org/importing (April 2002) [hereinafter “Wagner: New York”].

¹⁴ Rosanna M. Taormina, *Defying One-Person, One-Vote: Prisoners and the “Usual Residence” Principle*, 152 U. PA. L. REV. 431 (2003).

racial gerrymandering and the creation of majority-minority districts under the Voting Rights Act.

Second, analysts disagree about the extent to which prisoner enumeration effects the allocation of government funding. One study found that:

“According to the U.S. General Accounting Office (2003), the federal government distributes over \$140 billion in grant money to state and local governments through formula-based grants. Formula grant money is in part based on census data and covers programs such as Medicaid, Foster Care, Adoption Assistance, and Social Services Block Grant. Within a state, funding for community health services, road construction and repair, public housing, local law enforcement, and public libraries are all driven by population counts from the census.”¹⁵

Assuming these findings are correct, then a significant difference between counties of origin and counties of incarceration can cause a considerable shift of resources away from the home community of the prisoners to the prison community.¹⁶ Other experts argue that the Urban Institute’s assessment is exaggerated and possibly incorrect, and thus fails to confirm an impact on the allocation of government funding.¹⁷

Finally, Peter Wagner asserts that the way in which prisoners are counted can have a significant impact on the credibility of the Census data in a wide range of demographic categories. If black prisoners are moved to white areas or if urban residents are shifted to rural areas, then the Census data: (a) inappropriately influences gender studies (because the prison population inflates the percentage of males in county’s population); (b) misrepresents the actual growth or decline in the number of residents in a county (because counties with prisons will be inflated by the prisoner population, in some cases, even if there has been a decline in the birth rate or number of non-prisoners moving there); (c) misrepresents the actual growth or decline in the number of minorities in a county (because African-Americans represent the majority of

¹⁵ *New Landscape*, *supra* note 2, at 3. See also Patricia Allard and Kirsten D. Levingston, *Accuracy Counts: Incarcerated People & the Census*, p. 2 (figure 1), available at www.brennancenter.org (2003).

¹⁶ *New Landscape*, *supra* note 2, at 3.

¹⁷ Telephone Interview with Peter Wagner, Prison Policy Institute (Dec. 11, 2004).

prisoners, wherever they are counted with have an increased minority population); and (d) skews income statistics because prisoners are counted in per-capita income statistics.¹⁸

III. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE “USUAL RESIDENCE” RULE AND PRISONERS

A. The Argument that Prison Enumeration Should be Changed.

The Prison Policy Initiative, spearheaded by Peter Wagner and funded by the Open Society Institute, has prompted debate about the appropriate enumeration of prisoners in Census 2010.¹⁹ Based on in-depth analyses of New York and Ohio, and a survey of cities in eight other states, Wagner concludes that the “usual residence” rule as applied to prisoners should be abandoned.²⁰ This recommendation is based on an assumption that the geographic impact resulting in racial shifts observed in states such as New York amount to a nation-wide pattern; thus, this pattern implicates the “usual residence” rule as constitutionally suspect when applied to prisoners. Several other analysts have issued policy papers supporting the abandonment of the “usual residence” rule as applied to prisoners based, at least partially, on Wagner’s assumptions.²¹

Wagner hangs his constitutional theory on a factual and normative argument. Factually, he argues that prisoners are not part of the local community, as apparently evidenced by the fact

¹⁸ Thus, “urban areas that have high incarceration rates would artificially have their per-capita income figures raised by not being able to count the prisoners as residents,” while “prison hosting areas would, by their per-capita income measure, look poorer as a result of inclusion of the prisoners as local residents.” Rose Heyer and Peter Wagner, *Too Big To Ignore: How Counting People in Prisons Distorted Census 2000*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/toobig> (April 2004) [hereinafter “Heyer: *Too Big*”].

¹⁹ See generally www.prisonersofthecensus.org and www.prisonpolicyinitiative.org.

²⁰ During the course of this research, Wagner announced a slight modification to his recommendation to the Census Bureau. He suggests that “a usual residence rule for incarcerated persons [should be] modeled on that designed for non-institutional group quarters: Count prisoners at the facility only if they do not report a usual and valid address elsewhere.” Letter from Peter Wagner and Eric Lotke to Dr. Paul Voss, Chair, Residence Rules in the Decennial Census, National Academy of Sciences, *Feasibility of using administrative records or personal surveys to enumerate people in correctional facilities* (Dec. 6, 2004) (on file with author).

²¹ See Patricia Allard et al., Brennan Center for Justice, *One Size Does Not Fit All: Why the Census Bureau Should Change the Way it Counts Prisoners*, available at www.brennancenter.org (2004); Mark Mauer, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, *Political Report: Disenfranchising Felons Hurts Entire Communities*, available at <http://www.sentencingproject.org/pdfs/focus-mayjune04.pdf> (May/June 2004).

that “after release, the incarcerating community no doubt wishes that ex-prisoners leave on the first bus out of town.”²² In prison communities, Wagner concludes that there is an “out of sight, out of mind” approach to prisoners, which may account for why the Census Bureau mistakenly allocated prisoners to towns where there were no prisons.²³ Normatively, Wagner argues that the preservation of “communities of interest” ought to have constitutional value; the home community prior to incarceration is considered the “community of interest” and, thus, prisoners should be counted in their urban, minority, and Democratic area for representative purposes.²⁴

B. Survey of State-Specific Research

Although Wagner’s research into the geographic and racial effect of prisoner enumeration is ongoing, based on the following states, he concludes that a clear pattern has emerged warranting the elimination of the “usual residence” rule as applied to prisoners.²⁵ This section simply compiles Wagner’s research.

1. New York and Ohio

New York provides the foundation for Wagner’s theory. Both New York and Ohio have been comprehensively examined by Wagner.

In New York, the “usual residence” rule shifts urban, black men from Democratic districts to rural, white, Republican ones. “In New York...only 24% of prisoners are from upstate, but 91% of prisoners are incarcerated there.”²⁶ New York City alone had 44,326 city residents counted in upstate prisons, but gained only 486 prisoners from other parts of the state

²² Wagner: *New York*, supra note 13, at 6.

²³ Wagner: *New York*, supra note 13, at 6. The incorrect placement of prisoners by the Census Bureau presents a significant hurdle to statistical analysis. See *infra* APPENDIX 3, which discusses this serious problem in the Census Bureau’s data on Alabama.

²⁴ Wagner: *New York*, supra note 13, at 9.

²⁵ Heyer: *Too Big*, supra note 18.

²⁶ Wagner: *New York*, supra note 13.

due to the Census Bureau's method of enumeration.²⁷ If the prisoners were apportioned more appropriately, according to Wagner, with their "community of interest" in the urban areas, then these urban districts would impermissibly exceed the equal population deviation permitted. Wagner's research revealed that "[a]fter removing prisoners from the proposed senate districts [in New York's redistricting plan], 7 [rural] districts are short more than 5% of the required average of 306,072"²⁸ while the "most over-populated Senate districts are located in Queens." Further, seven upstate senate districts are short more than 5% of their required size to comport with one-person, one-vote, and "all 7 of these districts belong to rural Republicans."²⁹

In Ohio, while African-Americans are 12% of the population, they account for 50% of the incarcerated population.³⁰ Because African-Americans are concentrated in urban areas, all of Ohio's major cities (Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo) see a reduction in their Census population from how prisoners are counted.

2. *Examination of Large Cities in Eight Other States.*

Wagner bases his findings in Texas, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California, Michigan, New Jersey and Arizona on an analysis of the largest cities in a state as opposed to a more comprehensive examination of the entire state.³¹ Thus, it is unclear if a state-wide pattern can be assumed from this city-specific analysis.

²⁷ *Id.* at 9.

²⁸ *Id.* at 11.

²⁹ Wagner: *New York*, *supra* note 13.

³⁰ Peter Wagner and Rose Heyer, *Importing Constituents: Prisoner and Political Clout in Ohio: Census Bureau policy costs Ohio's cities population*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/ohio/importing/shtml> (July 6, 2004) [hereinafter "Wagner: *Ohio*"].

³¹ In addition to Wagner's research, another commentator examined prisoner enumeration in Chicago, Illinois. He found that it comports with the pattern identified by Wagner in New York. The Chicago area accounts for 83% of the state's African-American population and is the point of origin for 70% of the state's prisoners; Chicago's Cook County alone provides 44% of the state prison population. Yet, the prison facilities constructed in the last two decades are located in areas of the state that are overwhelmingly white. Paul Street, *The Political Consequences of Racist Felony Disenfranchisement*, available at http://www.blackcommentator.com/68/68_street_prisons.html (Dec. 2003).

First, ten counties in Texas³² incarcerate at least 21% of their population. In addition, ten counties in Texas appeared to grow according to Census 2000 figures when they actually shrank. Communities that are urban and black lose people; for example, Harris and Dallas Counties suffered significant net losses based on how prisoners were counted—25,000 and 20,000 people, respectively. These shifts have significant impacts on equal population redistricting; for example, 12% of one House District consisted of incarcerated persons.

Wagner finds similar disparities in South Dakota.³³ The difference between county of origin and incarceration is exemplified by Pennington County, which constitutes 12% of South Dakota's population but supplies 24% of the state's prisoners. The felony disenfranchisement of prisoners, which Wagner argues inflates the political power of districts where prisoners are incarcerated at the expense of their home communities, is particularly significant due to the fact that Native Americans are incarcerated at four times the rates of white people in South Dakota. Wagner's analysis of South Dakota legislative districts indicates that three districts are at least 3% incarcerated prisoners. In one district, more than 6% of the Census population is behind bars.

Third, Wagner identifies Pennsylvania as following the geographical shift of prisoners from urban to rural communities based on an analysis of Philadelphia. Although 12% of the state's population resides in Philadelphia, 40% of the state's prisons are from there. Yet, no state prisoners are incarcerated in Philadelphia.³⁴

³² Peter Wagner and Rose Heyer, *Importing Constituents: Prisoners and Political Clout in Texas*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/texas/importing.shtml> (Nov. 8, 2004).

³³ Peter Wagner, *Prisoners in the Census Dilute Democracy in South Dakota*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-15-11-2004.shtml> (Nov. 15, 2004).

³⁴ Peter Wagner, *Rural Pennsylvania invests in prisons, but not for their own residents*, <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-16-8-2004.shtml> (Aug. 16, 2004).

Similarly, in Maryland, although most prisons are located in rural areas, the majority of prisoners originated from urban areas such as Baltimore City. Baltimore has an incarceration rate reaching 2,420 per 100,000 residents.³⁵

A California county also conforms to a pattern shifting prisoners from urban to rural areas. Although Los Angeles County constitutes twenty-eight percent of the population of the state of California, it supplies 34% of the state's prisoners and yet incarcerates only three percent of the state's prisoners.³⁶

Sixth, thirty percent of Michigan's prison population originates in Wayne County (containing Detroit); there is also a large correctional facility in Wayne County (containing 14,000 prisoners). Yet, 9,974 Wayne County residents were lost in the 2000 Census because they were counted as residents of other counties. For example, Chippewa, Iona and Jackson Counties gained more than 4,000 residents from this shifting.³⁷

Seventh, Arizona incarcerates 45,783 prisoners; the prison population doubled between 1990 and 2000. Even though the Arizona Constitution defines residence to preclude a changed residence due to incarceration, "at least 71% of Maricopa County's state prisoners are incarcerated and represented outside the county."³⁸

Finally, Wagner finds that Essex County (including Newark) is the origin for 18% of the state's prison population and accounts for 9% of the state population, yet provides only 11% of the state's prison cells. The prisoners from Essex County are shifted to rural areas such as

³⁵ Peter Wagner, *Baltimore supplies the prisoners, but doesn't get the prisons*, <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-11-8-2003.shtml> (Aug. 11, 2003).

³⁶ Peter Wagner, *Census counts of prisoners shift population in California*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-15-3-2004.shtml> (March 15, 2004).

³⁷ Peter Wagner, *How Census Bureau counts prisoners and undercounts Michigan's cities*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-5-4-2004.shtml> (April 5, 2004).

³⁸ Peter Wagner, *Census counts of prisoners stymie Arizona's efforts to create equally sized districts*, available online at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-29-3-2004> (March 20, 2004).

Cumberland County. The shift lowers the per capital income in Cumberland County and frustrates the ability of the state to allocate resources appropriately.³⁹

IV. METHODOLOGY

The terminology and methodology used in this study are often confusing. Thus, prior to an in-depth examination of Georgia and North Carolina it is appropriate to provide definitions and explanations.

First, there are two primary sources for this research. One is the Census Bureau: Census 2000 provides the data for all general state and county statistics, including the total population as well as the percentages of African-Americans broken down according to county. The second primary source is the department of corrections (DOC) in each state: the DOCs in Georgia and North Carolina provide statistics on the origin of the prisoners prior to incarceration.

Second, the terminology used to distinguish where prisoners come from and where prisons are located (and thus where prisoners are enumerated) is confusing for two reasons: (1) terms are not necessarily used in an intuitive way; and (2) Georgia and North Carolina capture the county where prisoners originate using different terminology.

As used in this analysis, the term “county of origin” denotes the residence of the offender population before imprisonment. It is used synonymously with “home county” in Georgia and “county of residence” in North Carolina. Georgia defines “home county” as the self-reported address of the prisoner prior to incarceration.⁴⁰ “County of residence” is defined by North Carolina as “the county where the offender last resided based on self-report.”⁴¹

³⁹ Peter Wagner, *Miscounting prisoners complicates Census portrait of New Jersey*, available at <http://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/fact-22-3-2004.shtml> (March 22, 2004).

⁴⁰ Georgia Department of Corrections data is based upon a sample that includes “active prisoners excluding jail.” According to Ron Henry, a statistician at the Georgia Department of Corrections, this includes any institution in the state housing state prisoners including state prisons, county jails (but only those after conviction waiting to be admitted to a state-run institution), and county correctional facilities (not the total population, but only those

“Incarceration rate” is related to the county of origin. It is an example of a term that is not used in an intuitive way throughout the paper. “Incarceration rate” is the rate at which counties *send* its citizens to prison. This rate reflects the home county (Georgia) or county of residence (North Carolina) of the offender population.

Nevertheless, “incarcerated population,” “incarcerated prisoners,” and “county of incarceration” denotes the place where prisoners are imprisoned. The “prisoner enumeration rate” indicates the rate at which a county imprisons the population that was enumerated there in Census 2000; in other words, it captures how many citizens per 100,000 persons are incarcerated *within* that county.

Third, the metropolitan classification system used by the Census Bureau is employed in this study. It is not an ideal representation of urban versus rural areas, but it suffices for purposes of this research. After each decennial census, the Census Bureau publishes a list of counties classified as metropolitan according to a standard definition determined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The OMB defines metropolitan area as “a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities, having a high degree of social and economic integration with that core.”⁴² The 1999 definition of metropolitan is the basis for Census 2000 categorization: a county is designated as metro if it has an urban area of at least 50,000 persons or a Census defined urban cluster of at least 10,000 persons.⁴³

Fourth, one primary focus of the paper is to identify whether or not there is a cross race transfer between where prisoners originate and where they are imprisoned. Thus, it is vital to

classified as state inmates). The state of Georgia “leases” space from localities (payment is a per diem for each prisoner).

⁴¹ See North Carolina, Department of Corrections, *ASQ Help Glossary*, available <http://webapps6.doc.state.nc.us/apps/asqExt/ASQ> (last visited Dec. 13, 2004).

⁴² *Census Technical Documentation*, *supra* note 1, at C-24 (see the glossary of terms). See also <http://www.census.gov/population/www/estimates/aboutmetro.html>.

⁴³ See http://www.gadata.org/information_services/Census_Info/Standards%20for%20Defining%20MSA.htm.

recognize that the percentage of African-Americans in a given county (or averaged among counties) may be artificially inflated or deflated due to the way in which prisoners are counted by Census 2000. In other words, the data is skewed because African-American prisoners enumerated in a county will increase that county's percentage of African-Americans. Wagner believes that the ideal method of analysis in the future is to calculate the rational distribution of the non-prison population in each county. However, this proved too complex for this study.

Finally, this research raises serious doubt about the accuracy of some Census Bureau figures. The author did significant research on Alabama; however, given the errors in the Census data as well as incompatibility between the Census Bureau figures and the Alabama Department of Corrections data, it is impossible to draw any reasonably reliable conclusions at this time. A complete explanation as well as the data collected in Alabama is indexed in Appendix 3.⁴⁴

V. TWO SOUTHERN STATES: GEORGIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

Neither Georgia nor North Carolina follow the pattern identified by Wagner in New York, and assumed by other analysts, of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of the state. In Georgia, incarcerated prisoners are concentrated in a small number of counties, and the counties of origin are not the same as the counties of incarceration. In contrast, in North Carolina, both the counties of residence and incarceration are dispersed throughout the state; the same counties both originate and incarcerate prisoners. Both states, however, exhibit a transfer of prisoners from metro to non-metro areas. But, neither reflects a cross race transfer.

A. GEORGIA

Georgia does not follow the pattern identified by Wagner in New York of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of the state. Prisoners'

⁴⁴ See APPENDIX 3, section A.5, *infra* at 73.

counties of origin are not the same as their counties of incarceration. Enumerated prisoners are concentrated in only 25 of Georgia's 159 counties; in fact, 9 counties have a population comprised of at least 10% prisoners. This concentration corresponds to a shift from metro to non-metro areas. However, metro areas do not necessarily correlate to black areas nor do non-metro areas necessarily correlate to majority white areas. Thus, there is no cross race transfer of prisoners from black to white areas of Georgia.

1. Blacks are Disproportionately Imprisoned and Disenfranchised in Georgia.

Blacks are disproportionately imprisoned and disenfranchised in Georgia. While Georgia's population is mostly white, its prison population is majority black. African-Americans account for 29% of the 8 million people counted in Georgia in Census 2000.⁴⁵ Yet, they comprise approximately 60% of the prisoners in the state. See table 1. In addition, 10% of African-Americans are disenfranchised (compared to 5% of the total voting age residents in Georgia).⁴⁶ One out of every eight black men is disenfranchised in Georgia.⁴⁷

The sheer scale of Georgia's prison population is also striking. The Bureau of Justice Statistics indicates that there were 43,626 prisoners in Georgia state facilities as of June 30, 2000; Georgia ranked the ninth highest state for total prison population in the country.⁴⁸ Three

⁴⁵ According to Census 2000, the population in the state of Georgia is 8,186,453.

⁴⁶ *Deep Impact*, *supra* note 2, at 14.

⁴⁷ Ryan S. King and Martin Mauer, *The Vanishing Black Electorate: Felony Disenfranchisement in Atlanta, Georgia*, available at http://www.righttovote.org/upload/formedia/462_UFile.pdf (last visited Dec. 11, 2004). "The state of Georgia lies in the mid-range of states nationally in terms of the restrictiveness of its disenfranchisement policy. Persons serving a felony sentence in prison or on probation or parole are prohibited from voting, but these rights are restored after the completion of one's sentence." See GA. CONST., Art. II, § 1 ("No person who has been convicted of a felony involving moral turpitude may register, remain registered, or vote except upon completion of the sentence"); see also GA. CODE ANN. § 21-2-216(b) (2004); GA. CODE ANN. § 21-2-231 (2004) (providing the procedure for removal of prisoners from voter rolls).

⁴⁸ U.S. Department of Justice, *Bureau of Statistics Bulletin: Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2000*, p. 5 (March 2001) [hereinafter "DOJ: *Statistics 2000*"].

of Georgia's 158 counties placed in the top fifty for largest local jail jurisdictions across the nation.⁴⁹ Between 1983 and 2001, Georgia tripled its prison and jail population.⁵⁰

Table 1: Racial Composition of Population compared to Prison Population

	Population	% of Population	Prison Population	% of Prison Population
White	5,327,281	65.10%	14,448	33.44%
Non-White	n/a	n/a	28,755	66.56%
Black	2,349,542	28.70%	n/a	n/a
Other	509,630	6.23%	n/a	n/a

2. There is a Shift of Prisoners from their Home County to Incarcerated County in Georgia.

In Georgia, there is a discernable shift of prisoners away from their home county to incarcerated county. Prisoners originate from counties in the south that have concentrations of African-Americans. Prisoners are incarcerated in non-metro counties around the state that have concentrations of African-Americans.

Three processes reveal this shift: first, the study compares the characteristics of the twenty counties that have the highest incarceration rates with the twenty counties that have the lowest incarceration rates. See tables 2 and 3. Second, I examine the twenty-five counties with the largest prison populations (see table 4) as well as counties with at least ten percent of their enumerated population in prison (see table 5). Finally, rates of incarceration are compared to rates of enumerated prisoners.

a. Prisoners' Home Counties are Located in the South and have Concentrations of African-Americans.

Prisoners' home counties are located in the south and have concentrations of African-Americans.

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 8. The three large local jail populations are located in: Fulton County (2,869 prisoners); DeKalb County (3,070 prisoners) and Cobb County (2,074 prisoners).

⁵⁰ *Deep Impact*, *supra* note 2, at 7.

The incarceration rate indicates the rate at which citizens *from* a county are sent to prison. The average incarceration rate in the United States is 481 per 100,000 persons.⁵¹ In Georgia, the average incarceration rate is 546 per 100,000 persons.

Three significant findings are evident from a comparison of tables 2 and 3. First, counties with low incarceration rates are located in the north while counties with high incarceration rates are in the south and center of the state. Second, prisoners in Georgia originate from counties with heavier concentrations of African-Americans; counties with the highest incarceration rates are 38% black whereas counties with the lowest incarceration rates are 11% black. Finally, note that the counties with the highest incarceration rates do not incarcerate a proportional number of prisoners; only 20% of the state's prisoners are imprisoned in the counties with the highest incarceration rates.

Interestingly, there is a common but incorrect perception, expressed anecdotally by Ron Henry, a statistician with the Georgia Department of Corrections, that the incarceration rates in Georgia are greatest in Atlanta-area counties such as Fulton, DeKalb, and Cobb Counties. In fact, Cobb County has the second lowest incarceration rate (242 per 100,000). Fulton and DeKalb Counties rank 61st and 123rd (out of 159 counties) with rates of 618 and 368 per 100,000 persons, respectively.⁵²

⁵¹ DOJ: *Statistics 2000*, supra note 48, at 3.

⁵² Although Fulton County does not have the highest incarceration rate, it may be the county of origin for the greatest *number* of prisoners; Fulton County suffers a population net loss of 5,043 persons under the “usual residence” rule.

Table 2: Twenty Counties with the Highest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate	% Black
Ware	1122	28.0%
Telfair	1111	38.4%
Jenkins	1061	40.5%
Decatur	984	39.9%
Crisp	977	43.4%
Dougherty	963	60.1%
Toombs	944	24.2%
Spalding	940	31.1%
Ben Hill	927	32.6%
Troup	924	31.9%
Dodge	918	29.4%
Bleckley	917	24.6%
Jefferson	915	56.3%
Taylor	908	42.6%
Cook	900	29.1%
Seminole	897	34.7%
Chatham	891	40.5%
Mitchell	882	47.9%
Dooley	876	49.5%
Candler	867	27.1%
Average		37.59%

Table 3: Twenty Counties with the Lowest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate	% Black
Chattahoochee	74	29.9%
Fayette	104	11.5%
Crawford	120	23.8%
Forsyth	124	0.7%
Echols	133	6.9%
Oconee	145	6.4%
Gwinnett	148	13.3%
Jones	161	23.3%
Towns	172	0.1%
Columbia	180	11.2%
Lee	186	15.5%
Paulding	197	7.0%
Union	202	0.6%
Camden	204	20.1%
Catoosa	218	1.3%
Cherokee	221	2.5%
Henry	225	14.7%
Pike	241	14.8%
Cobb	242	18.8%
Habersham	245	4.5%
Average		11.35%

b. Prisoners Incarcerated in Georgia are Concentrated in Counties other than Home Counties.

Prisoners incarcerated in Georgia are concentrated in counties other than their home counties. There is a concentration of incarcerated prisoners in 25 of Georgia's 159 counties. In addition, nine counties have a population comprised of at least 10% prisoners.

There are two effective ways to examine where prisoners are incarcerated and enumerated in Georgia. The first is by examining the twenty-five counties with the largest prison population. The second is by calculating the percent of the county population that is in prison.

Method one indicates there is a high concentration of prisoners in certain counties (87% of prisoners are incarcerated in only 16% of Georgia's counties). This concentration is apparent by looking at the twenty-five counties with the largest prison populations. See table 4. In addition, twenty-one other counties incarcerate the remaining state prisoners (4,948 prisoners or 13% of the state total). One-hundred and thirteen out of Georgia's one-hundred and fifty-nine counties do not incarcerate any state prisoners.

Table 4: Top Twenty-Five Counties with the Largest Prison Population

County	County of Incarceration	Share of Prison Population	% Black
Baldwin	4,799	12.19	43.40%
Tattnall	3,644	9.25	31.40%
Butts	1,785	4.53	28.80%
Mitchell	1,486	3.77	47.90%
Chattooga	1,450	3.68	11.20%
Hancock	1,351	3.43	77.80%
Telfair	1,319	3.35	38.40%
Ware	1,274	3.24	28.00%
Wilcox	1,246	3.16	36.20%
Richmond	1,219	3.10	49.80%
Habersham	1,194	3.03	4.50%
Chatham	1,156	2.94	40.50%
Lowndes	1,152	2.93	34.00%
Dooley	1,129	2.87	49.50%
Charlton	1,052	2.67	29.30%
Washington	1,044	2.65	53.20%
Gwinnett	1,041	2.64	13.30%
Coffee	1,018	2.59	25.90%
Dodge	1,005	2.55	29.40%
Wheeler	999	2.54	33.20%
Pulaski	975	2.48	34.30%
Bibb	970	2.46	47.30%
Lee	723	1.84	15.50%
Macon	707	1.80	59.50%
DeKalb	695	1.76	54.20%
34,433 total		36.66% average	

Another way to see the concentration of enumerated prisoners is by identifying the counties with a significant percentage of their population in prison. Nine counties in Georgia have at least 10% of their population in prison. These nine counties are overwhelmingly non-

metro (only one—Dooley County—is classified as metro) and contain significant African-American populations (the average number of blacks in these nine counties is 42%).

The effect of such large concentrations of enumerated prisoners is often a significant net gain or loss in population. For example, Baldwin and Tattnall Counties both experienced a significant net gain in its population—4,499 and 3,515 persons, respectively. Other counties experienced significant net losses; most notably, Fulton County lost 5,043 persons.

Table 5: Counties in which 10% of the Population is in Prison

County	Census 2000 Population	County of Incarceration	% of Population in Prison
Tattnall	22,305	3,644	16%
Wheeler	6,179	999	16%
Wilcox	8,577	1,246	15%
Hancock	10,076	1,351	13%
Telfair	11,794	1,319	11%
Baldwin	44,700	4,799	11%
Charlton	10,282	1,052	10%
Pulaski	9,588	975	10%
Dooley	11,525	1,129	10%

c. Where are Prisoners Incarcerated and Enumerated Relative to where they Report their Origin Prior to Incarceration?

Prisoners incarcerated in Georgia are concentrated in counties other than their home counties.

The counties with the highest incarceration rates are not necessarily the same counties as have the highest prisoner enumeration rates. Again, incarceration rates reflect the rate at which citizens *from* a county are sent to prison. Prisoner enumeration rates indicate the rate at which a county imprisons the population that was enumerated there in Census 2000; in other words, it captures how many citizens per 100,000 persons are incarcerated *within* that county.

To see this shift, compare the counties with the highest incarceration rates with those having the highest prisoner enumeration rate. See table 5. Note that only six counties with high incarceration rates also have high prisoner enumeration rates.⁵³

In addition, the difference in the racial composition of the counties with the highest incarceration rates as compared to highest prisoner enumeration rates is not significant. The 25 counties where the most prisoners originate are on average 40% African-American; the 25 counties where most prisoners are incarcerated are on average 35% African-American. This relationship is detailed in section A.4 below.

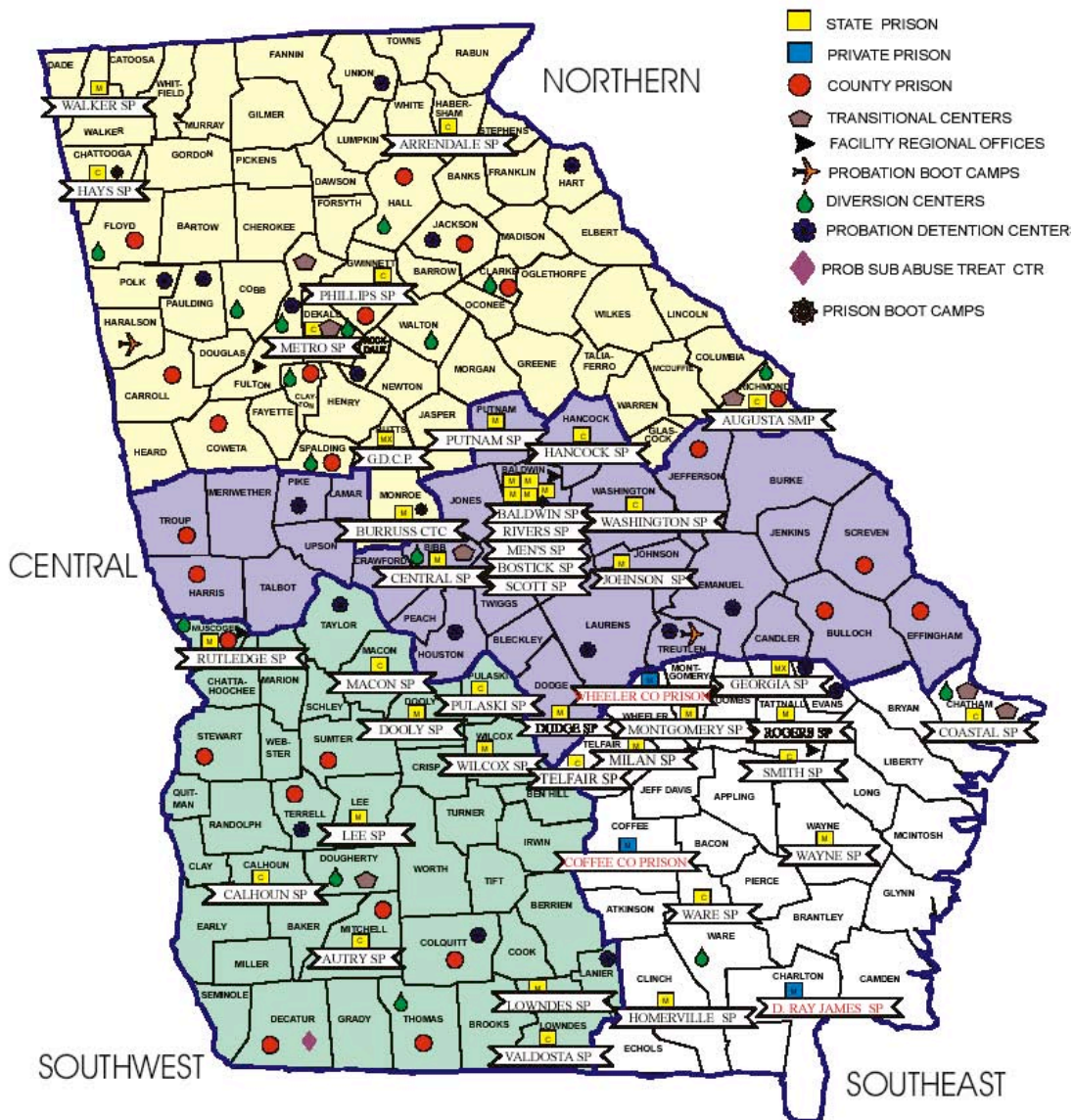
Table 6: Counties with the Highest Incarceration Rates versus Counties with the Highest Prisoner Enumeration Rates

Origin of Prisoners		Usual Residence for Census Enumeration	
County	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000)	County	Enumeration rate (per 100,000)
Ware	1,122	Tattnall	16,337
Telfair	1,111	Wheeler	16,168
Jenkins	1,061	Wilcox	14,527
Decatur	984	Hancock	13,408
Crisp	977	Telfair	11,184
Dougherty	963	Baldwin	10,736
Toombs	944	Charlton	10,231
Spalding	940	Pulaski	10,169
Ben Hill	927	Dooly	9,796
Troup	924	Butts	9,144
Dodge	918	Mitchell	6,209
Bleckley	917	Montgomery	5,732
Jefferson	915	Chattooga	5,693
Taylor	908	Dodge	5,242
Cook	900	Macon	5,023
Seminole	897	Washington	4,930
Chatham	891	Evans	3,821
Mitchell	882	Ware	3,590
Dooly	876	Habersham	3,326
Candler	867	Clinch	2,922
Richmond	848	Lee	2,920
Meriwether	825	Coffee	2,721
Grady	816	Lanier	2,693

⁵³ The six overlapping counties are Dodge, Dooly, Mitchell, Taylor, Telfair, and Ware.

Randolph	809	Taylor	2,258
Warren	805	Monroe	2,036

Departmental Map



Source: Georgia Department of Corrections, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2003, p. 25.

3. The Concentration of Prisoners Indicates a Shift of Prisoners from Metro to Non-metro Areas of Georgia.

There is a shift of prisoners from metro to non-metro areas in Georgia. Significantly, however, this metro to non-metro transfer does not correspond to a racial shift.

In Georgia, there are 159 counties, of which only 41 are classified as metro by the Census Bureau. The metro counties account for the majority of the state's population (69%). There is a significant shift of prisoners *out of* metro counties: while the metro counties incarcerate only 19% of the state's prisoners, they serve as the point of origin for 62% of the state's prisoners.

As expected, there is a significant shift of prisoner *into* non-metro counties: 81% of prisoners are incarcerated in non-metro counties, but only 38% originate there.

Finally, the transfer of prisoners from metro to non-metro areas does not correlate to race. African-Americans comprise, on average, 28% of a county's population in Georgia. Metro counties have a lower percentage of African-Americans than non-metro counties. The average percentage of African-Americans in metro versus non-metro counties is 23% and 29%, respectively. See table 7.

Table 7: Characteristics of Metro v. Non-Metro Counties

Metro / Non-Metro Classification	# Counties / Population / % of State Pop.	Average Incarceration Rate	Share of Total Incarcerated Prison Population	Number of Prisoners Incarcerated in the Counties	Share of Total Prisoners from the Counties	Number of Prisoners from the Counties	% African-American
Metro	41 / 5,605,977 / 68.49%	415	18.55%	7,307	61.77%	24,522	22.69%
Non-Metro	118 / 2,580,476 / 31.52%	592	81.45%	32,074	38.23%	15,178	29.28%

4. The Concentration of Prisoners does not Indicate a Movement of Prisoners from the Blackest to Whitest Counties in Georgia.

There appears to be no significant shift of African-American prisoners from black to white areas of the state. The absence of this cross race transfer should not obscure the disproportionate imprisonment generally of African-Americans in Georgia: they constitute 29% of the population but 60% of the prisoners.

Several important patterns emerge from analysis of table 8, which aggregates data according to the percentage of African-Americans in a county.

First, while there is a general trend for the average incarceration rate to increase relative to the percentage of African-Americans, the highest incarceration rates are found in counties with one-quarter to one-half African-Americans.

Second, there does not seem to be any significant bias between where prisoners are incarcerated and where they report their home counties. The vast majority of prisoners in the state (85% of the total) are incarcerated in counties with at least one-quarter African-Americans.⁵⁴ In contrast, these same counties are the home counties of 68% of the prisoners. Thus, counties with a high concentration of African-Americans incarcerate more prisoners than they feed into the system.

Third, the counties with the greatest concentration of whites (ranging from only 0.0 to 12.3% black) actually experience a net loss. Prisoners reporting these majority-white counties as their home counties are incarcerated in other parts of the state.

Fourth, there is a discernable shift of African-Americans out of one subset of counties. Those counties with an African-American population of 12.0 to 25% incarcerate significantly less prisoners than they feed into the system. Specifically, these thirty-one counties incarcerate

⁵⁴ A reminder to once again remain cognizant of the fact that the calculation of the percentage of African-Americans in any given district includes those African-Americans who are in prison; this causes some skewing of the data.

only 6% of Georgia's prisoners, yet they supply 19% of its prisoners. Overall, however, there appears to be no significant shift of African-American prisoners from black to white areas of the state.

Finally, in spite of the absence of the cross race transfer, there is a general pattern of racial concentration of people within the state. The vast majority of people in northern Georgia are white: nearly every county north of Atlanta has a white population in excess of 77%.

Nevertheless, the majority of prisoners are not incarcerated in these counties.

Table 8: Analysis of Counties Based on Percentage of African-American Residents

% of Black Residents in County	# Counties⁵⁵/ Population/ % of State Pop.	Average Incarceration Rate	Share of Total Incarcerated Prison Population	Number of Prisoners Incarcerated in the Counties	Share of Total Prisoners from the Counties	Number of Prisoners from the Counties
50.0 to 86.7	17 counties ⁵⁶ / 1,135,957/ 13.88%	663	10.31%	4,061	13.89%	5,515
25.0 to 49.9	73 counties ⁵⁷ / 3,104,024/ 37.92%	674	74.35%	29,281	54.01%	21,441
12.4 to 24.9	31 counties ⁵⁸ / 2,419,445/ 29.55%	425	6.44%	2,538	19.32%	7,670
0.0 to 12.3	38 counties ⁵⁹ / 1,527,027/ 18.65%	347	8.89%	3,501	12.78%	5,074

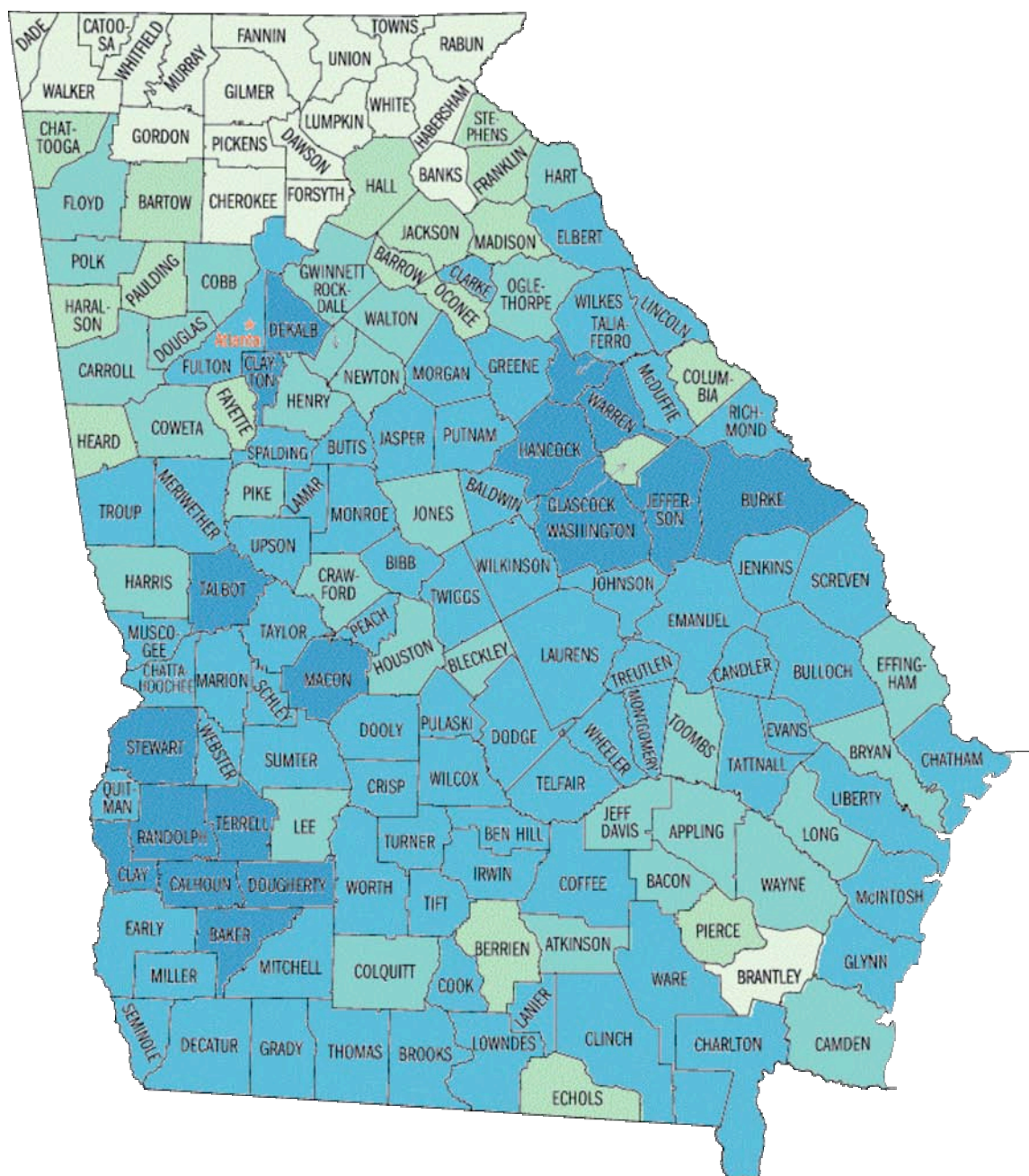
⁵⁵ Census 2000, *Quick Facts, Georgia Map: Black or African American Alone, percent, 2000*, available at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/maps/thematic/PL1210013.html> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004).

⁵⁶ The seventeen counties in Georgia with a 50 to 86.7 percent African American population include: Baker, Burke, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, DeKalb, Dougherty, Hancock, Jefferson, Macon, Randolph, Stewart, Talbot, Taliaferro, Terrell, Warren, and Washington.

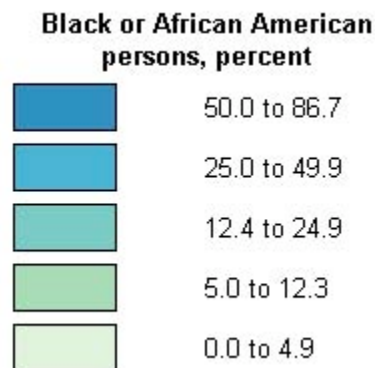
⁵⁷ The seventy-three counties with a 25.0 to 49.9% African-American population include: Baldwin, Ben Hill, Bibb, Brooks, Bulloch, Butts, Candler, Charlton, Chatham, Chattahoochee, Clarke, Clinch, Coffee, Cook, Crisp, Decatur, Dodge, Dooly, Early, Elbert, Emanuel, Evans, Fulton, Glynn, Grady, Greene, Irwin, Jasper, Jenkins, Johnson, Lamar, Lanier, Laurens, Liberty, Lincoln, Lowndes, Marion, McDuffie, McIntosh, Meriwether, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Montgomery, Morgan, Muscogee, Peach, Pulaski, Putnam, Quitman, Richmond, Schley, Screven, Seminole, Spalding, Sumter, Tattnall, Taylor, Telfair, Thomas, Tift, Truetlen, Troup, Turner, Twiggs, Upson, Ware, Webster, Wheeler, Wilcox, Wilkes, Wilkinson, and Worth.

⁵⁸ The thirty-one counties with a 12.0 to 24.9% African-American population include: Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Bleckley, Bryan, Camden, Carroll, Cobb, Colquitt, Coweta, Crawford, Douglas, Effingham, Floyd, Gwinnett, Harris, Hart, Henry, Houston, Jeff-Davis, Jones, Lee, Long, Newton, Oglethorpe, Pike, Polk, Rockdale, Toombs, Walton, and Wayne.

⁵⁹ The eighteen counties with a 5.0 to 12.3% African-American population include: Barrow, Bartow, Berrien, Chattooga, Columbia, Echols, Fayette, Franklin, Glascock, Hall, Haralson, Heard, Jackson, Madison, Oconee,



Paulding, Pierce, and Stephens. The ten counties with a 0.0 to 4.9% African-American population include: Banks, Brantley, Catoosa, Cherokee, Dade, Dawson, Fannin, Forsyth, Gilmer, Gordon, Habersham, Lumpkin, Murray, Pickens, Rabun, Towns, Union, Walker, White, and Whitfield.



Source: Census Bureau 2000, Georgia: Black or African American persons, percent.

5. Georgia Does Not Follow the Pattern Identified in New York.

Georgia does not follow the pattern identified by Wagner in New York of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of the state. The counties of origin are not the same as the counties of incarceration. There is a shift from metro to non-metro areas. However, metro areas do not necessarily correlate to black areas nor do non-metro areas necessarily correlate to white areas. Thus, there is no cross race transfer of prisoners from black to white areas of Georgia.

B. NORTH CAROLINA

In North Carolina, there is no racially significant movement of prisoners away from their county of residence to county of incarceration. In fact, there is most likely *not* a significant deviation generally between where prisoners are incarcerated and where they resided prior to incarceration. In other words, the same counties originate and incarcerate prisoners. Both the counties of residence and incarceration are dispersed throughout the state. In spite of this lack of concentration, there is still a shift of prisoners from metro to non-metro areas. However, there is no parallel movement of prisoners from heavily African-American to heavily white counties. Thus, North Carolina does not follow the pattern identified by Wagner in New York of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of the state.

1. Black North Carolinians are Disproportionately Imprisoned and Disenfranchised.

In North Carolina, African-Americans are disproportionately imprisoned. According to Census 2000, North Carolina had a population of approximately 8 million people.⁶⁰ Less than a quarter of the population is black, yet nearly two-thirds of its prisoners are black (22% v. 63%). See table 9.

African-Americans are also disproportionately disenfranchised:⁶¹ a 2003 study found that 4% of African Americans are disenfranchised (compared to 1% of the total voting age residents).⁶²

Table 9: Racial Composition of North Carolina's Population and Prison Population

	Population	% of Population	Prison Population	% of Prison Population
White	5,804,656	72.10%	10,195	32.28%
Black	1,737,545	21.60%	20,034	63.44%
Indian	99,551	1.20%	572	1.81%
Asian	113,689	1.40%	68	0.22%
Other	293,872	3.65%	712	2.25%

2. Prisoners Originate from the Same Counties that Incarcerate Them. There is no significant transfer of prisoners from their county of residence to incarceration.

In North Carolina, there is not a discernable shift of prisoners away from their county of residence to county of incarceration. Three steps were required in order to examine the absence of a shift: first, the study compares the characteristics of the ten counties that have the highest incarceration rates with the ten counties that have the lowest incarceration rates. See tables 10

⁶⁰ The Census 2000 enumeration for the state was 8,049,313 persons.

⁶¹ In North Carolina, voting is restored after release from incarceration and completion of parole (probationers may vote). N.C. CONST., Art. VI, § 2.3 (“Disqualification of felon. No person adjudged guilty of a felony against this State or the United States, or adjudged guilty of a felony in another state that also would be a felony if it had been committed in this State, shall be permitted to vote unless that person shall be first restored to the rights of citizenship in the manner prescribed by law”). See also N.C. GEN. STAT. § 163-55, § 13-1 (restoration of citizenship), § 13-2 (issuance and filing of certificate or order of restoration).

⁶² *Deep Impact*, *supra* note 2, at 14.

and 11. Second, I examine the twenty counties with the largest prison populations (see table 12) as well as counties with at least ten percent of their enumerated population in prison (see table 5). Finally, rates of incarceration are compared to rates of enumerated prisoners.

a. Prisoner's Counties of Residence are Dispersed throughout the State.

The incarceration rate indicates the rate at which citizens *from* a county are sent to prison. The average incarceration rate in North Carolina is 355 per 100,000 people.

Three significant findings are evident from a comparison of tables 10, 11, and 12. First, prisoners in North Carolina originate from counties with heavier concentrations of African-Americans; counties with the highest incarceration rates are 41% black whereas counties with the lowest incarceration rates are 4% black. Thus, there is a clear correlation between low incarceration rates and majority white counties.

Second, note that the counties with the highest incarceration rates imprison a proportional number of prisoners. Specifically, the ten counties with the highest incarceration rates serve as the point of origin for 7% of the state's prison population; they also house 6% of the state's enumerated prison population.

Third, the greater dispersion of prisoners' county of residence in North Carolina relative to Georgia is evident by comparing tables 10 and 2, as well as the appendices.

Table 10: Ten Counties with the Highest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000)	% Black
Bertie	784	62.3%
Hertford	712	59.6%
Madison	662	0.8%
Lenoir	659	40.4%
Scotland	625	37.3%
Vance	615	48.3%
Northampton	611	59.4%
Beaufort	603	29.0%
Lee	571	20.5%
Anson	566	48.6%
Average	641	40.6%

Table 11: Ten Counties with the Lowest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000)	% Black
Macon	91	1.2%
McDowell	97	4.2%
Polk	120	5.9%
Mitchell	121	0.2%
Watauga	122	1.6%
Avery	122	3.5%
Clay	125	17.3%
Jackson	136	1.7%
Camden	160	0.8%
Swain	162	1.7%
Average	126	3.8%

Table 12: Characteristics of Counties with the Highest Incarceration Rates

County	Census 2000 Population	Number of state prisoners from county (County of Residence)	Number of state prisoners incarcerated in county	Incarceration Rate	% AA
Bertie	19,773	155	0	784	62.3
Hertford	22,601	161	0	712	59.6
Madison	19,635	130	0	662	0.8
Lenoir	59,648	393	0	659	40.4
Scotland	35,998	225	64	625	37.3
Vance	42,954	264	0	615	48.3
Northampton	22,086	135	483	611	59.4
Beaufort	44,958	271	0	603	29
Lee	49,040	280	259	571	20.5
Anson	25,275	143	1127	566	48.6
Total	341,968	2157	1933		
Average				641	40.62

b. Prisoners Incarcerated in North Carolina are Not Concentrated.

Prisoners places of incarceration in North Carolina are not concentrated. The majority of prisoners are not imprisoned in the counties with the highest nor lowest incarceration rates.

Thus, the transfer of prisoners from their county of residence to incarceration is not as pronounced as in Georgia.

There are two effective ways to examine where prisoners are incarcerated and enumerated in North Carolina. The first is by examining the twenty counties with the largest prison population. The second is by calculating the percent of each county population that is in prison.

Method one indicates that counties with large prison populations are not disproportionately white nor black compared to the state generally. See table 13. The state-wide average percentage of African-Americans per county is 28%. The twenty counties with the largest prison population have, on average, a 26% African-American population.

Table 13: Top Twenty Counties with the Largest Prison Populations

County	Total Number of Prisoners Incarcerated	Share of State Prisoners Incarcerated	% Black
Wake	2,611	8.67%	19.70%
Burke	1,348	4.48%	6.70%
Avery	1,237	4.11%	3.50%
Anson	1,127	3.74%	48.60%
Greene	1,025	3.40%	41.20%
Halifax	1,016	3.37%	52.60%
Wayne	972	3.23%	33.00%
Caswell	969	3.22%	36.50%
Rowan	956	3.18%	15.80%
Hoke	916	3.04%	37.60%
Granville	883	2.93%	34.90%
Harnett	876	2.91%	22.50%
Pasquotank	830	2.76%	40.00%
Robeson	830	2.76%	25.10%
Montgomery	753	2.50%	21.80%
McDowell	752	2.50%	4.20%
Pender	732	2.43%	23.60%
Columbus	686	2.28%	30.90%
Johnston	643	2.14%	15.70%
Stanly	640	2.13%	11.50%
Average			26.27%

Another way to see the lack of concentration of enumerated prisoners is by identifying the counties with a significant percentage of their population in prison. North Carolina does not contain counties with as significant a percentage of their population in prison as Georgia. See table 14. Unlike Georgia, which has nine counties with 10% or more of their county population in prison, North Carolina only has one small county (Hyde) with 10% of its population imprisoned. Other counties do, however, incarcerate notable portions of their population: Avery and Greene Counties, for example, incarcerate 7% and 5%, respectively. Such counties experience net population gains under the “usual residence” rules. Avery and Greene Counties had a combined net population gain exceeding 2,000 persons. Other counties, however, experience net population losses. Among those counties losing people are Guilford and Mecklenburg Counties, which lost 1,983 and 1,787 persons, respectively.

Table 14: Percentage of Population Incarcerated in Ten Counties

County	Census 2000 Population	County of Incarceration	% in Prison
Hyde	5,826	569	10
Avery	17,167	1,237	7
Greene	18,974	1,025	5
Anson	25,275	1,127	4
Caswell	23,501	969	4
Pamlico	12,934	496	4
Warren	19,972	592	3
Montgomery	26,822	753	3
Hoke	33,646	916	3

c. Where are Prisoners Incarcerated and Enumerated Relative to where they Report their Origin Prior to Incarceration?

The counties with the highest incarceration rates are not necessarily the same counties as have the highest prisoner enumeration rates. Again, incarceration rates reflect the rate at which citizens *from* a county are sent to prison. Prisoner enumeration rates indicate the rate at which a

county imprisons the population that was enumerated there in Census 2000; in other words, it captures how many citizens per 100,000 persons are incarcerated *within* that county.

The analysis in table 15 for North Carolina is not as informative as the same comparison for Georgia due to the much greater dispersion of incarcerated prisoners in North Carolina. While there is little overlap between the ten counties with the highest incarceration rates and enumeration rates (only one county—Anson—appears in both tables), this is probably not statistically significant.

The lack of overlap among the highest incarcerating and enumerating counties is due to the arbitrary nature of the comparison. Given the dispersion of prisoners, both in terms of their county of residence and county of incarceration, the comparison of only a small number of counties is misleading. The charts in table 15 only compare 10% of North Carolina's counties.⁶³ Yet, over half of North Carolina's counties incarcerate prisoners. By contrast, less than one-third of Georgia's counties incarcerate prisoners.⁶⁴

These findings suggest that while the counties with the highest incarceration rates may not be the same counties as those with the highest prisoner enumeration rates, the state-wide picture in North Carolina is more complicated than a simple shift to prisoners from high incarcerate rate to high enumeration rate counties.

⁶³ In comparison, table 6, *infra* at 23, provides a comparison of 25 of the 46 counties in Georgia that incarcerate people.

⁶⁴ Specifically, 57 of North Carolina's 100 counties house prisoners; only 46 of Georgia's 159 counties do so.

Table 15: Counties with the Highest Incarceration Rates versus Counties with the Highest Prisoner Enumeration Rates

Origin of Prisoners		Usual Residence for Prisoner Enumeration	
County	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000)	County	Enumeration Rate (per 100,000)
Bertie	784	Hyde	9767
Hertford	712	Avery	7206
Madison	662	Greene	5402
Lenoir	659	Anson	4459
Scotland	625	Caswell	4123
Vance	615	Pamlico	3835
Northampton	611	Warren	2964
Beaufort	603	Montgomery	2807
Lee	571	Hoke	2722
Anson	566	Pasquotank	2378

3. There is a Shift of Prisoners from Metro to Non-Metro areas.

Although prisons are located in both metro and non-metro counties, the majority of prisoners are incarcerated in non-metro areas. See table 16. However, metro counties do not correlate to concentrations of African-Americans.

There are 100 counties in North Carolina, of which only 35 are classified as metro by the Census Bureau. The majority of North Carolina's population lives in metro areas (68%). There is a transfer of prisoners *out of* metro areas: the majority of North Carolina's prisoners are from metro areas (67%) whereas only 38% are incarcerated there. This shift is not as drastic as in Georgia.

As expected, there is a shift of prisoners *into* non-metro counties. Whereas the majority of prisoners are incarcerated in non-metro counties (62%) only 33% originate from here.

Comparing characteristics of metro and non-metro counties leads to two additional findings. First, the incarceration rates of metro and non-metro counties do not vary significantly. Metro counties have an incarceration rate of 359 per 100,000 persons; non-metro counties have

an incarceration rate of 353 per 100,000 persons. Second, the average percent of African-Americans in non-metro areas is actually higher than in metro areas (24% compared to 17%). Only one metro county has a population exceeding 50% African-American (Edgecombe County with 58%). Thus, there is no apparent correlation between the most heavily African-American counties, the counties with the highest incarceration rates, and metro areas.

Table 16: Characteristics of Metro v. Non-Metro Counties

Metro / Non-Metro Classification	# Counties / Population / % of State Pop.	Average Incarceration Rate	Share of Total Incarcerated Prison Population	Number of Prisoners Incarcerated in the Counties	Share of Total Prisoners from the Counties	Number of Prisoners from the Counties	% African-American
Metro	35/ 5,437,056 / 67.55%	359	37.63%	11,329	67.21%	20,162	17.47%
Non-Metro	65/ 2,612,257 / 32.45%	353	62.37%	18,775	32.79%	9,835	23.72%

4. There is No Shift of Prisoners from Black to White Areas of the State.

There appears to be no significant shift of African-American prisoners from black to white areas of the state. Nor is there more generally a movement of prisoners from their county of residence to incarceration. The absence of this cross race transfer should not obscure the disproportionate imprisonment generally of blacks in North Carolina: they constitute 22% of the population but 63% of the prisoners.

Several important patterns emerge from analysis of table 17, which aggregates data according to the percentage of African-Americans in a county.

First, the higher the concentration of African-Americans, the higher the average incarceration rate; in contrast, the higher the concentration of whites, the lower the average incarceration rate.

Second, the majority of North Carolina's prison population is incarcerated in counties with a significant African-American presence. The state-wide average percentage of African-Americans per county is 28%. Approximately 50% of prisoners are incarcerated in counties with at least one-quarter of its population comprised of African-Americans.

Third, there is likely not a significant deviation between where prisoners are incarcerated and where they resided prior to incarceration. The counties with the largest white populations do incarcerate slightly more prisoners than originate from them. However, the counties with the heaviest concentrations of African-Americans also incarcerate more prisoners than originate from them. Moreover, the heavily black counties gain nearly two times *more* prisoners than the whitest counties. Specifically, the difference between county of residence and incarceration for the blackest counties is 5%, while the difference for the whitest counties is only 3%. See table 17.

In addition, among the remaining counties (classified as neither the blackest nor whitest), half exhibit a near parity between county of residence and incarceration. Specifically, thirty-five counties with an African-American population ranging from 5.0 to 12.3% have nearly equal rates of incarceration and enumeration.

In contrast, the final aggregated category of counties (classified as neither the blackest nor whitest) do experience a net loss of population. Specifically, 7% more prisoners originate than are incarcerated in the remaining thirty-six counties. See table 17, row 2. These thirty-six counties have one-quarter to one-half African American population.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Additional anecdotal evidence may suggest that there is not a racial disparity between where prisons are located and where prisoners originate. The report *32 Years Since Attica* identified a general pattern of racial disparity between (black) prisoners and (white) staff; however, North Carolina diverged from this pattern and exhibited a parity between (black) prisoners and (black) guards. Peter Wagner, *32 Years Since Attica*, available at <http://prisonpolicy.org/articles/alternet102503.shtml> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004).

Overall, however, in North Carolina there does not appear to be a movement of prisoners from their county of residence to incarceration. In other words, the same counties which serve as the point of origin for prisoners also incarcerate significant portions of the state's prisoners.

Finally, in spite of the absence of the cross race transfer, there is a general pattern of racial concentration of people within the state. The vast majority of people in western North Carolina are white while the counties in the east are majority black. Nearly every county in the western tip of the state has a white population in excess of 87%. Nevertheless, the majority of prisoners are not incarcerated in these counties.

Table 17: Analysis of Counties Based on Percentage of African-American Residents

% of Black Residents in County	# Counties⁶⁶/ Population/ % of State Pop.	Average Incarceration Rate	Share of Total Incarcerated Prison Population	Number of Prisoners Incarcerated in the Counties	Share of Total Prisoners from the Counties	Number of Prisoners from the Counties
50 to 86.7	6 counties ⁶⁷ / 197,408/ 2.48%	576	8.19%	2,466	3.66%	1,098
25 to 49.9	36 counties ⁶⁸ / 3,362,111/ 41.77%	441	42%	12,665	49.17%	14,748
12.4 to 24.9	21 counties ⁶⁹ / 2,489,786/ 30.93%	346	27.08%	8,152	28.43%	8,529
5.0 to 12.3	14 counties ⁷⁰ / 1,238,852/ 15.39%	288	14.43%	4,345	13.06%	3,917
0.0 to 4.9	23 counties ⁷¹ / 761,156/ 9.46%	212	8.22%	2,476	5.68%	1,705

⁶⁶ Census 2000, *Quick Facts, North Carolina Map: Black or African American Alone, percent, 2000*, available at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/maps/thematic/PL1210037.html> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004).

⁶⁷ The six counties with a 50 to 86.7% African American population are: Bertie, Edgecombe, Halifax, Hertford, Northampton, and Warren.

⁶⁸ The thirty-six counties with a 25 to 49.9% African American population are: Anson, Beaufort, Bladen, Caswell, Chowan, Columbus, Craven, Cumberland, Duplin, Durham, Forsyth, Franklin, Gates, Granville, Greene, Guilford, Hoke, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Martin, Mecklenburg, Nash, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Person, Pitt, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson, Scotland, Tyrell, Washington, Wayne, Wilson, and Vance.

⁶⁹ The twenty-one counties with a 12.4 to 24.9% African American population are: Alamance, Brunswick, Camden, Chatham, Cleveland, Gaston, Harnett, Iredell, Johnson, Lee, Montgomery, Moore, New Hanover, Onslow, Orange, Pender, Rockingham, Rowan, Union, and Wake.

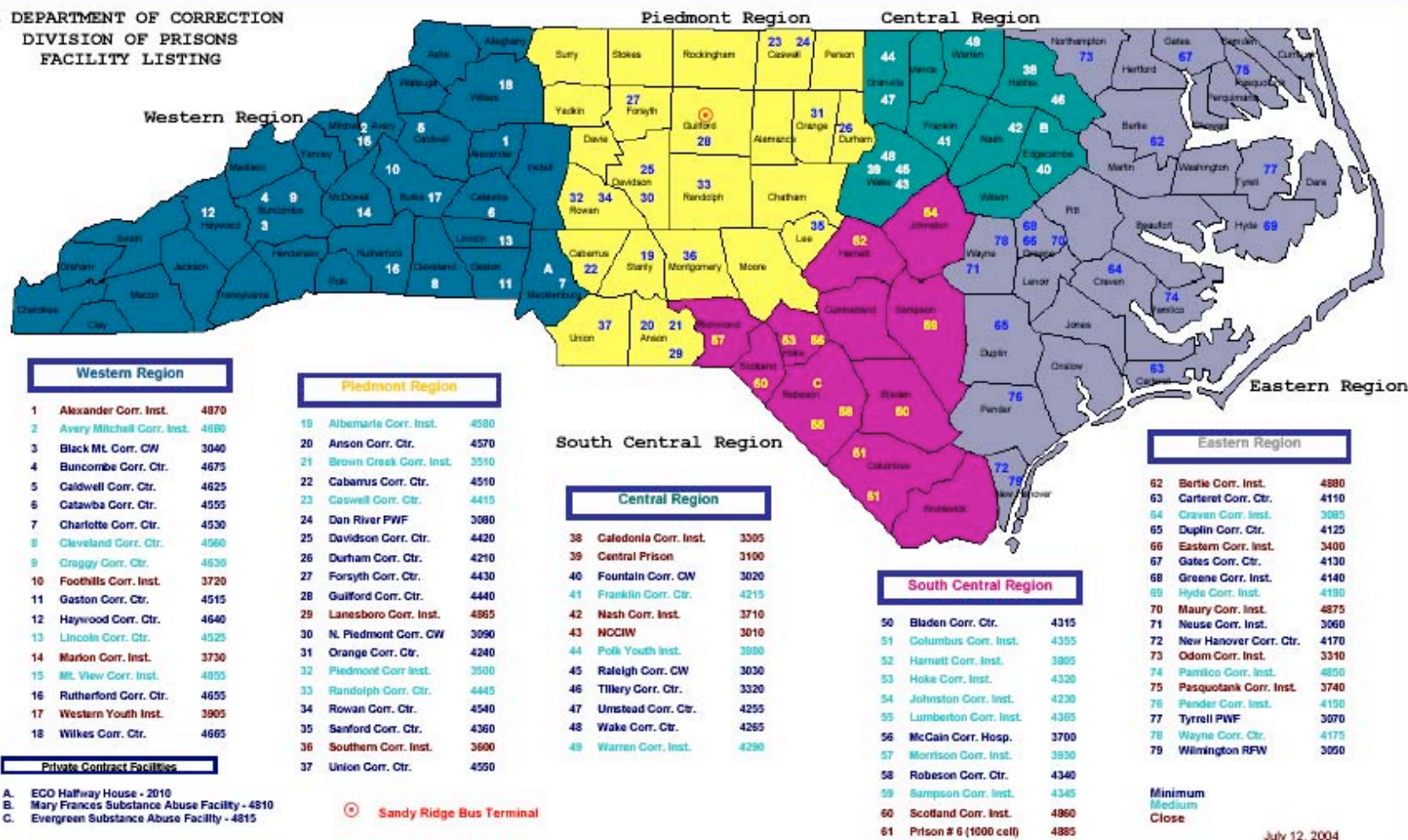
⁷⁰ The fourteen counties with a 5.0 to 12.3% African American population are: Buncombe, Burke, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Carteret, Catawba, Currituck, Davidson, Davie, Lincoln, Polk, Randolph, Rutherford, and Stanley.

5. North Carolina does Not Follow the Pattern Identified in New York.

In North Carolina, there is no racially significant movement of prisoners away from their county of residence to county of incarceration. In fact, there is most likely *not* a significant deviation generally between where prisoners are incarcerated and where they resided prior to incarceration. In other words, the same counties originate and incarcerate prisoners. Both the counties of residence and incarceration are dispersed throughout the state. In spite of this lack of concentration, there is still a shift of prisoners from metro to non-metro areas. However, there is no parallel movement of prisoners from heavily African-American to heavily white counties. Thus, North Carolina does not follow the pattern identified by Wagner in New York of urban to rural shifts correlating to a movement of prisoners from black to white areas of the state.

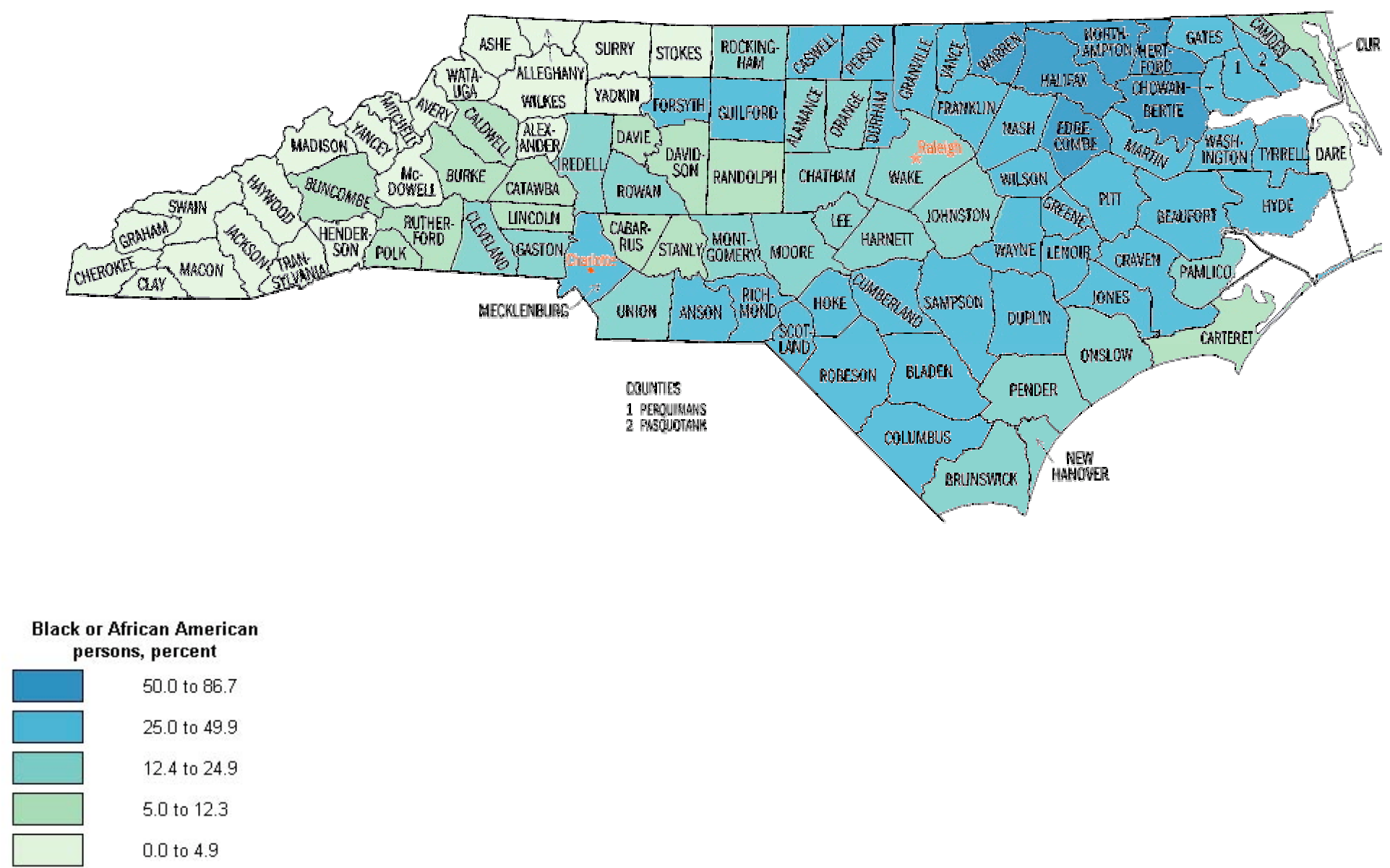
⁷¹ The twenty-three counties with a 0.0 to 4.9% African American population are: Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Cherokee, Clay, Dare, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, Macon, Madison, McDowell, Mitchell, Stokes, Surrey, Swain, Transylvania, Watauga, Wilkes, Yadkin, and Yancey.

NC DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION
DIVISION OF PRISONS
FACILITY LISTING



Source: North Carolina, Department of Corrections, Official Regional Map.

North Carolina: Black persons, percent, 2000



VI. RECOMMENDATION

To ensure accuracy and fairness in Census 2010, the Census Bureau must adopt standards for prisoner enumeration that account for the South. Failure to do so is especially troubling in light of the fact that the South now has higher incarceration rates than any other region in the United States.

Georgia and North Carolina deviate from the assumption that the “usual residence” rule as applied to prisoner enumeration results in movement of prisoners from minority, urban areas to white, rural ones. The lack of a cross race transfer in the South has implications for Census 2010.

The recommended method for counting prisoners is to compile two independent data sets: one indicating the incarceration address and another compiling the home county prior to incarceration.⁷² Such a standard introduces additional practical difficulties by: (a) increasing the complexity of data collection;⁷³ and (b) leaving unresolved which data set federal funding decisions should be based upon. In spite of these flaws, the bifurcation of the data into two statistical sets will provide increased accuracy and flexibility in state-based decisions, chief among them redistricting (which is, after all, the primary purpose of compiling Census data). Each state can then allocate prisoners based on its own disparities—of the lack thereof—in racial and geographic distributions.

⁷² Persily, *supra* note 3.

⁷³ This is not a small concern. The Census data, as illustrated by Appendix 3 detailing Alabama statistics, is already deeply flawed in some states. This is due to improperly allocating prisoners to counties as well as improperly including or excluding local inmates or federal prisoners in state prison facility totals. By bifurcating the data sets, inaccuracies in prisoner enumeration may increase.

APPENDIX 1: GEORGIA

GEORGIA: HOME COUNTY VERSUS COUNTY OF INCARCERATION

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Number of state prisoners from county	Number of state prisoners from county (Home County) [3]	Number of state prisoners in county	Incarceration Rate	Enumeration rate	% of Population that is African-American
		(County of Conviction) [2]		(County of Incarceration) [4] [5]	(Home County/ Census 2000 x 100,000)	(County of Incarceration/ Census 2000 x 100,000)	
Appling	17,419	87	99	0	568	0	19.6
Atkinson	7,609	40	42	0	552	0	19.6
Bacon	10,103	57	52	0	515	0	15.7
Baker	4,074	27	25	0	614	0	50.4
Baldwin	44,700	347	300	4,799	671	10736	43.4
Banks	14,422	63	51	0	354	0	3.2
Barrow	46,144	173	184	0	399	0	9.7
Bartow	76,019	402	407	0	535	0	8.7
Ben Hill	17,484	196	162	0	927	0	32.6
Berrien	16,235	63	60	0	370	0	11.4
Bibb	153,887	1,077	1,107	970	719	630	47.3
Bleckley	11,666	105	107	0	917	0	24.6
Brantley	14,629	45	41	0	280	0	4
Brooks	16,450	103	94	0	571	0	39.3
Bryan	23,417	95	96	0	410	0	14.1
Bulloch	55,983	365	323	0	577	0	28.8
Burke	22,243	174	162	0	728	0	51
Butts	19,522	152	129	1,785	661	9144	28.8
Calhoun	6,320	44	41	0	649	0	60.6
Camden	43,664	105	89	0	204	0	20.1
Candler	9,577	93	83	0	867	0	27.1
Carroll	87,268	447	433	0	496	0	16.3
Catoosa	53,282	172	116	0	218	0	1.3
Charlton	10,282	60	51	1,052	496	10231	29.3
Chatham	232,048	2,182	2,068	1,156	891	498	40.5
Chattahoochee	14,882	19	11	0	74	0	29.9
Chattooga	25,470	168	178	1,450	699	5693	11.2
Cherokee	141,903	383	314	0	221	0	2.5
Clarke	101,489	525	545	0	537	0	27.3
Clay	3,357	24	22	0	655	0	60.5
Clayton	236,517	1,683	1,184	50	501	21	51.6
Clinch	6,878	46	46	201	669	2922	29.5
Cobb	607,751	1,938	1,473	23	242	4	18.8
Coffee	37,413	213	209	1,018	559	2721	25.9
Colquitt	42,053	337	309	198	735	471	23.5
Columbia	89,288	214	161	0	180	0	11.2
Cook	15,771	149	142	0	900	0	29.1
Coweta	89,215	462	403	0	452	0	18

Crawford	12,495	16	15		120	0	23.8
Crisp	21,996	263	215	0	977	0	43.4
Dade	15,154	77	49	0	323	0	0.6
Dawson	15,999	53	60	0	375	0	0.4
Decatur	28,240	323	278	199	984	705	39.9
DeKalb	665,865	2,846	2,453	695	368	104	54.2
Dodge	19,171	203	176	1,005	918	5242	29.4
Dooly	11,525	117	101	1,129	876	9796	49.5
Dougherty	96,065	908	925	214	963	223	60.1
Douglas	92,174	615	387	0	420	0	18.5
Early	12,354	86	86	0	696	0	48.1
Echols	3,754	9	5	0	133	0	6.9
Effingham	37,535	147	140	0	373	0	13
Elbert	20,511	176	157	0	765	0	30.9
Emanuel	21,837	166	146	0	669	0	33.3
Evans	10,495	74	66	401	629	3821	33
Fannin	19,798	110	92	0	465	0	0.1
Fayette	91,263	181	95	0	104	0	11.5
Floyd	90,565	668	630	0	696	0	13.3
Forsyth	98,407	163	122	0	124	0	0.7
Franklin	20,285	123	99	0	488	0	8.8
Fulton	816,006	3,619	5,043	0	618	0	44.6
Gilmer	23,456	123	105	0	448	0	0.3
Glascocock	2,556	7	7	0	274	0	8.3
Glynn	67,568	509	447	0	662	0	26.5
Gordon	44,104	277	255	0	578	0	3.5
Grady	23,659	229	193	0	816	0	30.1
Greene	14,406	76	76	0	528	0	44.4
Gwinnett	588,448	1,127	869	1,041	148	177	13.3
Habersham	35,902	86	88	1,194	245	3326	4.5
Hall	139,277	607	569	250	409	179	7.3
Hancock	10,076	37	46	1,351	457	13408	77.8
Haralson	25,690	106	98	0	381	0	5.4
Harris	23,695	106	82	0	346	0	19.5
Hart	22,997	88	74	0	322	0	19.4
Heard	11,012	66	58	0	527	0	10.8
Henry	119,341	287	268	0	225	0	14.7
Houston	110,765	440	439	0	396	0	24.8
Irwin	9,931	78	79	0	795	0	25.9
Jackson	41,589	202	198	0	476	0	7.8
Jasper	11,426	67	66	0	578	0	27.3
Jeff Davis	12,684	62	71	0	560	0	15.1
Jefferson	17,266	158	158	0	915	0	56.3
Jenkins	8,575	80	91	0	1061	0	40.5
Johnson	8,560	53	40	0	467	0	37
Jones	23,639	65	38	0	161	0	23.3
Lamar	15,912	117	110	0	691	0	30.4
Lanier	7,241	50	55	195	760	2693	25.6
Laurens	44,874	264	264	0	588	0	34.5
Lee	24,757	52	46	723	186	2920	15.5

Liberty	61,610	231	209	0	339	0	42.8
Lincoln	8,348	38	35	0	419	0	34.4
Long	10,304	71	39	0	378	0	24.3
Lowndes	92,115	575	509	1,152	553	1251	34
Lumpkin	21,016	74	73	0	347	0	1.5
McDuffie	21,231	194	148	0	697	0	37.5
McIntosh	10,847	90	77	0	710	0	36.8
Macon	14,074	84	84	707	597	5023	59.5
Madison	25,730	102	104	0	404	0	8.5
Marion	7,144	48	47	0	658	0	34.1
Meriwether	22,534	202	186	0	825	0	42.2
Miller	6,383	37	35	0	548	0	28.9
Mitchell	23,932	245	211	1,486	882	6209	47.9
Monroe	21,757	118	95	443	437	2036	27.9
Montgomery	8,270	36	36	474	435	5732	27.2
Morgan	15,457	100	77	0	498	0	28.5
Murray	36,506	130	144	0	394	0	0.6
Muscogee	186,291	1,491	1,326	583	712	313	43.7
Newton	62,001	354	335	0	540	0	22.2
Oconee	26,225	51	38	0	145	0	6.4
Oglethorpe	12,635	44	36	0	285	0	19.8
Paulding	81,678	144	161	0	197	0	7
Peach	23,668	100	97	0	410	0	45.4
Pickens	22,983	100	100	0	435	0	1.3
Pierce	15,636	56	47	0	301	0	10.9
Pike	13,688	38	33	176	241	1286	14.8
Polk	38,127	168	183	0	480	0	13.3
Pulaski	9,588	99	76	975	793	10169	34.3
Putnam	18,812	134	116	140	617	744	29.9
Quitman	2,598	16	9	0	346	0	46.9
Rabun	15,050	41	37	0	246	0	0.8
Randolph	7,791	77	63	0	809	0	59.5
Richmond	199,775	1,766	1,694	1,219	848	610	49.8
Rockdale	70,111	314	250	182	357	260	18.2
Schley	3,766	26	22	0	584	0	31.3
Screven	15,374	144	119	0	774	0	45.3
Seminole	9,369	94	84	0	897	0	34.7
Spalding	58,417	608	549	52	940	89	31.1
Stephens	25,435	100	116	0	456	0	12
Stewart	5,252	27	26	0	495	0	61.5
Sumter	33,200	220	217	0	654	0	49
Talbot	6,498	37	45	0	693	0	61.6
Taliaferro	2,077	13	13	0	626	0	60.3
Tattnall	22,305	140	129	3,644	578	16337	31.4
Taylor	8,815	76	80	199	908	2258	42.6
Telfair	11,794	140	131	1,319	1111	11184	38.4
Terrell	10,970	91	83	0	757	0	60.7
Thomas	42,737	313	290	166	679	388	38.9
Tift	38,407	323	281	0	732	0	28
Toombs	26,067	280	246	0	944	0	24.2

Towns	9,319	26	16	0	172	0	0.1
Treutlen	6,854	50	47	0	686	0	33.1
Troup	58,779	644	543	0	924	0	31.9
Turner	9,504	83	73	0	768	0	41
Twiggs	10,590	36	34	0	321	0	43.7
Union	17,289	39	35	208	202	1203	0.6
Upson	27,597	201	187	0	678	0	27.9
Walker	61,053	289	228	399	373	654	3.8
Walton	60,687	275	260	0	428	0	14.4
Ware	35,483	439	398	1,274	1122	3590	28
Warren	6,336	49	51	0	805	0	59.5
Washington	21,176	127	134	1,044	633	4930	53.2
Wayne	26,565	124	126	195	474	734	20.3
Webster	2,390	8	7	0	293	0	47
Wheeler	6,179	39	28	999	453	16168	33.2
White	19,944	63	60	0	301	0	2.2
Whitfield	83,525	584	503	0	602	0	3.8
Wilcox	8,577	43	44	1,246	513	14527	36.2
Wilkes	10,687	76	67	0	627	0	43.1
Wilkinson	10,220	39	54	0	528	0	40.7
Worth	21,967	126	115	0	524	0	29.6
Totals	8,186,453	42,557	39,700	39381	546 (average)	1204	27.5805

[1] Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P1: Total Population, Georgia.

[2] Georgia Department of Corrections, Inmate Statistical Profile, April 12, 2000, County of Conviction Grand Total, p. 24-28 (646 prisoners are unknown).

[3] Georgia Department of Corrections, Inmate Statistical Profile, April 12, 200, Home County, p. 31-35. 105 prisoners are from out of state and 3,398 prisoners home county is unknown. Home County is defined as the self-reported address of the prisoner prior to incarceration.

[4] Data from Census 2000 Summary File; PCT16: Group Quarters Population By Group Quarters Type, Georgia (only state prisons included).

[5] Note there are several counties with significant local prison populations: Carroll (486); Chatham (998); Clayton (1,326); Cobb (2,192); Coweta (478); DeKalb (2,486); Dougherty (866); Douglas (520); Floyd (832); Fulton (3,116); Gwinnett (1,571); Hall (530); Laurens (451); Lowndes (464); Muscogee (1,311); Richmond (1,232); Troup (489).

GEORGIA: RACE DATA

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Adults [2]	Black or African American Alone [3]	Black Adults [4]	Number of state prisoners in county (County of Incarceration) [5]	Black Prisoners [6]	% of the County Population In Prison Under the Usual Residence Rule	% Black Adults Disenfranchise Under the Usual Residence Rule
Appling	17,419	12,690	3,412	2,248	0	15	0.00	0.6
Atkinson	7,609	5,301	1,492	1,021	0	2		0.2
Bacon	10,103	7,455	1,586	983	0	19		1.9
Baker	4,074	2,961	2,053	1,401	0	3		0.2
Baldwin	44,700	34,979	19,392	14,251	4,799	2,862	10.74	20.0
Banks	14,422	10,646	464	333	0	0	0.00	0.0
Barrow	46,144	33,019	4,483	3,065	0	43	0.00	1.4
Bartow	76,019	54,820	6,600	4,490	0	114	0.00	2.5
Ben Hill	17,484	12,675	5,706	3,718	0	64	0.00	1.7
Berrien	16,235	11,811	1,856	1,186	0	9	0.00	0.7
Bibb	153,887	113,007	72,818	48,731	970	1,043	0.63	2.1
Bleckley	11,666	8,595	2,869	1,873	0	15	0.00	0.8
Brantley	14,629	10,484	582	387	0	4	0.00	1.0
Brooks	16,450	12,025	6,472	4,229	0	26	0.00	0.6
Bryan	23,417	16,128	3,311	2,160	0	39	0.00	1.8
Bulloch	55,983	43,503	16,101	11,711	0	164	0.00	1.4
Burke	22,243	15,289	11,343	7,193	0	44	0.00	0.6
Butts	19,522	14,823	5,627	4,161	1,785	861	9.14	20.6
Calhoun	6,320	4,925	3,830	2,897	0	879	0.00	30.3
Camden	43,664	29,832	8,783	5,566	0	61	0.00	1.1
Candler	9,577	7,009	2,593	1,779	0	20	0.00	1.1
Carroll	87,268	64,638	14,241	9,857	0	281	0.00	2.8
Catoosa	53,282	39,526	669	437	0	10	0.00	2.2
Charlton	10,282	7,456	3,008	2,134	1,052	664	10.23	31.1
Chatham	232,048	173,965	93,971	63,721	1,156	1,729	0.50	2.7
Chattahoochee	14,882	10,656	4,453	2,967	0	0	0.00	0.0
Chattooga	25,470	19,636	2,856	2,315	1,450	947	5.69	40.9
Cherokee	141,903	101,793	3,525	2,368	0	20	0.00	0.8
Clarke	101,489	83,381	27,656	19,174	0	401	0.00	2.0
Clay	3,357	2,493	2,030	1,371	0	0	0.00	0.0
Clayton	236,517	165,596	121,927	78,602	50	833	0.02	1.0
Clinch	6,878	4,962	2,029	1,348	201	141	2.92	10.4
Cobb	607,751	449,345	114,233	77,784	23	1,218	0.00	1.5
Coffee	37,413	26,831	9,684	6,457	1,018	712	2.72	11.0
Colquitt	42,053	30,510	9,869	6,337	198	243	0.47	3.8
Columbia	89,288	62,858	10,011	6,793	0	33	0.00	0.4
Cook	15,771	11,318	4,587	2,904	0	24	0.00	0.8
Coweta	89,215	63,573	16,032	10,566	0	278	0.00	2.6
Crawford	12,495	9,047	2,974	2,123		13	0.00	0.6

Crisp	21,996	15,618	9,547	5,949	0	131	0.00	2.2
Dade	15,154	11,541	96	84	0	3	0.00	3.5
Dawson	15,999	11,991	57	32	0	2	0.00	6.2
Decatur	28,240	20,178	11,270	7,331	199	187	0.70	2.5
DeKalb	665,865	501,887	361,111	249,234	695	2,307	0.10	0.9
Dodge	19,171	14,192	5,637	3,812	1,005	652	5.24	17.1
Dooly	11,525	8,577	5,709	4,016	1,129	791	9.80	19.7
Dougherty	96,065	69,489	57,762	38,665	214	915	0.22	2.3
Douglas	92,174	66,739	17,065	11,320	0	217	0.00	1.9
Early	12,354	8,813	5,947	3,779	0	49	0.00	1.3
Echols	3,754	2,654	260	169	0	0	0.00	0.0
Effingham	37,535	26,301	4,876	3,159	0	100	0.00	3.1
Elbert	20,511	15,209	6,328	4,314	0	32	0.00	0.7
Emanuel	21,837	15,762	7,267	4,644	0	168	0.00	3.6
Evans	10,495	7,611	3,461	2,283	401	259	3.82	11.3
Fannin	19,798	15,654	24	18	0	1	0.00	5.5
Fayette	91,263	64,709	10,465	6,933	0	79	0.00	1.1
Floyd	90,565	68,329	12,050	8,264	0	338	0.00	4.0
Forsyth	98,407	70,941	684	485	0	9	0.00	1.8
Franklin	20,285	15,431	1,792	1,266	0	20	0.00	1.5
Fulton	816,006	616,716	363,656	257,850	0	5,842	0.00	2.2
Gilmer	23,456	17,753	63	37	0	3	0.00	8.1
Glascocock	2,556	1,947	212	160	0	0	0.00	0.0
Glynn	67,568	50,460	17,874	11,821	0	202	0.00	1.7
Gordon	44,104	32,606	1,527	1,077	0	29	0.00	2.6
Grady	23,659	17,206	7,133	4,677	0	46	0.00	0.9
Greene	14,406	10,792	6,403	4,270	0	35	0.00	0.8
Gwinnett	588,448	422,455	78,224	52,977	1,041	1,205	0.18	2.2
Habersham	35,902	27,471	1,610	1,329	1,194	829	3.33	62.3
Hall	139,277	101,760	10,126	6,962	250	314	0.18	4.5
Hancock	10,076	7,651	7,835	5,685	1,351	935	13.41	16.4
Haralson	25,690	18,992	1,388	955	0	11	0.00	1.1
Harris	23,695	17,630	4,614	3,317	0	63	0.00	1.9
Hart	22,997	17,595	4,452	3,100	0	203	0.00	6.5
Heard	11,012	7,848	1,192	847	0	6	0.00	0.7
Henry	119,341	84,480	17,523	11,709	0	120	0.00	1.0
Houston	110,765	79,549	27,422	18,183	0	95	0.00	0.5
Irwin	9,931	7,071	2,570	1,601	0	15	0.00	0.9
Jackson	41,589	30,518	3,234	2,399	0	217	0.00	9.0
Jasper	11,426	8,317	3,115	2,145	0	16	0.00	0.7
Jeff Davis	12,684	9,230	1,920	1,296	0	7	0.00	0.5
Jefferson	17,266	12,363	9,717	6,531	0	148	0.00	2.2
Jenkins	8,575	6,132	3,472	2,271	0	12	0.00	0.5
Johnson	8,560	5,981	3,164	1,888	0	9	0.00	0.4
Jones	23,639	17,228	5,506	4,022	0	50	0.00	1.2
Lamar	15,912	12,013	4,836	3,475	0	68	0.00	1.9
Lanier	7,241	5,258	1,856	1,278	195	119	2.69	9.3
Laurens	44,874	32,829	15,494	10,388	0	319	0.00	3.0

Lee	24,757	17,168	3,838	2,697	723	498	2.92	18.4
Liberty	61,610	41,916	26,396	16,917	0	0	0.00	0.0
Lincoln	8,348	6,311	2,869	2,054	0	31	0.00	1.5
Long	10,304	6,893	2,499	1,546	0	0	0.00	0.0
Lowndes	92,115	67,981	31,309	21,233	1,152	1,656	1.25	7.8
Lumpkin	21,016	15,914	307	232	0	1	0.00	0.4
McDuffie	21,231	15,315	7,966	5,286	0	79	0.00	1.4
McIntosh	10,847	7,805	3,993	2,643	0	8	0.00	0.3
Macon	14,074	10,187	8,371	5,837	707	482	5.02	8.2
Madison	25,730	18,966	2,176	1,501	0	6	0.00	0.4
Marion	7,144	5,119	2,434	1,625	0	10	0.00	0.6
Meriwether	22,534	16,536	9,512	6,489	0	32	0.00	0.4
Miller	6,383	4,705	1,845	1,186	0	8	0.00	0.6
Mitchell	23,932	17,392	11,455	7,797	1,486	1,084	6.21	13.9
Monroe	21,757	16,044	6,077	4,398	443	318	2.04	7.2
Montgomery	8,270	6,199	2,253	1,664	474	359	5.73	21.5
Morgan	15,457	11,351	4,410	3,078	0	18	0.00	0.5
Murray	36,506	26,302	226	148	0	5	0.00	3.3
Muscogee	186,291	136,289	81,488	55,161	583	1,376	0.31	2.4
Newton	62,001	44,844	13,771	9,164	0	86	0.00	0.9
Oconee	26,225	18,294	1,683	1,145	0	6	0.00	0.5
Oglethorpe	12,635	9,377	2,496	1,775	0	7	0.00	0.3
Paulding	81,678	56,599	5,685	3,659	0	48	0.00	1.3
Peach	23,668	17,505	10,738	7,847	0	64	0.00	0.8
Pickens	22,983	17,570	293	205	0	6	0.00	2.9
Pierce	15,636	11,467	1,706	1,143	0	5	0.00	0.4
Pike	13,688	9,909	2,025	1,492	176	119	1.29	7.9
Polk	38,127	28,190	5,085	3,489	0	169	0.00	4.8
Pulaski	9,588	7,372	3,287	2,420	975	602	10.17	24.8
Putnam	18,812	14,444	5,625	3,814	140	117	0.74	3.0
Quitman	2,598	1,975	1,218	813	0	0	0.00	0.0
Rabun	15,050	11,764	119	71	0	2	0.00	2.8
Randolph	7,791	5,662	4,633	3,140	0	21	0.00	0.6
Richmond	199,775	146,167	99,391	66,940	1,219	1,639	0.61	2.4
Rockdale	70,111	50,823	12,771	8,251	182	235	0.26	2.8
Schley	3,766	2,663	1,178	767	0	5	0.00	0.6
Screven	15,374	11,083	6,963	4,663	0	120	0.00	2.5
Seminole	9,369	6,919	3,247	2,055	0	14	0.00	0.6
Spalding	58,417	42,485	18,141	11,881	52	233	0.09	1.9
Stephens	25,435	19,468	3,053	2,144	0	45	0.00	2.1
Stewart	5,252	3,945	3,232	2,316	0	23	0.00	0.9
Sumter	33,200	23,968	16,276	10,715	0	259	0.00	2.4
Talbot	6,498	4,928	4,002	2,917	0	13	0.00	0.4
Taliaferro	2,077	1,577	1,253	912	0	0	0.00	0.0
Tattnall	22,305	17,197	7,010	5,479	3,644	2,714	16.34	49.5
Taylor	8,815	6,446	3,752	2,541	199	112	2.26	4.4
Telfair	11,794	9,141	4,534	3,393	1,319	965	11.18	28.4
Terrell	10,970	7,856	6,658	4,371	0	86	0.00	1.9

Thomas	42,737	31,136	16,607	11,164	166	278	0.39	2.4
Tift	38,407	27,948	10,760	6,980	0	116	0.00	1.6
Toombs	26,067	18,624	6,296	3,993	0	41	0.00	1.0
Towns	9,319	7,802	12	12	0	0	0.00	0.0
Treutlen	6,854	5,073	2,269	1,555	0	225	0.00	14.4
Troup	58,779	42,406	18,734	12,436	0	349	0.00	2.8
Turner	9,504	6,707	3,895	2,450	0	49	0.00	2.0
Twiggs	10,590	7,731	4,623	3,194	0	26	0.00	0.8
Union	17,289	13,830	100	86	208	62	1.20	72.0
Upson	27,597	20,565	7,712	5,368	0	66	0.00	1.2
Walker	61,053	45,937	2,310	1,666	399	174	0.65	10.4
Walton	60,687	43,464	8,749	5,714	0	98	0.00	1.7
Ware	35,483	26,679	9,939	6,882	1,274	1,063	3.59	15.4
Warren	6,336	4,666	3,768	2,568	0	0	0.00	0.0
Washington	21,176	15,472	11,265	7,770	1,044	676	4.93	8.7
Wayne	26,565	19,674	5,398	3,835	195	1,072	0.73	27.9
Webster	2,390	1,787	1,124	816	0	2	0.00	0.2
Wheeler	6,179	4,796	2,050	1,572	999	632	16.17	40.2
White	19,944	15,322	432	335	0	4	0.00	1.1
Whitfield	83,525	60,691	3,214	2,263	0	18	0.00	0.8
Wilcox	8,577	6,624	3,106	2,329	1,246	873	14.53	37.4
Wilkes	10,687	8,126	4,601	3,397	0	39	0.00	1.1
Wilkinson	10,220	7,437	4,160	2,817	0	12	0.00	0.4
Worth	21,967	15,683	6,495	4,121	0	20	0.00	0.4
		6,017,249		1,602,985	39381	50,593		

- 1]** Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P1: Total Population, Georgia.
- [2]** Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P12: Sex by Age.
- [3]** Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1, P7: Race, Georgia (African American Alone).
- [4]** Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P12B: Sex by Age (African American alone).
- [5]** Data from Census 2000 Summary File; PCT16: Group Quarters Population By Group Quarters Type, Georgia (only state prisons included).
- [6]** Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P17B: Group Quarters Type by Sex by Age by Group Quarters Type, Black or African American alone, Georgia (this includes all correctional institutions, not just state prisons).

GEORGIA: DEGREE OF URBANIZATION AND LOCATION OF PRISONS

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Urban [2]	Rural	Metro or Non-metro Classification [4]	Prisons [3]
Appling	17,419	5,204	12,215		
Atkinson	7,609	0	7,609		
Bacon	10,103	2,929	7,174		
Baker	4,074	0	4,074		
	44,700				Baldwin SP Rivers SP Men's SP Bostick SP Scott SP [Baldwin BC; Scott BC Cent.St.Hosp]
Baldwin		29,562	15,138		
Banks	14,422	765	13,657		
Barrow	46,144	21,655	24,489	METRO	
Bartow	76,019	44,432	31,587	METRO	
Ben Hill	17,484	11,242	6,242		
Berrien	16,235	4,137	12,098		
Bibb	153,887	130,988	22,899	METRO	Central SP [Macon TC]
Bleckley	11,666	5,551	6,115		
Brantley	14,629	162	14,467		
Brooks	16,450	4,767	11,683		
Bryan	23,417	9,466	13,951	METRO	
Bulloch	55,983	26,605	29,378		Bulloch CP
Burke	22,243	5,552	16,691		
Butts	19,522	4,116	15,406		GA Diag & Class. Prison
Calhoun	6,320	0	6,320		Calhoun SP
Camden	43,664	28,192	15,472		
Candler	9,577	2,778	6,799		
Carroll	87,268	41,544	45,724	METRO	Carroll CI
Catoosa	53,282	37,616	15,666	METRO	
Charlton	10,282	3,914	6,368		D Ray James SP
Chatham	232,048	219,104	12,944	METRO	Coastal SP [Savannah TC]
Chattahoochee	14,882	11,737	3,145	METRO	
Chattooga	25,470	11,122	14,348		Hayes SP
Cherokee	141,903	105,993	35,910	METRO	

Clarke	101,489	92,644	8,845	METRO	Clarke CP
Clay	3,357	0	3,357		
Clayton	236,517	233,343	3,174	METRO	Clayton CP
Clinch	6,878	2,877	4,001		Homerville SP
Cobb	607,751	604,596	3,155	METRO	
Coffee	37,413	12,648	24,765		Coffee CP
Colquitt	42,053	15,642	26,411		Colquitt CP
Columbia	89,288	65,673	23,615	METRO	Augusta SMP
Cook	15,771	6,521	9,250		
Coweta	89,215	48,586	40,629	METRO	Coweta CP
Crawford	12,495	0	12,495		
Crisp	21,996	13,170	8,826		
Dade	15,154	3,204	11,950	METRO	
Dawson	15,999	0	15,999		
Decatur	28,240	11,956	16,284		Decatur CP
DeKalb	665,865	662,907	2,958	METRO	Metro SP [Metro TranCt]
Dodge	19,171	5,795	13,376		Dodge SP
Dooly	11,525	2,577	8,948		Dolly SP
Dougherty	96,065	83,190	12,875	METRO	Albany TC
Douglas	92,174	73,467	18,707	METRO	
Early	12,354	4,261	8,093		
Echols	3,754	0	3,754		
Effingham	37,535	9,175	28,360	METRO	Effingham CP
Elbert	20,511	6,313	14,198		
Emanuel	21,837	6,793	15,044		
Evans	10,495	3,972	6,523		
Fannin	19,798	0	19,798		
Fayette	91,263	71,391	19,872	METRO	
Floyd	90,565	58,287	32,278		Floyd CP
Forsyth	98,407	64,243	34,164	METRO	
Franklin	20,285	2,169	18,116		
Fulton	816,006	798,520	17,486	METRO	Atlanta TC
Gilmer	23,456	3,241	20,215		
Glascock	2,556	0	2,556		
Glynn	67,568	51,653	15,915		
Gordon	44,104	15,486	28,618		
Grady	23,659	8,978	14,681		
Greene	14,406	2,621	11,785		
Gwinnett	588,448	573,215	15,233	METRO	Phillips SP Gwinnett CP
Habersham	35,902	12,643	23,259		Arrendale SP
Hall	139,277	93,066	46,211		Hall County CP
Hancock	10,076	4,054	6,022		Hancock SP
Haralson	25,690	4,371	21,319		
Harris	23,695	759	22,936	METRO	Harris Cty.

					CP
Hart	22,997	5,702	17,295		
Heard	11,012	0	11,012		
Henry	119,341	86,600	32,741	METRO	
Houston	110,765	94,247	16,518	METRO	
Irwin	9,931	3,218	6,713		
Jackson	41,589	4,917	36,672		Jackson SP Jackson CP
Jasper	11,426	0	11,426		
Jeff Davis	12,684	4,091	8,593		
Jefferson	17,266	3,233	14,033		Jefferson CP
Jenkins	8,575	3,039	5,536		
Johnson	8,560	0	8,560		Johnson SP
Jones	23,639	4,453	19,186	METRO	
Lamar	15,912	6,729	9,183		
Lanier	7,241	415	6,826		
Laurens	44,874	19,261	25,613		
Lee	24,757	12,260	12,497	METRO	Lee SP
Liberty	61,610	49,224	12,386		
Lincoln	8,348	0	8,348		
Long	10,304	1,136	9,168		
Lowndes	92,115	62,731	29,384		Valdosta SP Lowndes SP
Lumpkin	21,016	3,064	17,952		
McDuffie	21,231	8,182	13,049	METRO	
McIntosh	10,847	2,848	7,999		
Macon	14,074	5,943	8,131		Macon SP
Madison	25,730	953	24,777	METRO	
Marion	7,144	0	7,144		
Meriwether	22,534	3,707	18,827		
Miller	6,383	0	6,383		
Mitchell	23,932	11,453	12,479		Autry SP Mitchell CP
Monroe	21,757	5,276	16,481		Burruss CTC [Burruss BC]
Montgomery	8,270	124	8,146		Montgomery SP [Montgom. BC]
Morgan	15,457	3,616	11,841		
Murray	36,506	10,045	26,461		
Muscogee	186,291	181,632	4,659	METRO	Rutledge SP Rutledge CP
Newton	62,001	34,908	27,093	METRO	
Oconee	26,225	12,801	13,424	METRO	
Oglethorpe	12,635	2	12,633		
Paulding	81,678	49,156	32,522	METRO	
Peach	23,668	15,120	8,548	METRO	
Pickens	22,983	4,989	17,994	METRO	

Pierce	15,636	3,658	11,978		
Pike	13,688	0	13,688		
Polk	38,127	18,253	19,874		
Pulaski	9,588	3,957	5,631		Pulaski SP
Putnam	18,812	4,371	14,441		Putnam SP
Quitman	2,598	1,064	1,534		
Rabun	15,050	0	15,050		
Randolph	7,791	3,662	4,129		
Richmond	199,775	184,376	15,399	METRO	Richmond CP
Rockdale	70,111	59,473	10,638	METRO	
Schley	3,766	0	3,766		
Screven	15,374	2,641	12,733		Screven CP
Seminole	9,369	2,617	6,752		
Spalding	58,417	34,745	23,672	METRO	Spalding CP
Stephens	25,435	10,089	15,346		
Stewart	5,252	0	5,252		Stewart CP
Sumter	33,200	18,825	14,375		Sumter CP
Talbot	6,498	0	6,498		
Taliaferro	2,077	0	2,077		
Tattnall	22,305	4,741	17,564		Georgia SP Rogers SP Smith SP
Taylor	8,815	0	8,815		
Telfair	11,794	5,039	6,755		Telfair SP Milan SP
Terrell	10,970	4,961	6,009		Terrell CP
Thomas	42,737	21,322	21,415		Thomas CP
Tift	38,407	21,461	16,946		
Toombs	26,067	12,474	13,593		
Towns	9,319	0	9,319		
Treutlen	6,854	3,036	3,818		Treutlen BC
Troup	58,779	32,974	25,805		Troup CI
Turner	9,504	4,971	4,533		
Twiggs	10,590	0	10,590	METRO	
Union	17,289	0	17,289		
Upson	27,597	15,359	12,238		
Walker	61,053	34,479	26,574	METRO	Walker SP
Walton	60,687	25,168	35,519		
Ware	35,483	25,406	10,077		Ware SP
Warren	6,336	0	6,336		
Washington	21,176	7,111	14,065		Wash SP
Wayne	26,565	12,738	13,827		Wayne SP
Webster	2,390	0	2,390		
Wheeler	6,179	0	6,179		Wheeler CP
White	19,944	0	19,944		
Whitfield	83,525	57,067	26,458		
Wilcox	8,577	0	8,577		Wilcox SP
Wilkes	10,687	3,321	7,366		

Wilkinson	10,220	0	10,220		
Worth	21,967	6,589	15,378		

[1] Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P1: Total Population, Georgia.

[2] Census 2000: Data Set, Summary File 1: P2: Urban/Rural, Georgia.

[3] For prisons located in each county, see Georgia Department of Corrections, Annual Report

Fiscal Year 2003, p.23. For institution population, see Georgia Department of State, Inmate Statistical Profile, April 12, 2000, p.41-42. Abbreviations denote the following: SP is State Prison; CP is County Prison; SMP is State Medical Prison; CI is a the same as County Prison; and BC is Boot Camp.

[4] Cynthia Brewer, Mapping the Census: The Geography of U.S. Diversity, p. 7 (June 2001), issued by Census 2000.

APPENDIX 2: NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA: COUNTY OF RESIDENCE COMPARED TO COUNTY OF INCARCERATION

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Number of state prisoners from county	Number of state prisoners from county (County of Residence) [3]	Number of state prisoners in county	Incarceration Rate	% AA	Net change in population from Census counting method	Net Change as a % of the County Total
		(County of Conviction) [2]		(County of Incarceration) [4]	(County of Residence/Census 2000 x 100,000)			
Alamance	130,800	707	683	56	522	19	-627	-0.48
Alexander	33,603	84	81	0	241	5	-81	-0.24
Alleghany	10,677	31	29	0	272	1	-29	-0.27
Anson	25,275	143	143	1,127	566	49	984	3.89
Ashe	24,384	47	46	0	189	1	-46	-0.19
Avery	17,167	22	21	1,237	122	4	1,216	7.08
Beaufort	44,958	274	271	0	603	29	-271	-0.60
Bertie	19,773	143	155	0	784	62	-155	-0.78
Bladen	32,278	126	124	101	384	38	-23	-0.07
Brunswick	73,143	181	187	0	256	14	-187	-0.26
Buncombe	206,330	968	865	465	419	8	-400	-0.19
Burke	89,148	235	224	1,348	251	7	1,124	1.26
Cabarrus	131,063	547	481	194	367	12	-287	-0.22
Caldwell	77,415	263	256	188	331	6	-68	-0.09
Camden	6,885	10	11	0	160	17	-11	-0.16
Carteret	59,383	158	153	252	258	7	99	0.17
Caswell	23,501	94	80	969	340	37	889	3.78
Catawba	141,685	382	376	214	265	8	-162	-0.11
Chatham	49,329	103	120	0	243	17	-120	-0.24
Cherokee	24,298	66	50	0	206	2	-50	-0.21
Chowan	14,526	47	51	0	351	38	-51	-0.35
Clay	8,775	9	11	0	125	1	-11	-0.13
Cleveland	96,287	326	317	96	329	21	-221	-0.23
Columbus	54,749	225	215	686	393	31	471	0.86
Craven	91,436	384	372	577	407	25	205	0.22
Cumberland	302,963	1,402	1,293	0	427	35	-1,293	-0.43
Currituck	18,190	38	39	59	214	7	20	0.11
Dare	29,967	88	52	0	174	3	-52	-0.17
Davidson	147,246	510	498	363	338	9	-135	-0.09

Davie	34,835	116	111	0	319	7	-111	-0.32
Duplin	49,063	207	187	279	381	29	92	0.19
Durham	223,314	923	1,018	198	456	40	-820	-0.37
Edgecombe	55,606	295	305	375	549	58	70	0.13
Forsyth	306,067	1,681	1,646	232	538	26	-1,414	-0.46
Franklin	47,260	192	166	386	351	30	220	0.47
Gaston	190,365	722	729	0	383	14	-729	-0.38
Gates	10,516	21	24	88	228	39	64	0.61
Graham	7,993	14	15	0	188	0	-15	-0.19
Granville	48,498	188	164	883	338	35	719	1.48
Greene	18,974	86	84	1,025	443	41	941	4.96
Guilford	421,048	2,365	2,120	137	504	29	-1,983	-0.47
Halifax	57,370	279	280	1,016	488	53	736	1.28
Harnett	91,025	327	298	876	327	23	578	0.63
Haywood	54,033	129	128	118	237	1	-10	-0.02
Henderson	89,173	175	185	112	207	3	-73	-0.08
Hertford	22,601	198	161	0	712	60	-161	-0.71
Hoke	33,646	173	170	916	505	38	746	2.22
Hyde	5,826	29	23	569	395	35	546	9.37
Iredell	122,660	511	488	0	398	14	-488	-0.40
Jackson	33,121	49	45	0	136	2	-45	-0.14
Johnston	121,965	418	387	643	317	16	256	0.21
Jones	10,381	32	29	0	279	36	-29	-0.28
Lee	49,040	271	280	259	571	21	-21	-0.04
Lenoir	59,648	399	393	0	659	40	-393	-0.66
Lincoln	63,780	216	189	201	296	6	12	0.02
McDowell	42,151	46	41	752	97	4	711	1.69
Macon	29,811	26	27	0	91	1	-27	-0.09
Madison	19,635	139	130	0	662	1	-130	-0.66
Martin	25,593	130	110	0	430	45	-110	-0.43
Mecklenburg	695,454	2,022	2,036	249	293	28	-1,787	-0.26
Mitchell	15,687	22	19	0	121	0	-19	-0.12
Montgomery	26,822	110	114	753	425	22	639	2.38
Moore	74,769	285	269	0	360	16	-269	-0.36
Nash	87,420	354	338	594	387	34	256	0.29
New Hanover	160,307	799	708	414	442	17	-294	-0.18
Northampton	22,086	153	135	483	611	59	348	1.58
Onslow	150,355	410	362	0	241	19	-362	-0.24
Orange	118,227	300	234	169	198	14	-65	-0.05
Pamlico	12,934	43	45	496	348	25	451	3.49
Pasquotank	34,897	185	144	830	413	40	686	1.97
Pender	41,082	135	140	732	341	24	592	1.44

Perquimans	11,368	36	47	0	413	28	-47	-0.41
Person	35,623	155	137	0	385	28	-137	-0.38
Pitt	133,798	654	639	0	478	34	-639	-0.48
Polk	18,324	29	22	0	120	6	-22	-0.12
Randolph	130,454	279	338	214	259	6	-124	-0.10
Richmond	46,564	276	261	497	561	31	236	0.51
Robeson	123,339	588	627	830	508	25	203	0.16
Rockingham	91,928	385	363	0	395	20	-363	-0.39
Rowan	130,340	622	601	956	461	16	355	0.27
Rutherford	62,899	242	236	207	375	11	-29	-0.05
Sampson	60,161	268	251	456	417	30	205	0.34
Scotland	35,998	240	225	64	625	37	-161	-0.45
Stanly	58,100	162	129	640	222	12	511	0.88
Stokes	44,711	110	105	0	235	5	-105	-0.23
Surry	71,219	251	228	0	320	4	-228	-0.32
Swain	12,968	28	21	0	162	2	-21	-0.16
Transylvania	29,334	58	52	0	177	4	-52	-0.18
Tyrrell	4,149	10	8	0	193	39	-8	-0.19
Union	123,677	357	319	91	258	13	-228	-0.18
Vance	42,954	252	264	0	615	48	-264	-0.61
Wake	627,846	2,143	1,874	2,611	298	20	737	0.12
Warren	19,972	79	62	592	310	55	530	2.65
Washington	13,723	78	73	0	532	49	-73	-0.53
Watauga	42,695	52	52	0	122	2	-52	-0.12
Wayne	113,329	624	619	972	546	33	353	0.31
Wilkes	65,632	261	248	257	378	4	9	0.01
Wilson	73,814	396	396	0	536	39	-396	-0.54
Yadkin	36,348	94	85	0	234	3	-85	-0.23
Yancey	17,774	29	34	0	191	1	-34	-0.19
Totals	8,049,313	31,546	29,997	30104	355 (average)			

[1] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, P1: Total Population, North Carolina.

[2] North Carolina Department of Corrections, Prison Population as of June 30, 2000, County of Conviction. 21 prisoners were classified as “other” and 14 were classified as “missing.” County of Conviction is defined by North Carolina as the “sentencing county for most serious crime based on commitment.” See the ASQ Help Glossary, available on the N.C. DoC website.

[3] North Carolina Department of Corrections, Prison Population as of June 30, 2000, County of Residence. 1552 prisoners were classified as “other” and 32 prisoners were classified as “missing.” County of Residence is defined by North Carolina as “the county where the offender last resided based on self-report.” See the ASQ Help Glossary, available on the N.C. DoC website.

[4] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, PCT 16: Group Quarters Population By Group Quarters Type, North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA: RACE DATA

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Adults [2]	Black or African American alone [3]	Black Adults [4]	Number of state prisoners in county	Black prisoners [6]	% of the County Population In Prison Under the Usual Residence Rule	% Black Adults Disenfranchised According to the Usual Residence Rule
					(County of Incarceration) [5]			
Alamance	130,800	99,646	24,544	17,612	56	24	0.04	0.14
Alexander	33,603	25,369	1,557	1,165	0	0	0.00	0.00
Alleghany	10,667	8,604	131	111	0	0	0.00	0.00
Anson	25,275	18,897	12,295	8,657	1,127	803	4.46	9.28
Ashe	24,384	19,557	162	128	0	0	0.00	0.00
Avery	17,167	13,831	598	581	1,237	547	7.21	94.15
Beaufort	44,958	34,436	13,051	9,205	0	0	0.00	0.00
Bertie	19,773	14,610	12,326	8,646	0	0	0.00	0.00
Bladen	32,278	24,330	12,235	8,649	101	66	0.31	0.76
Brunswick	73,143	57,634	10,516	7,311	0	0	0.00	0.00
Buncombe	206,330	161,201	15,425	10,907	465	214	0.23	1.96
Burke	89,148	67,776	5,984	4,472	1,348	965	1.51	21.58
Cabarrus	131,063	97,281	15,961	11,015	194	118	0.15	1.07
Caldwell	77,415	59,266	4,223	2,935	188	68	0.24	2.32
Camden	6,885	5,200	1,189	911	0	0	0.00	0.00
Carteret	59,383	47,086	4,151	2,984	252	157	0.42	5.26
Caswell	23,501	18,049	8,583	6,577	969	618	4.12	9.40
Catawba	141,685	107,293	11,862	8,135	214	115	0.15	1.41
Chatham	49,329	38,245	8,422	6,359	0	0	0.00	0.00
Cherokee	24,298	19,299	387	287	0	0	0.00	0.00
Chowan	14,526	11,050	5,450	3,800	0	0	0.00	0.00
Clay	8,775	7,147	70	50	0	0	0.00	0.00
Cleveland	96,287	72,069	20,155	13,730	96	82	0.10	0.60
Columbus	54,749	40,680	16,934	11,609	686	444	1.25	3.82
Craven	91,436	68,940	22,966	16,026	577	418	0.63	2.61
Cumberland	302,963	218,361	105,731	72,048	0	0	0.00	0.00
Currituck	18,190	13,583	1,318	968	59	0	0.32	0.00
Dare	29,967	23,556	797	578	0	0	0.00	0.00
Davidson	147,246	111,468	13,463	9,458	363	194	0.25	2.05
Davie	34,835	26,380	2,368	1,760	0	0	0.00	0.00
Duplin	49,063	36,258	14,198	10,064	279	192	0.57	1.91
Durham	223,314	172,105	88,109	62,608	198	149	0.09	0.24
Edgecombe	55,606	40,539	31,949	22,015	375	211	0.67	0.96
Forsyth	306,067	232,845	78,388	55,238	232	150	0.08	0.27
Franklin	47,260	35,302	14,193	10,168	386	348	0.82	3.42
Gaston	190,365	143,491	26,405	17,828	0	121	0.00	0.68
Gates	10,516	7,713	4,120	2,966	88	77	0.84	2.60

Graham	7,993	6,238	15	9	0		0.00	0.00
Granville	48,498	36,910	16,943	12,833	883	625	1.82	4.87
Greene	18,974	14,182	7,820	5,622	1,025	739	5.40	13.14
Guilford	421,048	321,209	123,253	88,386	137	91	0.03	0.10
Halifax	57,370	42,365	30,151	21,050	1,016	763	1.77	3.62
Harnett	91,025	66,485	20,481	13,814	876	515	0.96	3.73
Haywood	54,033	42,810	684	531	118	35	0.22	6.59
Henderson	89,173	70,621	2,725	1,906	112	38	0.13	1.99
Hertford	22,601	16,878	13,459	9,485	0	0	0.00	0.00
Hoke	33,646	23,615	12,664	8,677	916	408	2.72	4.70
Hyde	5,826	4,640	2,043	1,595	569	417	9.77	26.14
Iredell	122,660	91,338	16,762	11,539	0	0	0.00	0.00
Jackson	33,121	26,824	552	486	0	0	0.00	0.00
Johnston	121,965	90,141	19,090	13,106	643	427	0.53	3.26
Jones	10,381	7,716	3,724	2,671	0	0	0.00	0.00
Lee	49,040	36,455	10,032	6,999	259	173	0.53	2.47
Lenoir	59,648	44,569	24,115	16,976	0	0	0.00	0.00
Lincoln	63,780	47,905	4,108	2,830	201	97	0.32	3.43
McDowell	42,151	32,533	1,753	1,412	752	363	1.78	25.71
Macon	29,811	23,748	357	235	0	0	0.00	0.00
Madison	19,635	15,463	162	143	0	0	0.00	0.00
Martin	25,593	19,060	11,611	8,089	0	0	0.00	0.00
Mecklenburg	695,454	521,205	193,838	134,060	249	186	0.04	0.14
Mitchell	15,687	12,366	34	19	0	0	0.00	0.00
Montgomery	26,822	20,142	5,857	4,188	753	508	2.81	12.13
Moore	74,769	58,228	11,589	8,048	0	0	0.00	0.00
Nash	87,420	65,216	29,664	20,756	594	339	0.68	1.63
New Hanover	160,307	126,715	27,203	18,956	414	277	0.26	1.46
Northampton	22,086	16,718	13,125	9,479	483	376	2.19	3.97
Onslow	150,355	111,017	27,790	19,064	0	0	0.00	0.00
Orange	118,227	94,243	16,298	12,362	169	123	0.14	0.99
Pamlico	12,934	10,208	3,178	2,401	496	366	3.83	15.24
Pasquotank	34,897	26,214	13,975	10,042	830	567	2.38	5.65
Pender	41,082	31,555	9,689	7,111	732	486	1.78	6.83
Perquimans	11,368	8,758	3,182	2,290	0	0	0.00	0.00
Person	35,623	27,073	10,049	7,206	0	0	0.00	0.00
Pitt	133,798	102,244	45,019	31,238	0	0	0.00	0.00
Polk	18,324	14,635	1,079	782	0	0	0.00	0.00
Randolph	130,454	97,851	7,342	5,176	214	127	0.16	2.45
Richmond	46,564	34,567	14,215	9,639	497	333	1.07	3.45
Robeson	123,339	87,514	30,973	20,672	830	562	0.67	2.72
Rockingham	91,928	70,453	17,987	13,098	0	0	0.00	0.00
Rowan	130,340	98,165	20,562	14,376	956	504	0.73	3.51
Rutherford	62,899	47,939	7,066	4,899	207	96	0.33	1.96
Sampson	60,161	44,633	18,018	12,864	456	333	0.76	2.59
Scotland	35,998	25,881	13,434	8,954	64	37	0.18	0.41
Stanly	58,100	43,579	6,657	4,593	640	493	1.10	10.73
Stokes	44,711	33,761	2,084	1,574	0	0	0.00	0.00

Surry	71,219	54,439	2,965	2,135	0	0	0.00	0.00
Swain	12,968	9,818	221	167	0	0	0.00	0.00
Transylvania	29,334	23,362	1,235	855	0	0	0.00	0.00
Tyrrell	4,149	3,209	1,636	1,231	0	280	0.00	22.75
Union	123,677	88,923	15,480	10,226	91	73	0.07	0.71
Vance	42,954	31,330	20,749	14,131	0	0	0.00	0.00
Wake	627,846	470,249	123,820	87,714	2,611	1500	0.42	1.71
Warren	19,972	15,271	10,882	7,931	592	458	2.96	5.77
Washington	13,723	10,156	6,716	4,560	0	0	0.00	0.00
Watauga	42,695	35,739	680	581	0	0	0.00	0.00
Wayne	113,329	83,687	37,422	26,120	972	643	0.86	2.46
Wilkes	65,632	50,816	2,733	2,045	257	92	0.39	4.50
Wilson	73,814	54,947	29,032	19,966	0	0	0.00	0.00
Yadkin	36,348	27,640	1,246	928	0	0	0.00	0.00
Yancey	17,774	13,998	101	78	0	0	0.00	0.00

[1] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, P1: Total Population, North Carolina

[2] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, P12 Sex by Age, North Carolina

[3] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P7: Race, Black or African American Alone, North Carolina

[4] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P12B, Sex by Age (Black or African American alone).

[5] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, PCT 16: Group Quarters Population By Group Quarters Type, North Carolina.

[6] North Carolina Department of Corrections, Prison Population June 30, 2000, Unit on Pop Date, Black (503 Black Prisoners are excluded from these figures.)

NORTH CAROLINA: DEGREE OF URBANIZATION AND LOCATION OF PRISONS

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Urban [2]	Rural	Metro/ NonMetro [3]	Prisons Within County [4]
Alamance	130,800	90,821	39,979	METRO	Alamance CC
Alexander	33,603	5,910	27,693	METRO	
Alleghany	10,677	0	10,677		
Anson	25,275	6,741	18,534		Anson CC Brown Crk CI
Ashe	24,384	0	24,384		
Avery	17,167	0	17,167		Avery/Mitch CI Mtn View CI
Beaufort	44,958	14,418	30,540		
Bertie	19,773	0	19,773		
Bladen	32,278	3,727	28,551		Bladen CC
Brunswick	73,143	24,561	48,582	METRO	
Buncombe	206,330	146,093	60,237	METRO	Bl. Mtn. CCW Buncombe CC Craggy CC
Burke	89,148	48,107	41,041	METRO	Foothills CI Western YI
Cabarrus	131,063	94,551	36,512	METRO	Cabarrus CC
Caldwell	77,415	48,167	29,248	METRO	Caldwell CC
Camden	6,885	0	6,885		
Carteret	59,383	36,947	22,436		Carteret CC
Caswell	23,501	0	23,501		Dan River PWF Caswell CC
Catawba	141,685	92,129	49,556	METRO	Catawba CC
Chatham	49,329	9,674	39,655	METRO	
Cherokee	24,298	0	24,298		
Chowan	14,526	5,357	9,169		
Clay	8,775	0	8,775		
Cleveland	96,287	43,277	53,010		Cleveland CC
Columbus	54,749	6,364	48,385		Columbus CI
Craven	91,436	61,824	29,612		Craven CI
Cumberland	302,963	264,306	38,657	METRO	
Currituck	18,190	0	18,190	METRO	

Dare	29,967	20,636	9,331		
Davidson	147,246	63,852	83,394	METRO	Davidson CC N. Pied. CCW
Davie	34,835	7,992	26,843	METRO	
Duplin	49,063	6,737	42,326		Duplin CC
Durham	223,314	207,068	16,246	METRO	Durham CC
Edgecombe	55,606	30,486	25,120	METRO	Fountain CCW
Forsyth	306,067	278,184	27,883	METRO	Forsyth CC
Franklin	47,260	4,186	43,074	METRO	Franklin CC
Gaston	190,365	148,090	42,275	METRO	Gaston CC
Gates	10,516	0	10,516		Gates CC
Graham	7,993	0	7,993		
Granville	48,498	16,813	31,685		Polk YI Umstead CC
Greene	18,974	0	18,974		Eastern CI Greene CI
Guilford	421,048	353,578	67,470	METRO	Guilford CC
Halifax	57,370	24,378	32,992		Caledonia CI Tillery CC
Harnett	91,025	30,768	60,257		Harnett CI
Haywood	54,033	28,079	25,954		Haywood CC
Henderson	89,173	47,398	41,775		Henderson CC
Hertford	22,601	7,538	15,063		
Hoke	33,646	14,610	19,036		Hoke CI McCain CH
Hyde	5,826	0	5,826		Hyde CC
Iredell	122,660	61,698	60,962		
Jackson	33,121	7,177	25,944		
Johnston	121,965	38,146	83,819	METRO	Johnston CI
Jones	10,381	0	10,381		
Lee	49,040	25,151	23,889		Sanford CC
Lenoir	59,648	32,749	26,899		
Lincoln	63,780	24,404	39,376	METRO	Lincoln CC
McDowell	42,151	9,881	32,270		Marion CI
Macon	29,811	5,594	24,217		
Madison	19,635	0	19,635	METRO	
Martin	25,593	5,675	19,918		
Mecklenburg	695,454	668,526	26,928	METRO	Charlotte CC
Mitchell	15,687	0	15,687		
Montgomery	26,822	3,289	23,533		Southern CI
Moore	74,769	30,653	44,116		

Nash	87,420	44,786	42,634	METRO	Nash CI
New Hanover	160,307	153,059	7,248	METRO	New Hanover CC Wilmington RFW
Northampton	22,086	2,226	19,860		Odom CI
Onslow	150,355	106,911	43,444	METRO	
Orange	118,227	80,110	38,117	METRO	Orange CC
Pamlico	12,934	0	12,934		Pamlico CI
Pasquotank	34,897	19,072	15,825		Pasquotank CI
Pender	41,082	3,212	37,870		Pender CI
Perquimans	11,368	0	11,368		
Person	35,623	9,731	25,892		
Pitt	133,798	88,038	45,760	METRO	
Polk	18,324	1,667	16,657		
Randolph	130,454	51,452	79,002	METRO	Randolph CC
Richmond	46,564	25,552	21,012		Morison CI
Robeson	123,339	42,844	80,495		Lumberton CI Robeson CC
Rockingham	91,928	37,677	54,251		
Rowan	130,340	76,741	53,599	METRO	Piedmont CI Rowan CC
Rutherford	62,899	22,971	39,928		Rutherford CC
Sampson	60,161	9,068	51,093		Sampson CI
Scotland	35,998	16,988	19,010		Scotland CI
Stanly	58,100	18,919	39,181		Albemarle CI
Stokes	44,711	9,080	35,631	METRO	
Surry	71,219	21,557	49,662		
Swain	12,968	0	12,968		
Transylvania	29,334	11,031	18,303		
Tyrrell	4,149	0	4,149		Tyrrell PWF
Union	123,677	62,039	61,638	METRO	Union CC
Vance	42,954	21,246	21,708		
Wake	627,846	553,705	74,141	METRO	Central Prison N.C. CIW Raleigh CCW Wake CC
Warren	19,972	0	19,972		Warren CI
Washington	13,723	4,727	8,996		
Watauga	42,695	17,151	25,544		

Wayne	113,329	62,772	50,557	METRO	Neuse CI Wayne CC
Wilkes	65,632	17,299	48,333		Wilkes CC
Wilson	73,814	46,483	27,331		
Yadkin	36,348	5,058	31,290	METRO	
Yancey	17,774	0	17,774		

- [1] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, P1: Total Population, N.C.
[2] Census 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 1, P2: Urban and Rural, N.C.
[3] Cynthia Brewer, Mapping the Census: The Geography of U.S. Diversity, p. 7
(June 2001), issued by Census 2000.
[4] North Carolina Department of Corrections Website.

APPENDIX 3: ALABAMA

A. Findings

1. General Demographics

Alabama has the fifth highest incarceration in the country (612 per 100,000 inmates as of June 30, 2003).⁷⁴ The incarceration rate in Alabama grew by 292% between 1980 and 2001.⁷⁵ While 26% of Alabama's population is African-American, 65% of its prison population is African-American. 14% of African Americans are disenfranchised (compared with 6% of the total voting age residents).⁷⁶ Alabama has sixty-seven counties.

Table 1: Racial Composition of Alabama's Population and Prison Population

	Population	% of Population	Prison Population	% of Prison Population
White	3,162,808	71.10%	8,999	34.78%
Black	1,155,930	26.00%	16,785	64.88%

2. County of Conviction: Where are Alabama's Prisoners From?

The following discussion is based upon incarceration rates derived from figures compiled by the Alabama Department of Corrections. The top eleven counties with the highest incarceration rates account for 6,708, or 26% of total state convictions; however, according to the Census Bureau these counties incarcerate only 3,966, or 24% of the state's prisoners.

Table 2: Eleven Counties with Highest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate	% Black	Metro?	Prison?
Russell	1200	40.8%	Y	N
Houston	992	24.6%	Y	Y
Montgomery	874	48.6%	Y	Y
Coosa	852	34.2%	N	N
Chambers	842	38.1%	N	N

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of Justice, *Bureau of Statistics Bulletin: Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2003*, p. 1 (May 2004).

⁷⁵ *Deep Impact*, *supra* note 2, at 8.

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 14.

Dallas	813	63.3%	N	Y
Bullock	785	73.1%	N	N
Talladega	782	31.5%	N	N
Etowah	771	14.7%	Y	Y
Pike	770	36.6%	N	N
Morgan	757	11.2%	Y	N

The eleven counties with the lowest incarceration rates according to the Alabama Department of Corrections, accounted for 1,196 of convictions, or 5% of the state's total convictions; however, according to the Census Bureau, these eleven counties incarcerated 4,466 prisoners, or 27% of the state's total prison population.

Table 3: Eleven Counties with Lowest Incarceration Rates

County	Incarceration Rate	% Black	Metro?	Prison?
Bibb	240	22.2%	N	N
Hale	250	59.0%	N	N
Shelby	252	7.4%	Y	Y
Lawrence	270	13.4%	Y	Y
Limestone	282	13.3%	Y	N
Lamar	283	12.0%	N	N
Wilcox	288	71.9%	N	N
Jackson	299	3.7%	N	Y
Cherokee	300	5.5%	N	Y
Blount	304	1.2%	Y	N
Cleburne	304	3.7%	N	N

3. Where are Prisoners Incarcerated?

According to the Census Bureau, only nineteen of the Alabama's sixty-seven counties incarcerate state prisoners. The ten counties with the largest prison population account for 14,095, or 85% of the state total. Five of these ten counties are metro; the average percentage of African-Americans across the ten counties is 33%. Thus, according to the Census Bureau, in Alabama, incarcerated prisoners are concentrated in ten counties. Three of these counties are clustered around Birmingham, Alabama; others are scattered throughout the state (although tend to be located in the southern portion).

Table 4: Ten Counties with the Largest Prison Population

County	County of Incarceration	% Black	Metro?
Barbour	2,248	46.3%	N
Limestone	2,001	13.3%	Y
Elmore	1,489	20.6%	Y
Jefferson	1,484	39.4%	Y
Escambia	1,434	30.8%	N
Bullock	1,376	73.1%	N
St. Clair	1,287	8.1%	Y
Montgomery	1,133	48.6%	Y
Bibb	900	22.2%	N
Talladega	743	31.5%	N

4. Do the Prisoners Move from Predominantly Black Areas to Predominately White Areas of the State?

Table 5: Analysis of Counties Based on Percentage of African-American Residents

% of Black Residents in County	# Counties ⁷⁷ / Population/ % of State Pop.	Average Incarceration Rate	Share of Total Incarcerated Prison Population	Number of Prisoners Incarcerated in the Counties	Share of Total Prisoners Convicted in the Counties	Number of Prisoners Convicted in the Counties
50 to 86.7	10 counties ⁷⁸ / 185,197/ 4.16%	453	9.83%	1,631	3.62%	935
25 to 49.9	20 counties ⁷⁹ / 2,926,652/ 43.32%	663	45.84%	7,602	53.44%	13,824
12.4 to 24.9	17 counties ⁸⁰ / 1,162,795/ 26.15%	520	27.97%	4,639	24.70%	6,388
5.0 to 12.3	11 counties ⁸¹ / 741,937/ 16.68%	393	12.98%	2,152	12.22%	3,160

⁷⁷ Census 2000, *Quick Facts, Alabama Map: Black or African American Alone, percent, 2000*, available at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/maps/thematic/PL1210001.html> (last visited Nov. 22, 2004).

⁷⁸ The ten counties with a 50.0 to 86.7% African-American population in Alabama include: Bulloch, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox.

⁷⁹ The twenty counties with a 25 to 49.9% African-American population in Alabama include: Barbour, Butler, Chambers, Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Coosa, Escambia, Henry, Jefferson, Mobile, Monroe, Montgomery, Pickens, Pike, Russell, Talladega, Tallapoosa, Tuscaloosa, and Washington.

⁸⁰ The seventeen counties with a 12.4 to 24.9% African-American population in Alabama include: Autauga, Bibb, Calhoun, Clay, Coffee, Colbert, Covington, Crenshaw, Dale, Elmore, Etowah, Houston, Lawrence, Lee, Limestone, Madison, and Randolph.

⁸¹ The eleven counties with a 5.0 to 12.3% African-American population in Alabama include: Baldwin, Cherokee, Chilton, Fayette, Geneva, Lamar, Lauderdale, Morgan, Shelby, St. Clair, and Walker.

0.0 to 4.9	9 counties ⁸² / 430,519/ 9.68%	368	3.38%	560	6.02%	1,557
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5. Conclusion

Given the errors in data and the incompatibility between the Census Bureau figures and the Alabama Department of Corrections data, it is impossible to draw any reasonably reliable conclusions at this time.

One major cause of data flaws is the incompatibility of the Census statistics and Alabama's Department of Corrections figures. Compare the Census figures for the county of incarceration with the Alabama Department of Corrections figures for county of conviction: the overall totals for prisoners in the state are inconsistent by nearly 10,000 prisoners.⁸³ The 10,000 prisoner difference between how many prisoners Alabama says it has convicted and the Census Bureau says are incarcerated is due to the inconsistent practice between Alabama and the Census Bureau regarding *which* types of institutions (state prisons, county jails with state prisoners, etc.) each includes in their figures.

In addition, there is no feasible way to identify which institutions the Census Bureau was actually counting and where (in which county) they were actually counting them. For example, Census Bureau statistics indicate that Elmore County holds 2,564 inmates in its local jails; however, a sheriff in Elmore County informed the author that there were only about 240 state prisoners there. Yet, Brian Corbett, Public Information Office at the Alabama Department of Corrections, asserts that the state does not lease space from localities to incarcerate state prisoners. Peter Wagner indicates that in order to adjust the data a much more in-depth analysis

⁸² The nine counties with a 0.0 to 4.9% African-American population in Alabama include: Blount, Cleburne, Cullman, DeKalb, Franklin, Jackson, Marion, Marshall, and Winston.

⁸³ In Alabama, the total number of prisoners purportedly convicted in Alabama totals 25,864 people (according to the Department of Corrections); yet the Census Bureau reports county of incarceration figures for only 16,584 prisoners.

of each institution (using geo-mapping software as well as individual calls to each institution—state, federal and local) is necessary. However, it was not feasible to accomplish such research within the scope of this study.

B. Data Tables

ALABAMA: COUNTY OF CONVICTION VERSUS COUNTY OF INCARCERATION

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Number of state prisoners from county (County of Conviction) [2]	Number of BLACK state prisoners from county (County of Conviction) [3]	Number of state prisoners in county (County of Incarceration) [4]	Incarceration Rate -
Autauga	43,671	224	132	0	513
Baldwin	140,415	651	305	445	464
Barbour	29,038	150	121	2,248	517
Bibb	20,826	50	26	900	240
Blount	51,024	155	17	0	304
Bullock	11,714	92	89	1,376	785
Butler	21,399	108	84	0	505
Calhoun	112,249	635	362	0	566
Chambers	36,583	308	242	0	842
Cherokee	23,988	72	12	0	300
Chilton	39,593	153	80	0	386
Choctaw	15,922	92	73	0	578
Clarke	27,867	117	99	0	420
Clay	14,254	93	45	0	652
Cleburne	14,123	43	11	0	304
Coffee	43,615	220	159	249	504
Colbert	54,984	249	130	0	453
Conecuh	14,089	87	65	0	618
Coosa	12,202	104	55	317	852
Covington	37,631	272	123	0	723
Crenshaw	13,665	44	29	0	322
Cullman	77,483	262	14	0	338
Dale	49,129	173	110	0	352
Dallas	46,365	377	337	0	813
DeKalb	64,452	217	27	0	337

Elmore	65,874	314	185	1,489	477
Escambia	38,440	246	153	1,434	640
Etowah	103,459	798	419	0	771
Fayette	18,495	61	28	0	330
Franklin	31,223	163	36	0	522
Geneva	25,764	87	27	0	338
Greene	9,974	40	36	0	401
Hale	17,185	43	35	92	250
Henry	16,310	104	73	0	638
Houston	88,787	881	639	0	992
Jackson	53,926	161	35	0	299
Jefferson	662,047	4,918	3,920	1,484	743
Lamar	15,904	45	9	23	283
Lauderdale	87,966	288	108	0	327
Lawrence	34,803	94	34	0	270
Lee	115,092	633	465	0	550
Limestone	65,676	185	87	2,001	282
Lowndes	13,473	66	63	0	490
Macon	24,105	114	103	0	473
Madison	276,700	1,370	881	0	495
Marengo	22,539	71	59	0	315
Marion	31,214	119	13	560	381
Marshall	82,231	333	57	0	405
Mobile	399,843	2,631	1,882	243	658
Monroe	24,324	159	136	0	654
Montgomery	223,510	1,953	1,605	1,133	874
Morgan	111,064	841	418	397	757
Perry	11,861	46	42	0	388
Pickens	20,949	88	73	0	420
Pike	29,605	228	193	0	770
Randolph	22,380	153	110	0	684
Russell	49,756	597	324	0	1200
St. Clair	64,742	310	89	1,287	479
Shelby	143,293	361	181	0	252
Sumter	14,798	48	43	0	324
Talladega	80,321	628	396	743	782
Tallapoosa	41,475	260	181	0	627
Tuscaloosa	164,875	987	725	0	599
Walker	70,713	291	97	0	412
Washington	18,097	59	38	0	326
Wilcox	13,183	38	32	163	288
Winston	24,843	104	5	0	419
Totals	4,447,100	25864	16782	16584	

[1] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P1: Total Population, Alabama.

[2] Alabama, Department of Corrections, FY00 Annual Report, On-Hand Inmates--Committing County

by Ethnogender Basis (as of Sept. 30, 2000).

[3] Alabama, Department of Corrections, FY00 Annual Report, On-Hand Inmates--Committing County by Ethnogender Basis (as of Sept. 30, 2000).

[4] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: PCT 16: Group Quarters Population by Group Quarters Type, Alabama (state prisons only).

ALABAMA: RACE DATA

County	Census 2000 Population [1]	Adults [2]	Total Black Population [3]	Black Adults [4]	Total STATE Prison Pop. [5]	Total Prison Pop. (all facilities) [7]	Black Prisoners [6]
Autauga	43,671	31177	7,473	5037	0	100	49
Baldwin	140,415	106,095	14,444	9688	445	863	485
Barbour	29,038	21655	13,451	9340	2,248	2,464	1472
Bibb	20,826	15540	4,624	3269	900	900	620
Blount	51,024	38076	606	423	0	120	7
Bullock	11,714	8656	8,564	5969	1,376	1,397	938
Butler	21,399	15645	8,732	5838	0	31	24
Calhoun	112,249	85,793	20,810	14530	0	357	201
Chambers	36,583	27566	13,943	9755	0	173	125
Cherokee	23,988	18668	1,330	982	0	74	12
Chilton	39,593	29428	4,200	2824	0	148	62
Choctaw	15,922	11774	7,027	4875	0	33	27
Clarke	27,867	20056	11,989	8052	0	59	43
Clay	14,254	10857	2,238	1559	0	44	23
Cleburne	14,123	10688	523	376	0	26	5
Coffee	43,615	32809	8,013	5571	249	356	265
Colbert	54,984	41907	9,137	6432	0	75	35
Conecuh	14,089	10441	6,136	4143	0	0	0
Coosa	12,202	9311	4,172	3007	317	343	228
Covington	37,631	28771	4,648	3167	0	125	50
Crenshaw	13,665	10293	3,388	2436	0	14	6
Cullman	77,483	58693	743	570	0	102	5
Dale	49,129	36082	10,002	6528	0	56	29
Dallas	46,365	33112	29,332	19626	0	0	0
DeKalb	64,452	48553	1,083	752	0	65	12
Elmore	65,874	48950	13,597	9864	1,489	4,687	3038
Escambia	38,440	29170	11,837	8582	1,434	1,535	1077
Etowah	103,459	78,805	15,191	10295	0	405	195
Fayette	18,495	14071	2,207	1572	0	53	16
Franklin	31,223	23578	1,314	922	0	75	11
Geneva	25,764	19581	2,743	1873	0	40	15
Greene	9,974	7063	8,013	5445	0	22	19
Hale	17,185	12098	10,131	6721	92	107	68
Henry	16,310	12385	5,268	3692	0	23	11
Houston	88,787	65,801	21,840	14607	0	383	243
Jackson	53,926	40890	2,019	1417	0	105	15
Jefferson	662,047	497,807	260,608	181,955	1,484	3,403	2481
Lamar	15,904	12154	1,906	1339	23	46	12
Lauderdale	87,966	67,699	8,663	6104	0	214	73
Lawrence	34,803	25863	4,648	3260	0	82	21
Lee	115,092	88,290	26,071	17961	0	232	157

Limestone	65,676	49335	8,752	6571	2,001	2,186	1338
Lowndes	13,473	9,405	9,885	6564	0	30	30
Macon	24,105	18024	20,403	15021	0	38	34
Madison	276,700	205,913	63,025	44402	0	885	510
Marengo	22,539	16117	11,655	7730	0	20	19
Marion	31,214	24,176	1,134	889	560	595	266
Marshall	82,231	61794	1,207	792	0	218	21
Mobile	399,843	289,962	133,465	88,199	243	1,321	893
Monroe	24,324	17441	9,747	6467	0	47	36
Montgomery	223,510	165,864	108,583	74894	1,133	2,605	1694
Morgan	111,064	82,920	12,485	8382	397	721	410
Perry	11,861	8,324	8,111	5282	0	15	15
Pickens	20,949	15,238	8,999	5928	0	3	3
Pike	29,605	22,394	10,835	7504	0	84	58
Randolph	22,380	16,760	4,977	3400	0	67	34
Russell	49,756	36,562	20,319	14023	0	295	163
St. Clair	64,742	48,325	5,263	3913	1,287	1,441	931
Shelby	143,293	105,673	10,606	7417	0	168	51
Sumter	14,798	10,493	10,827	7241	0	25	23
Talladega	80,321	60,255	25,339	17766	743	2,342	1473
Tallapoosa	41,475	31,438	10,518	7192	0	112	76
Tuscaloosa	164,875	126,332	48,327	33911	0	484	328
Walker	70,713	54,077	4,364	3032	0	266	63
Washington	18,097	12,908	4,867	3216	0	0	0
Wilcox	13,183	9,142	9,479	6183	163	163	128
Winston	24,843	18,955	94	65	0	74	3
Total					16584	33542	20775

[1] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1, P1: Total Population, Alabama.

[2] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P12, Sex by Age, Alabama.

[3] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P1: Race, Alabama.

[4] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: P12B: Sex by Age (African American Alone), Alabama.

[5] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1: PCT16: Group Quarters Population by Group Quarters Type, Alabama (includes state prisons only).

[6] Census 2000: Data Set: Summary File 1: PCT17B: Group Quarters Population by Sex by Age by Group Quarters Type (African American alone), Alabama (includes all correctional facilities).

[7] Census 2000: Data Set: Summary File 1: PCT16: Group Quarters Population by Group Quarters Type, Alabama (includes all correctional facilities).

ALABAMA: DEGREE OF URBANIZATION AND LOCATION OF PRISONS

County	Census 2000 Population	Urban [1]	Rural [2]	Metro/ NonMetro [3]	Prisons Within County [4]
Autauga	43,671	24,101	19,570	METRO	
Baldwin	140,415	64,337	76,078	METRO	
Barbour	29,038	8,280	20,758		
Bibb	20,826	3,863	16,963		
Blount	51,024	4,578	46,446	METRO	
Bullock	11,714	4,139	7,575		
Butler	21,399	5,388	16,011		
Calhoun	112,249	77,476	34,773	METRO	Calhoun Co. CC
Chambers	36,583	18,374	18,209		
Cherokee	23,988	0	23,988		Cherokee Co. CC
Chilton	39,593	4,765	34,828		
Choctaw	15,922	0	15,922		
Clarke	27,867	7,090	20,777		
Clay	14,254	0	14,254		
Cleburne	14,123	0	14,123		
Coffee	43,615	19,224	24,391		
Colbert	54,984	29,211	25,773	METRO	
Conecuh	14,089	0	14,089		
Coosa	12,202	317	11,885		
Covington	37,631	10,526	27,105		
Crenshaw	13,665	0	13,665		
Cullman	77,483	18,808	58,675		Cullman Co. CC
Dale	49,129	21,839	27,290	METRO	Dale Co. CC
Dallas	46,365	24,775	21,590		4th Circuit CC
DeKalb	64,452	7,533	56,919		DeKalb Co. CC
Elmore	65,874	25,069	40,805	METRO	
Escambia	38,440	14,842	23,598		Escambia Co. CC
Etowah	103,459	62,283	41,176	METRO	Etowah Co. CC
Fayette	18,495	3,948	14,547		Fayette, Lamar, Pickett Co. CC
Franklin	31,223	8,763	22,460		Franklin Co. CC
Geneva	25,764	3,294	22,470		Geneva Co. CC

Greene	9,974	0	9,974		
Hale	17,185	2,580	14,605		
Henry	16,310	0	16,310		
Houston	88,787	57,834	30,953	METRO	Houston Co. CC
Jackson	53,926	12,565	41,361		Jackson Co. CC
Jefferson	662,047	590,842	71,205	METRO	Jefferson Co. CC
Lamar	15,904	0	15,904		
Lauderdale	87,966	42,476	45,490	METRO	Lauderdale Co. CC
Lawrence	34,803	2,594	32,209	METRO	Lawrence Co. CC
Lee	115,092	77,197	37,895	METRO	
Limestone	65,676	21,612	44,064	METRO	
Lowndes	13,473	0	13,473		
Macon	24,105	12,005	12,100		
Madison	276,700	213,932	62,768	METRO	Madison Co. CC
Marengo	22,539	6,576	15,963		
Marion	31,214	141	31,073		Marion, Winston Co. CC
Marshall	82,231	35,242	46,989		Marshall Co. CC
Mobile	399,843	321,003	78,840	METRO	Mobile Co. CC
Monroe	24,324	5,249	19,075		
Montgomery	223,510	196,892	26,618	METRO	Montgomery Co. CC
Morgan	111,064	62,560	48,504	METRO	
Perry	11,861	0	11,861		
Pickens	20,949	0	20,949		
Pike	29,605	11,903	17,702		
Randolph	22,380	4,873	17,507		
Russell	49,756	31,895	17,861	METRO	
St. Clair	64,742	8,136	56,606	METRO	
Shelby	143,293	91,557	51,736	METRO	Shelby Co. CC
Sumter	14,798	0	14,798		
Talladega	80,321	35,752	44,569		
Tallapoosa	41,475	10,265	31,210		
Tuscaloosa	164,875	116,888	47,987	METRO	Tuscaloosa Co. CC
Walker	70,713	16,251	54,462		Walker Co. CC
Washington	18,097	0	18,097		
Wilcox	13,183	0	13,183		

Winston	24,843	4,030	20,813		
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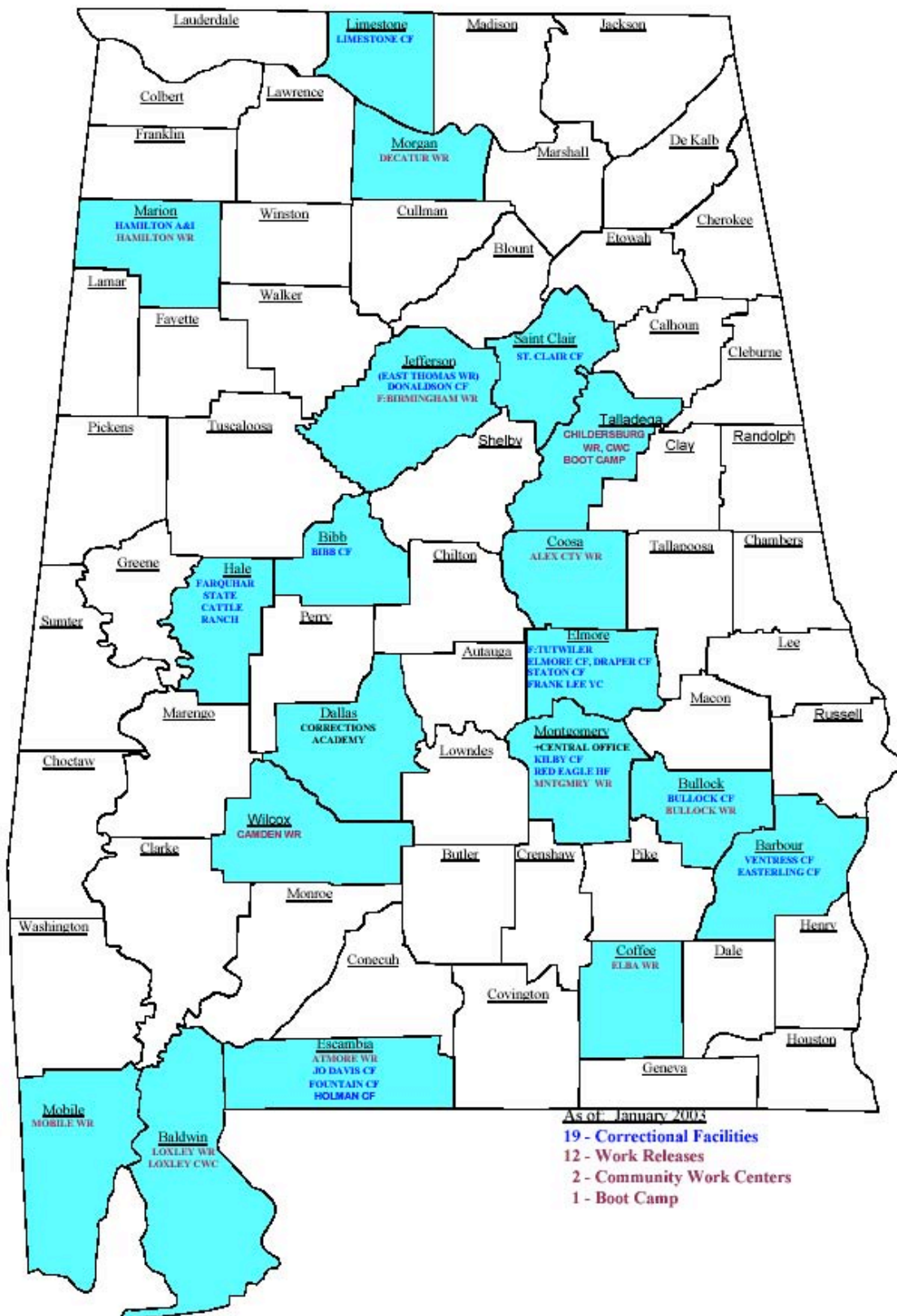
[1] Census 2000, Data Set: Summary File 1, P2: Urban and Rural, Alabama.

[2] Id.

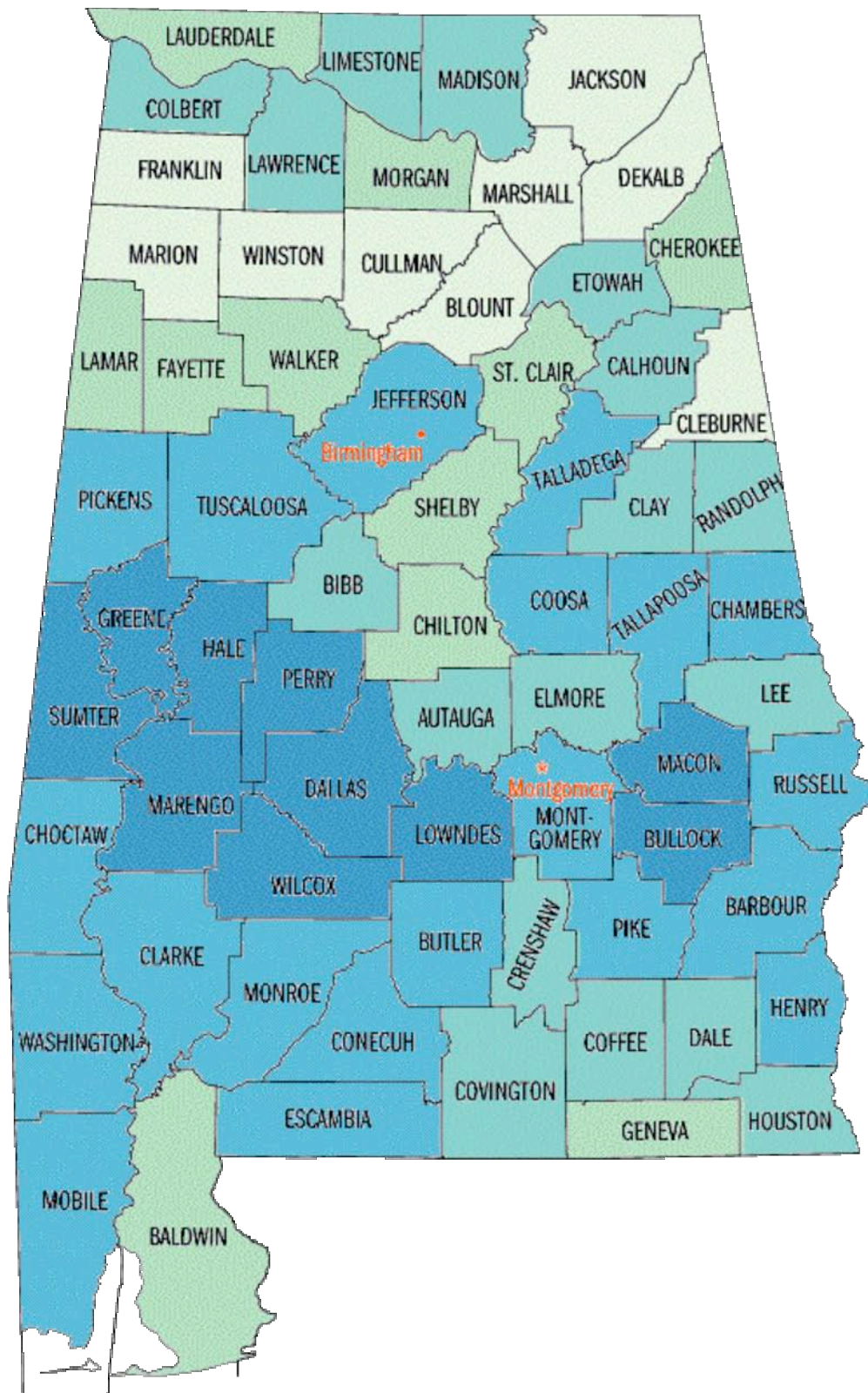
[3] Cynthia Brewer, Mapping the Census: The Geography of U.S. Diversity, p. 7 (June 2001), issued by Census 2000.

[4] Alabama Department of Corrections Website.

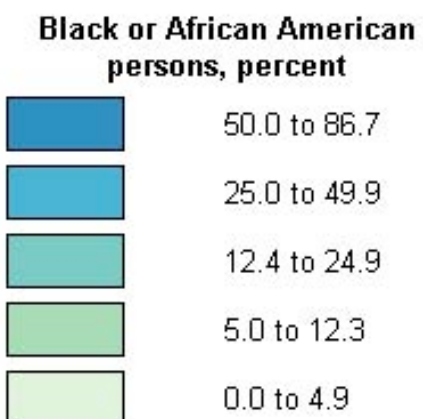
ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS INSTITUTIONS



Source: Alabama Department of Corrections, Annual Report Fiscal Year 2003, p. 11.



Source: Census 2000, Quick Facts, Alabama, Black or African American Persons, percent, 2000.



APPENDIX 4: ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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