

RDH

Prison Gerrymandering in Wisconsin

Understanding the impact of prison gerrymandering on
Wisconsin's State Legislative and Congressional
Districts during the 2021 redistricting cycle



Summary

Undermining Key Redistricting Principles

In Wisconsin's 2021 redistricting cycle, incarcerated people were counted as residing at their places of incarceration and not at their last known addresses. This choice inflates population totals in districts containing incarceration facilities, masks the true population of districts in which large numbers of incarcerated people typically reside, and often affects the demographic makeup of both districts. As a result of this prison gerrymandering, important principles in redistricting - including one person, one vote as captured by equal population requirements, and protections for minority groups such as those found in the Voting Rights Act - are undermined.

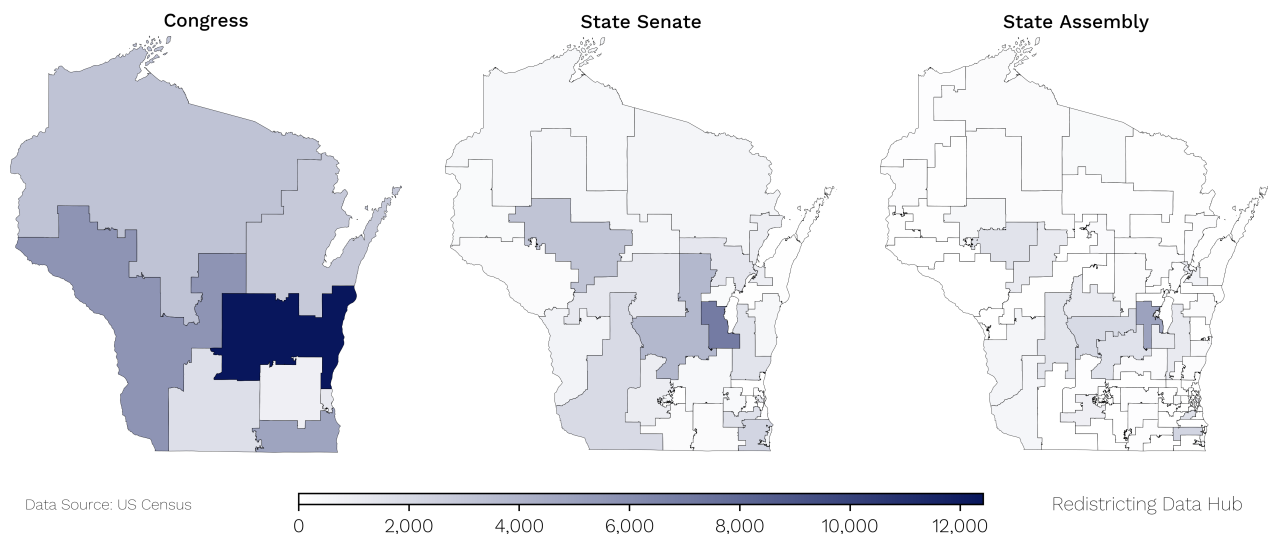
An Unequal Distribution of Incarcerated People

According to the 2020 decennial census data, there were 32,853 incarcerated adults in Wisconsin. Because incarcerated people are counted as residing at facilities, this population is distributed disproportionately throughout the state's legislative and congressional districts:

- **Congress:** District 6 contains 12,416 incarcerated people, while District 5 contains 851 incarcerated people.
- **State Assembly:** District 53 contains 4,961 incarcerated people, while 33 districts contain 0 incarcerated people.
- **State Senate:** District 18 contains 7,021 incarcerated people, while 4 districts contain 0 incarcerated people.

Where Incarcerated People Were Counted

Map showing the district level adult incarcerated population in the districts enacted during the 2021 redistricting cycle.

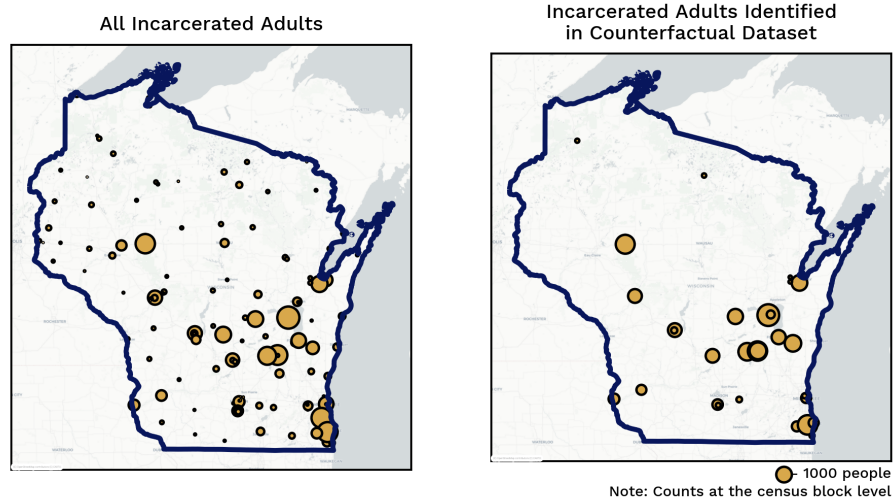


Prison Gerrymandering Reforms

Although Wisconsin was not one of the 13 states that counted incarcerated people as residing at their last known addresses for their 2021 statewide redistricting, we can estimate the effects of such a reform by using a "counterfactual dataset," created by Rory Kramer, PhD, Brianna Remster, PhD, and Denise Wilson. This dataset adjusts census data to count incarcerated people at their estimated last known address, based on a mix of data: self-declared unverified resident address, the county in which an incarcerated person resides, and the county in which an incarcerated person was sentenced. Please note that the counterfactual dataset estimates the particular block of a person's last known address using a ratio, which is why totals may contain fractions of people. See the [Notes](#) section for more details on the file's methodology.

Incarcerated Populations Not Captured in Counterfactual Dataset

Individuals incarcerated somewhere besides a state facility are not adjusted in the dataset. The map on the left shows all incarcerated adults and the map on the right show those identified in the dataset, roughly 60% of the state total.



Counting Incarcerated People at Home

Estimated changes in district level population totals if incarcerated people were counted at their last known addresses. Orange districts would gain population and are currently the most harmed by prison gerrymandering.

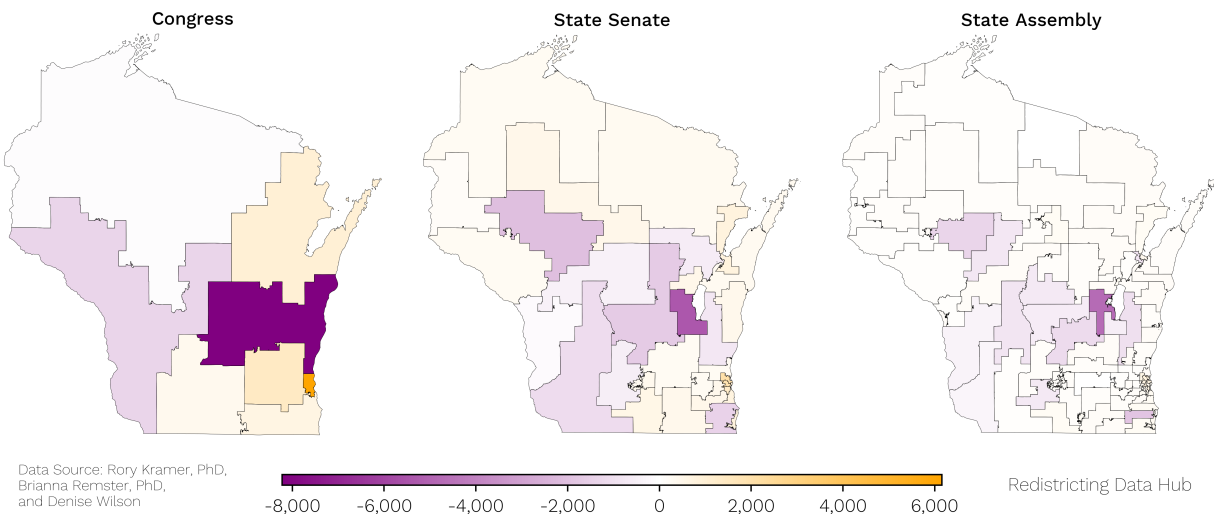


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Background

Redistricting Basics

Following the release of the 2020 decennial census (PL 94-171) data, states began their state legislative and congressional redistricting processes. The data release contained detailed population information for each 2020 census block, the smallest unit for which the Census Bureau calculates and reports data. States "draw" their new state legislative and congressional districts by assigning census blocks (or, in rare cases, a slightly larger geographic unit composed out of census blocks, such as Voting Tabulation Districts, or VTDs) to districts. The assignments of census blocks to particular districts is subject to certain rules and criteria, which help determine whether or not a redistricting plan is legal.

Although redistricting criteria differ from state-to-state, redistricting in every state is subject to rules around population equality. This is in accordance with the principle of "one person, one vote." If one legislative district contains significantly fewer people than another district within the state, the people residing in the less populated district have relatively more representation, in the sense that each person constitutes a higher "share" of their district than a person in a more populated district.

Population Equality and Deviations

In order to follow the "one person, one vote" principle, districts in a redistricting plan must contain roughly the same number of people. In the case of congressional districts, the goal is equality as "nearly as practicable," meaning deviations as small as one person across districts. In the case of state legislative districts, the goal is "substantial equality," which has been defined as deviations of less than 10%. These are rough guidelines, as plans with deviations lower than these targets are not automatically constitutional and are still subject to scrutiny, and plans exceeding these deviations may still be acceptable if they appeal to other criteria.

In order to calculate the deviation of a redistricting plan, one needs the "ideal size" of a district and the total population of each district. In general, the ideal size is calculated by dividing the total population of a state by the number of districts, while the total population of each district is calculated by summing the population for each census block assigned to that district.

For redistricting plans with single-member districts, the largest and smallest districts in the plan are then compared against the ideal size to calculate the deviation for each district. The total deviation of the plan is the difference between the largest and smallest district deviations. Calculating the population deviations for redistricting plans with multi-member or floterial districts involves slightly different calculations. Regardless of the formula, the total deviation of a redistricting plan is the metric typically used to measure population equality.

Where to Count Incarcerated People

In 2020, as in past decennial censuses, the Census Bureau counted incarcerated people who were in jail or prison on April 1 as residing at the facility in which they were currently incarcerated and not at their last known addresses. According to the Prison Policy Institute, the population of people in jails and prison in 2020 was roughly 2.3 million. Many of these individuals are serving sentences far short of a decade. Jails in particular hold people serving sentences of a year or less, as well as individuals being held on pre-trial detention, who may be found not guilty or given a sentence other than confinement. But because the decennial census counts these individuals as residing at the jail or prison, they will be counted toward the population of the surrounding district for the next ten years. At the same time, incarcerated people are not counted toward the population in the districts from which they come.

The decision to count people at their place of confinement can result in significant population shifts. These shifts may ultimately make a district that would otherwise be too small to comprise a district "large enough," or a district that would otherwise be too large the "correct" size. In this way, there are two representational harms caused by counting incarcerated people at their places of confinement:

1. Districts containing facilities may have insufficient population if incarcerated people were not counted at these facilities. The non-incarcerated people in these districts are overrepresented in the absence of prison gerrymandering reforms.
2. Districts where large numbers of incarcerated people are from may have excessive population if they were not counted at their facilities. The people in these districts are underrepresented in the absence of prison gerrymandering reforms.

The problem of where incarcerated people are counted for redistricting purposes is compounded by three additional complexities:

- Incarcerated individuals are often confined at facilities that are geographically distant from their homes.
- Incarcerated individuals are almost never guaranteed the right to vote.
- Incarcerated individuals often have a different demographic profile from the individuals residing near the facility.

First, depending on the geographic distance between an individual's home and their place of incarceration, the choice of where to count that person for redistricting purposes could change the total population of districts. If the facility and their last known address are near one another and contained within the same district, then the total population of that district would be the same regardless of whether that person was counted at their home or at a facility. When these two points are distant from one another, they are likely to be in different districts. As a result, the decision to count incarcerated people at their places of incarceration or last known addresses will affect the total population of these districts.

A second and related problem is that the demographics of incarcerated people and the people residing near a facility are often different, meaning the former's interests may not be reflected in the districts' representatives.

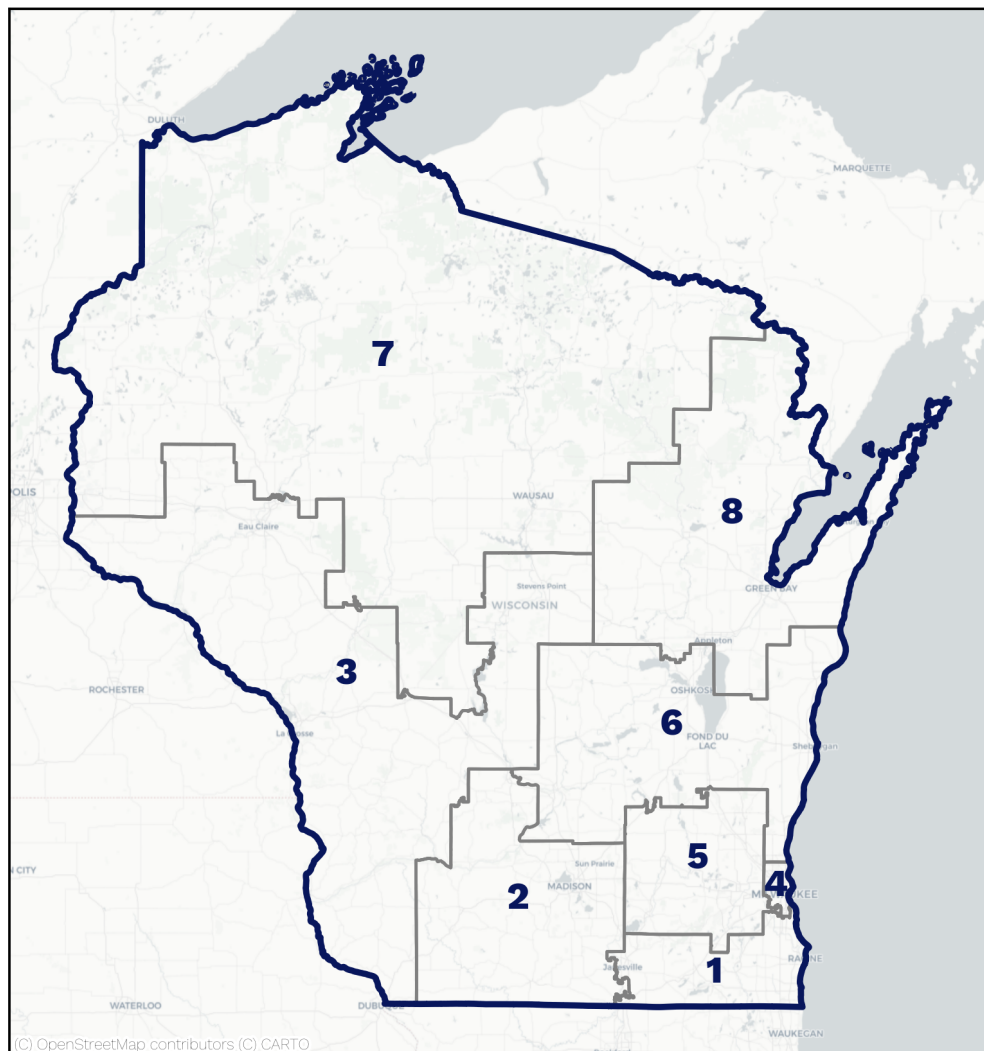
Thirdly, the absence of voting rights for many incarcerated people means that when they are counted in a district, they will typically not have the opportunity to vote there. These three issues combine to distort representation in districts with facilities and districts in which incarcerated people typically reside.

Congress

Background

For the 2021 redistricting cycle, Wisconsin's 8 congressional districts were drawn to each contain approximately 736,714 people.

Wisconsin's 118th Congressional Districts



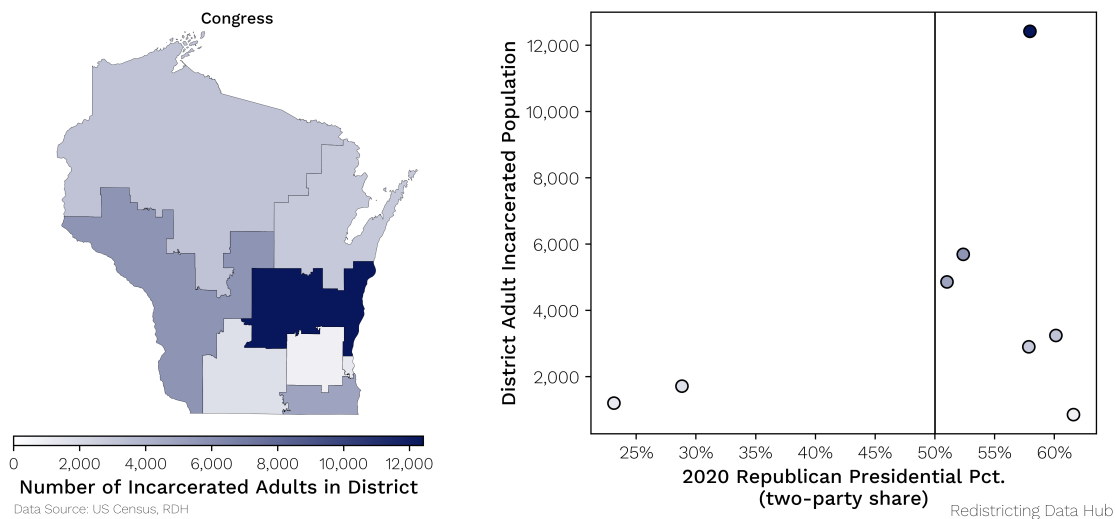
The Incarcerated Population at the Congressional Level

In the absence of prison gerrymandering reforms, Wisconsin's incarcerated population is concentrated in a handful of districts. In particular, District 6 contains 12,416 incarcerated people, while District 5 contains 851 incarcerated people.

The number of incarcerated people in each district depends on the locations of facilities and how the particular plan redistricting plan divides the state. Analyzing the partisanship of districts against the adult incarcerated population is one way to better understand the concentration of incarcerated populations within the state.

Prison Gerrymandering and Partisanship

Map and plot showing number of incarcerated adults per district versus 2020 Republican presidential vote share.



The Impact of Reforms on Population Deviations

Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would shift population around the state. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that District 4 would contain 6,156.3 more people, while District 6 would contain -8,222.7 fewer people.

The shifts in district populations affect the deviation of the entire plan. Generally, Congressional plans must have a deviation as close to zero as possible, and plans exceeding that deviation level may be ruled unconstitutional unless they appeal to other criteria.

- Without prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's deviation is: **0.00%**
- With prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's estimated deviation is: **1.95%**

The Impact of Reforms on Racial Composition of Districts

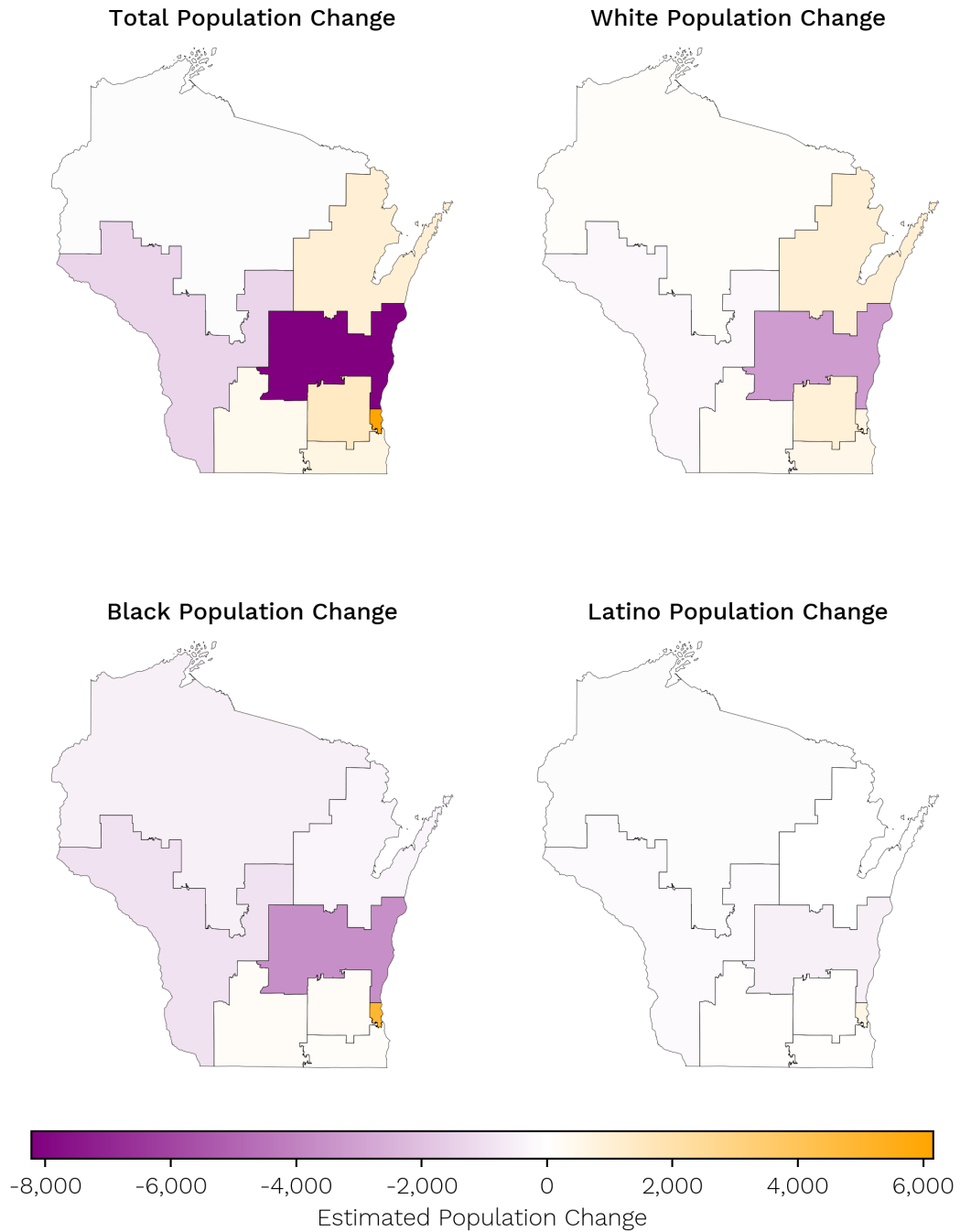
Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would not only change the total population of districts, but also their demographic composition. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that the Black population in District 4 would increase by 4,936.1.

These shifts in population could impact the number of potential opportunity districts in the state as required by the Voting Rights Act.

Data for total population change and population changes by race for all districts are available in the [appendix](#).

Estimated Population Changes by Congressional District

Maps showing total population change and changes by race after counting incarcerated people at their last known address. Racial categories are based on state records.



Data Source: Rory Kramer, PhD., Brianna Remster, PhD., Denise Wilson

Redistricting Data Hub

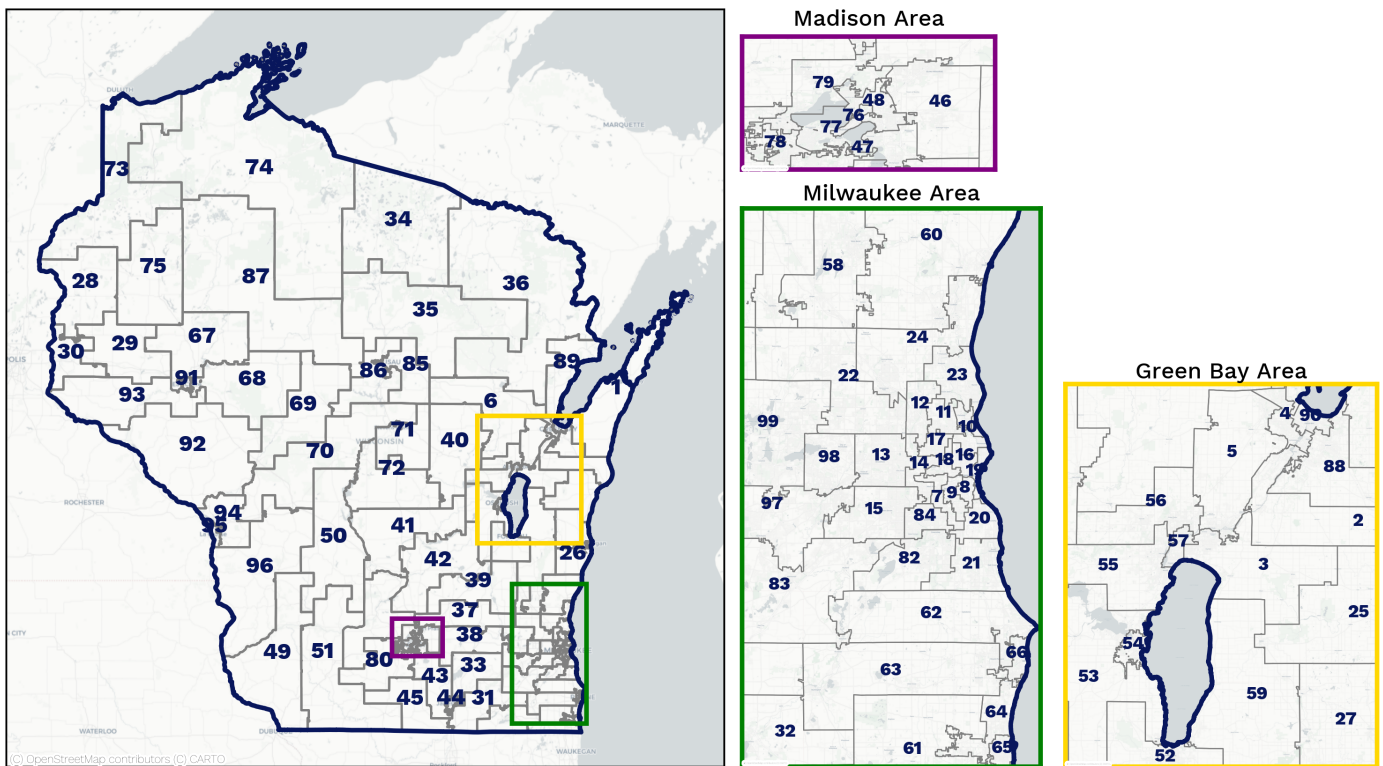
State Assembly

Background

For the 2021 redistricting cycle, Wisconsin's 99 State Assembly districts were drawn to each contain around 59,532 people.

Wisconsin's State Assembly Districts

Districts enacted during the 2021 redistricting cycle.



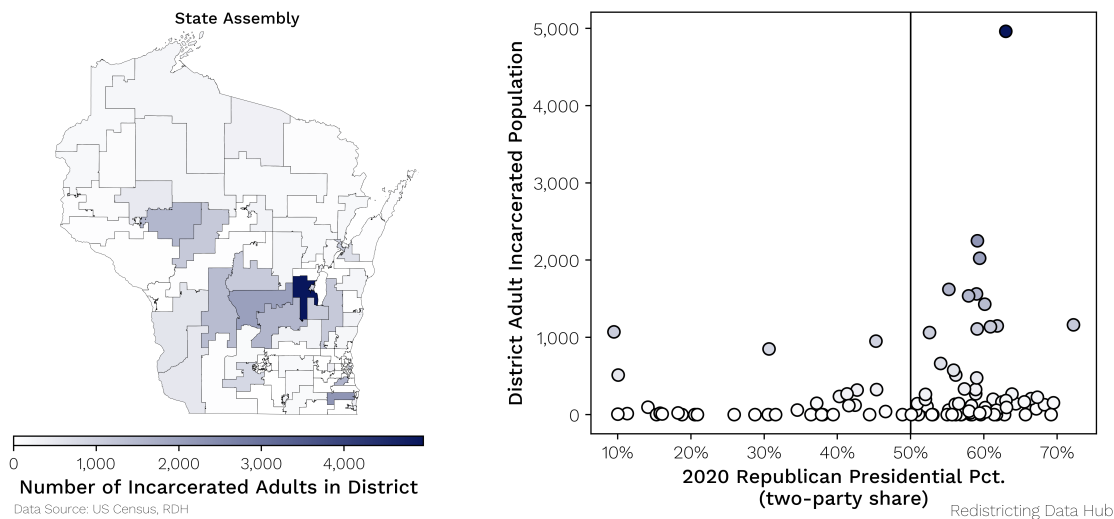
The Incarcerated Population at the State Assembly Level

In the absence of prison gerrymandering reforms, Wisconsin's incarcerated population is concentrated in a handful of districts. In particular, District 53 contains 4,961 incarcerated people, while 33 districts contain 0 incarcerated people.

The number of incarcerated people in each district depends on the locations of facilities and how the particular plan redistricting plan divides the state. Analyzing the partisanship of districts against the adult incarcerated population is one way to better understand the concentration of incarcerated populations within the state.

Prison Gerrymandering and Partisanship

Map and plot showing number of incarcerated adults per district versus 2020 Republican presidential vote share.



The Impact of Reforms on Population Deviations

Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would shift population around the state. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that District 18 would contain 831.9 more people, while District 53 would contain -4,758.8 fewer people.

The shifts in district populations affect the deviation of the entire plan. Generally, state legislative plans must have a deviation under 10%, and plans exceeding that deviation level may be ruled unconstitutional unless they appeal to other criteria.

- Without prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's deviation is: **0.76%**
- With prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's estimated deviation is: **9.26%**

The Impact of Reforms on Racial Composition of Districts

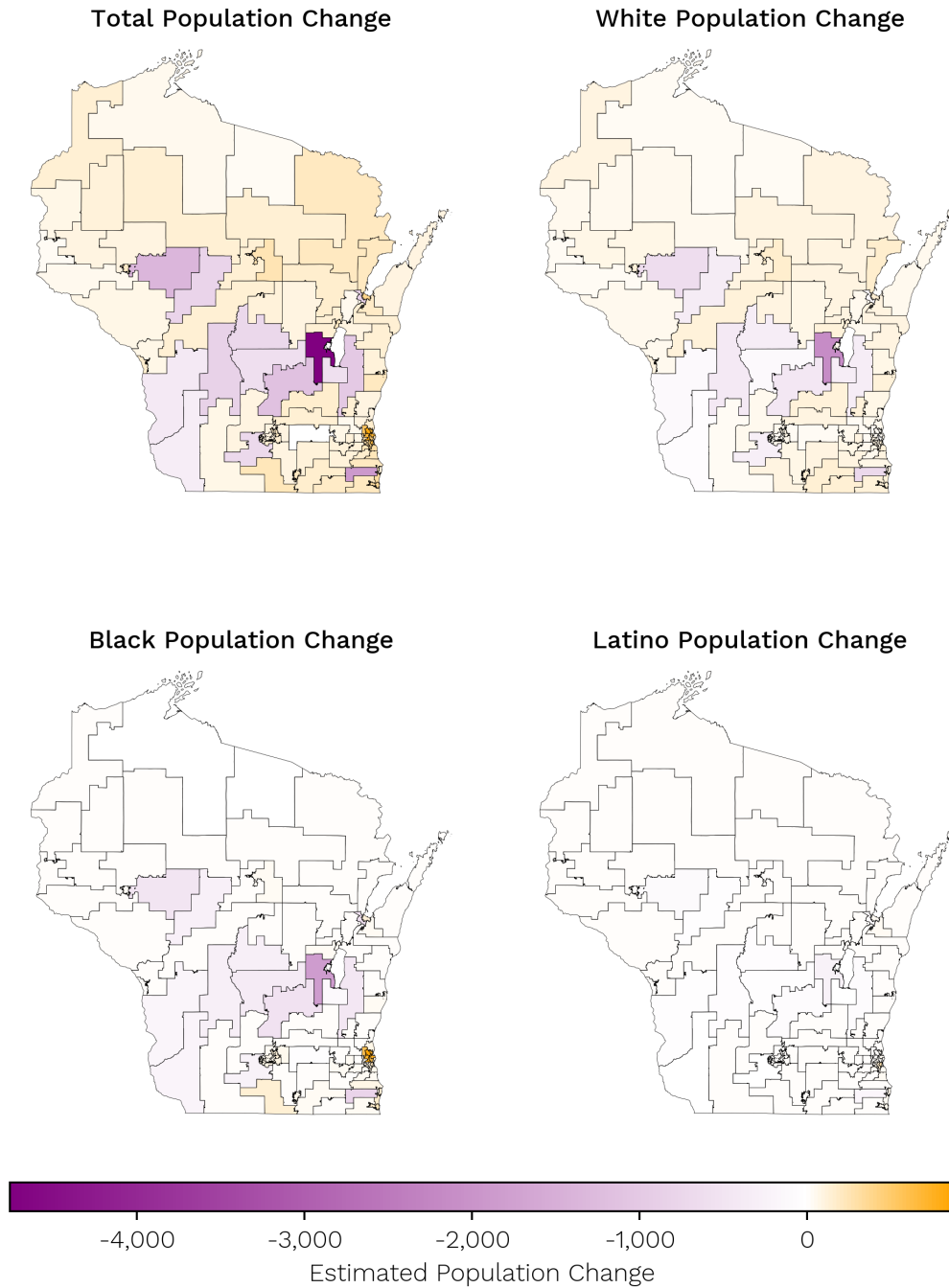
Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would not only change the total population of districts, but also their demographic composition. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that the Black population in District 11 would increase by 877.4.

These shifts in population could impact the number of potential opportunity districts in the state as required by the Voting Rights Act.

Data for total population change and population changes by race for all districts are available in the [appendix](#).

Estimated Population Changes by State Assembly District

Maps showing total population change and changes by race after counting incarcerated people at their last known address. Racial categories are based on state records.



Data Source: Rory Kramer, PhD., Brianna Remster, PhD., Denise Wilson

Redistricting Data Hub

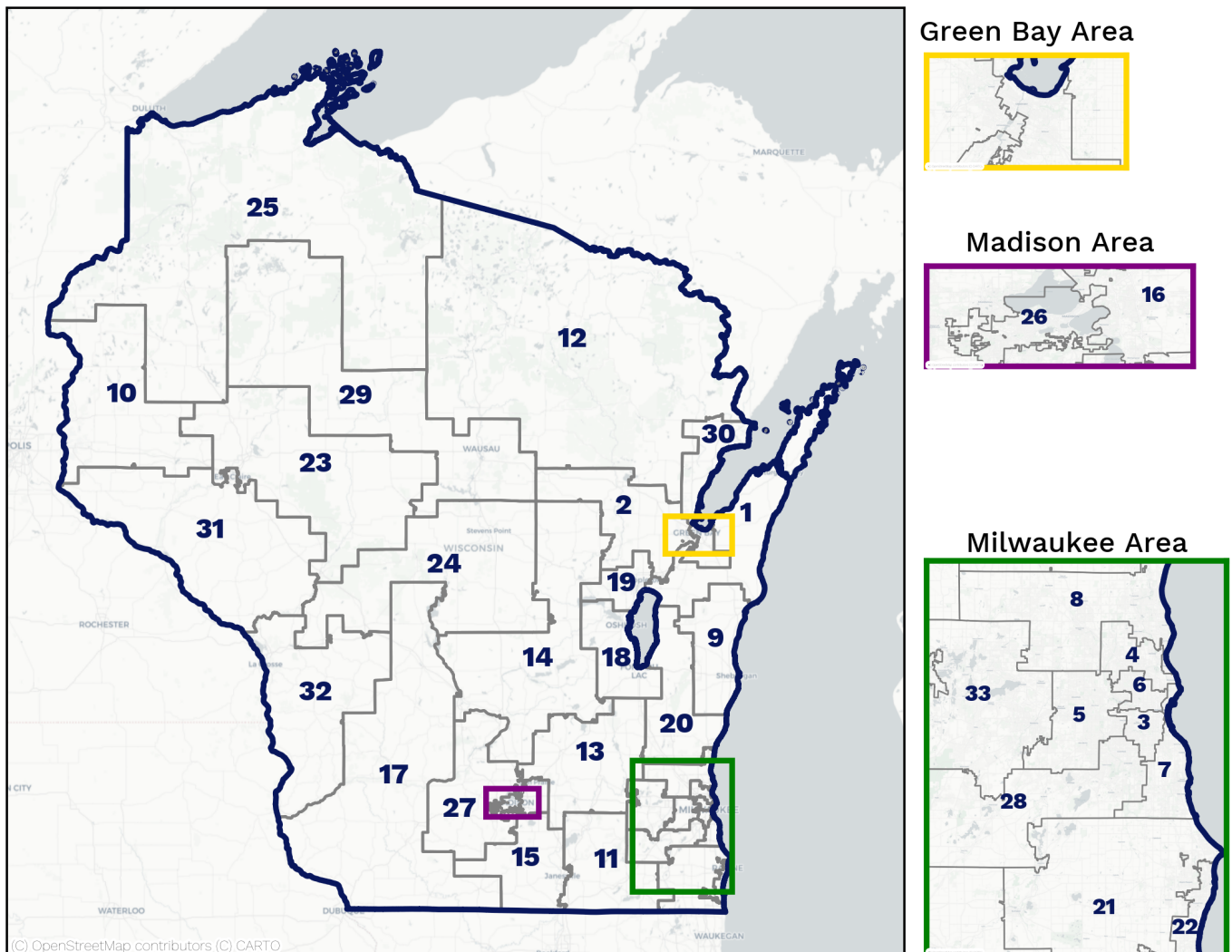
State Senate

Background

For the 2021 redistricting cycle, Wisconsin's 33 State Senate districts were drawn to each contain around 178,597 people.

Wisconsin's State Senate Districts

Districts enacted during the 2021 redistricting cycle.



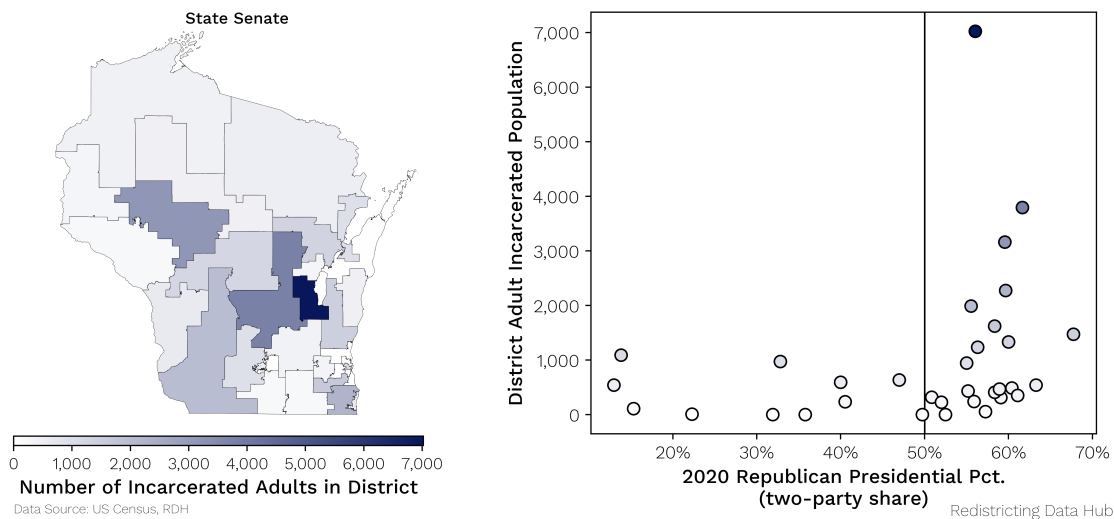
The Incarcerated Population at the State Senate Level

In the absence of prison gerrymandering reforms, Wisconsin's incarcerated population is concentrated in a handful of districts. In particular, District 18 contains 7,021 incarcerated people, while 4 districts contain 0 incarcerated people.

The number of incarcerated people in each district depends on the locations of facilities and how the particular plan redistricting plan divides the state. Analyzing the partisanship of districts against the adult incarcerated population is one way to better understand the concentration of incarcerated populations within the state.

Prison Gerrymandering and Partisanship

Map and plot showing number of incarcerated adults per district versus 2020 Republican presidential vote share.



The Impact of Reforms on Population Deviations

Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would shift population around the state. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that District 4 would contain 2,061.4 more people, while District 18 would contain -5,411.5 fewer people.

The shifts in district populations affect the deviation of the entire plan. Generally, state legislative plans must have a deviation under 10%, and plans exceeding that deviation level may be ruled unconstitutional unless they appeal to other criteria.

- Without prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's deviation is: **0.57%**
- With prison gerrymandering reforms, this plan's estimated deviation is: **3.96%**

The Impact of Reforms on Racial Composition of Districts

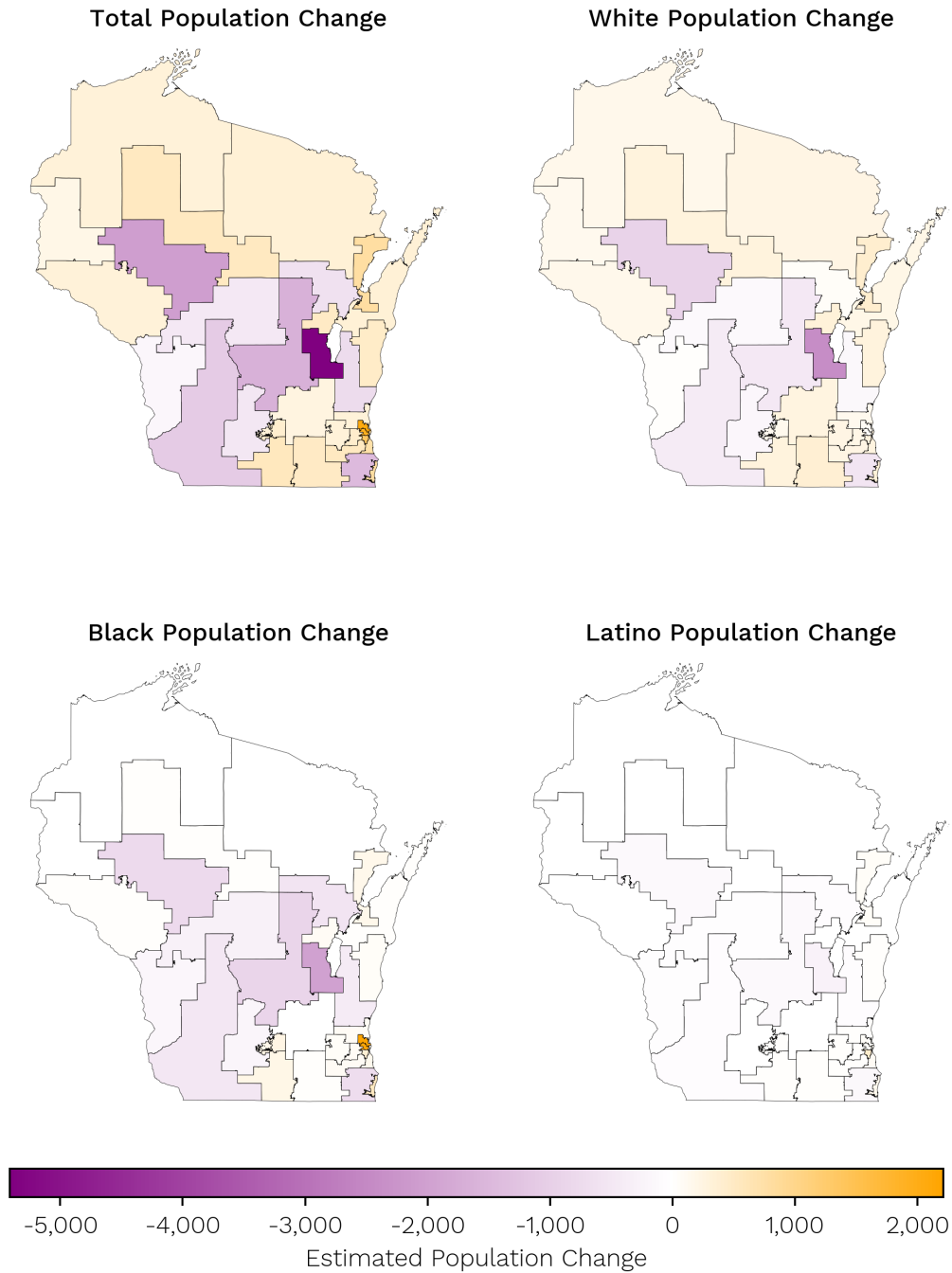
Counting incarcerated people at their home addresses would not only change the total population of districts, but also their demographic composition. For example, using the counterfactual dataset, we estimate that the Black population in District 4 would increase by 2,207.6.

These shifts in population could impact the number of potential opportunity districts in the state as required by the Voting Rights Act.

Data for total population change and population changes by race for all districts are available in the [appendix](#).

Estimated Population Changes by State Senate District

Maps showing total population change and changes by race after counting incarcerated people at their last known address. Racial categories are based on state records.



Data Source: Rory Kramer, PhD., Brianna Remster, PhD., Denise Wilson

Redistricting Data Hub

Appendix

Estimated Change in Total Population and Population by Race with Prison Gerrymandering Reform

Note: Population changes in the counterfactual dataset may not always sum exactly to 0. Counterfactual counts may exceed those of the census due to data differences. Please see [Notes](#) for additional information on the dataset's methodology.

Wisconsin's Congressional Districts

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
1	4,855	2,621.6	706.9	508.9	93.0	51.4	-25.2
2	1,710	925.9	385.5	194.6	188.2	38.3	-7.0
3	5,687	2,789.9	-1,334.7	-255.3	-936.0	-149.0	-53.2
4	1,198	650.8	6,156.3	658.5	4,936.1	601.7	72.5
5	851	0.0	1,403.3	987.5	159.7	54.6	6.6
6	12,416	10,078.7	-8,222.7	-3,214.4	-3,593.1	-506.0	-204.0
7	3,239	1,622.0	-124.0	121.3	-506.0	-98.0	31.2
8	2,897	1,108.9	1,028.4	999.0	-341.9	6.0	178.0

Estimated Change in Total Population and Population by Race with Prison Gerrymandering Reform

Note: Population changes in the counterfactual dataset may not always sum exactly to 0. Counterfactual counts may exceed those of the census due to data differences. Please see [Notes](#) for additional information on the dataset's methodology.

Wisconsin's State Assembly Districts

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
1	54	0.0	91.3	48.1	0.7	0.3	1.0
2	0	0.0	150.4	100.9	9.3	2.9	9.5
3	0	0.0	98.4	61.0	12.6	0.1	1.5
4	1,062	1,009.9	-823.8	-118.4	-583.7	-63.7	13.9
5	116	99.0	41.5	58.1	-0.3	1.2	23.6
6	153	0.0	156.8	96.3	4.7	0.4	8.1
7	0	0.0	293.5	85.6	78.9	41.2	7.7
8	0	0.0	652.9	109.4	196.9	263.3	21.1
9	0	0.0	398.4	80.5	103.2	142.6	10.7
10	96	82.0	710.1	21.3	755.7	24.6	3.0
11	13	0.0	811.4	33.7	877.4	11.7	4.9
12	0	0.0	539.9	32.9	574.5	15.9	7.0
13	0	0.0	67.2	39.1	14.6	3.6	1.2
14	0	0.0	252.5	92.8	56.0	11.7	1.2
15	0	0.0	118.6	62.2	23.9	8.9	0.4
16	1,071	568.8	439.3	-27.3	609.9	-2.0	-3.4
17	0	0.0	664.1	31.5	713.7	13.9	8.2
18	18	0.0	831.9	43.2	813.6	25.7	6.2
19	0	0.0	222.8	55.2	62.3	14.0	1.7
20	0	0.0	287.4	113.4	43.0	35.5	2.3
21	0	0.0	238.5	88.2	31.3	19.1	4.7
22	0	0.0	59.8	40.8	9.6	2.8	1.0
23	0	0.0	161.1	43.8	66.8	4.9	1.2
24	0	0.0	85.5	62.0	12.4	0.5	0.0
25	199	0.0	147.0	102.1	9.5	0.0	1.0
26	269	0.0	201.3	115.0	23.6	15.2	2.5
27	0	0.0	125.6	82.1	11.2	10.5	1.4
28	163	0.0	63.7	45.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
29	91	0.0	93.1	64.3	1.0	0.0	0.0
30	58	0.0	38.8	30.4	0.0	0.0	0.0

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
31	134	0.0	172.6	130.1	23.7	9.1	0.0
32	0	0.0	184.1	146.7	6.6	15.2	0.0
33	106	0.0	125.7	102.7	4.0	1.2	0.0
34	325	79.0	20.5	28.5	-17.0	1.0	3.0
35	140	0.0	138.3	93.7	6.1	0.0	0.3
36	75	0.0	197.9	105.8	1.0	0.0	22.5
37	0	0.0	131.0	99.9	8.6	0.4	0.1
38	143	132.0	-20.5	38.9	-36.9	1.0	0.0
39	266	0.0	153.6	125.4	5.9	1.0	0.0
40	207	0.0	104.9	76.5	2.2	1.0	0.0
41	2,024	765.0	-605.6	-124.9	-379.8	-36.2	-14.0
42	1,562	1,266.0	-1,151.1	-447.9	-534.3	-87.6	0.0
43	0	0.0	103.1	65.2	16.8	1.0	0.1
44	235	0.0	212.6	139.6	47.8	2.9	0.0
45	0	0.0	233.5	87.6	130.4	2.4	0.0
46	0	0.0	91.7	38.2	45.3	1.9	0.3
47	0	0.0	140.9	50.6	80.3	12.6	1.2
48	8	0.0	177.9	64.2	113.8	12.5	0.3
49	512	407.0	-341.9	-47.3	-217.0	-19.0	-6.0
50	1,429	981.9	-847.1	-414.5	-309.7	-59.0	-14.0
51	47	0.0	68.7	29.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
52	1,109	820.9	-580.1	-346.6	-122.2	-10.7	-33.0
53	4,961	4,892.2	-4,758.8	-2,144.9	-1,843.8	-256.6	-100.0
54	951	266.7	-72.6	56.7	-39.1	-6.0	-5.0
55	0	0.0	150.6	109.2	18.8	0.1	0.3
56	0	0.0	129.4	94.5	14.5	0.3	3.9
57	318	0.0	206.2	126.2	34.4	1.3	11.4
58	128	0.0	147.4	120.3	5.0	5.5	0.0
59	1,162	1,126.0	-1,006.7	-348.2	-450.9	-80.3	-24.0
60	182	0.0	102.2	76.9	7.2	1.1	0.0
61	0	0.0	215.0	119.3	24.4	9.7	0.0
62	23	0.0	207.0	75.4	63.9	14.1	1.0
63	2,250	2,104.6	-1,898.8	-726.5	-811.4	-169.2	-29.0
64	324	0.0	309.6	120.0	159.9	28.4	0.0
65	268	106.0	370.6	134.4	226.5	51.2	0.0
66	0	411.0	120.8	66.8	138.4	48.1	-5.0
67	475	0.0	93.1	70.0	4.4	0.0	0.0
68	1,537	1,472.0	-1,365.6	-630.1	-503.1	-99.0	-18.0

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
69	1,148	915.9	-796.7	-373.4	-270.3	-42.0	-26.1
70	57	0.0	149.3	110.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
71	40	0.0	125.3	94.6	2.0	0.0	0.0
72	1,137	942.0	-745.6	-333.6	-298.0	-54.0	-32.0
73	142	0.0	145.7	90.2	0.0	0.0	4.0
74	197	71.1	48.6	21.9	-16.0	0.0	0.2
75	93	0.0	110.1	61.3	1.0	0.0	1.0
76	512	0.0	105.9	38.5	49.5	4.1	0.5
77	6	0.0	105.7	34.2	59.2	7.2	0.5
78	22	0.0	113.0	31.3	72.3	6.4	0.4
79	0	0.0	97.9	46.0	34.8	4.8	0.3
80	850	793.9	-724.1	-308.4	-256.1	-14.7	-10.8
81	122	0.0	97.3	61.7	2.0	0.4	0.0
82	1,621	0.0	171.6	62.5	24.0	6.9	2.5
83	0	0.0	108.8	87.7	3.8	1.8	0.0
84	0	0.0	238.4	77.8	40.8	24.0	5.6
85	262	0.0	253.3	154.4	20.1	0.0	6.0
86	0	0.0	131.2	94.4	5.8	0.0	2.7
87	225	0.0	137.9	47.9	0.3	0.0	19.9
88	662	0.0	192.0	96.6	33.7	21.2	22.4
89	165	0.0	216.8	162.0	7.3	1.9	9.6
90	117	0.0	390.3	149.6	124.4	40.1	61.0
91	147	0.0	182.2	111.9	22.3	0.0	0.0
92	34	0.0	81.6	45.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
93	45	0.0	45.3	26.8	1.4	0.0	0.0
94	0	0.0	74.5	54.8	2.8	0.0	0.0
95	59	0.0	164.4	93.3	11.2	1.0	0.0
96	575	485.0	-412.3	-123.7	-188.0	-29.0	-7.0
97	19	0.0	121.0	79.7	27.5	6.7	0.0
98	332	0.0	123.9	93.2	21.5	7.2	0.0
99	0	0.0	67.0	56.9	2.6	1.0	0.0

Estimated Change in Total Population and Population by Race with Prison Gerrymandering Reform

Note: Population changes in the counterfactual dataset may not always sum exactly to 0. Counterfactual counts may exceed those of the census due to data differences. Please see [Notes](#) for additional information on the dataset's methodology.

Wisconsin's State Senate Districts

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
1	54	0.0	340.1	210.0	22.6	3.3	12.0
2	1,331	1,108.9	-625.6	36.0	-579.3	-62.2	45.6
3	0	0.0	1,344.9	275.5	378.9	447.1	39.5
4	109	82.0	2,061.4	87.9	2,207.6	52.2	14.8
5	0	0.0	438.3	194.1	94.5	24.2	2.7
6	1,089	568.8	1,935.3	47.3	2,137.2	37.6	11.0
7	0	0.0	748.7	256.7	136.7	68.7	8.6
8	0	0.0	306.4	146.6	88.9	8.2	2.2
9	468	0.0	473.9	299.2	44.3	25.7	5.0
10	312	0.0	195.7	139.7	1.0	0.0	0.0
11	240	0.0	482.4	379.5	34.3	25.4	0.0
12	540	79.0	356.7	228.0	-10.0	1.0	25.8
13	409	132.0	264.1	264.2	-22.4	2.4	0.1
14	3,793	2,031.0	-1,651.8	-496.2	-911.9	-122.7	-14.0
15	235	0.0	549.2	292.5	195.0	6.2	0.1
16	8	0.0	410.5	153.0	239.4	27.0	1.8
17	1,988	1,388.9	-1,120.3	-432.5	-526.6	-78.0	-20.0
18	7,021	5,979.8	-5,411.5	-2,434.7	-2,005.1	-273.4	-138.0
19	318	0.0	486.2	329.9	67.7	1.6	15.6
20	1,472	1,126.0	-757.2	-151.0	-438.6	-73.8	-24.0
21	2,273	2,104.6	-1,476.9	-531.7	-723.1	-145.3	-28.0
22	592	517.0	801.0	321.1	524.8	127.6	-5.0
23	3,160	2,387.9	-2,069.2	-933.5	-769.0	-141.0	-44.1
24	1,234	942.0	-471.0	-129.0	-295.0	-54.0	-32.0
25	432	71.1	304.4	173.4	-15.0	0.0	5.2
26	540	0.0	324.6	104.0	181.0	17.7	1.4
27	972	793.9	-528.9	-200.7	-219.3	-9.5	-10.4
28	1,621	0.0	518.7	228.0	68.5	32.6	8.1
29	487	0.0	522.4	296.6	26.2	0.0	28.6
30	944	0.0	799.1	408.2	165.4	63.2	93.0

District	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Census)	Total Incarcerated Adult Population (Counterfactual)	Total Population Change From Adjustment	White Population Change From Adjustment	Black Population Change From Adjustment	Latino Population Change From Adjustment	Other Population Change From Adjustment
31	226	0.0	309.1	183.7	23.7	0.0	0.2
32	634	485.0	-173.4	24.4	-174.0	-28.0	-7.0
33	351	0.0	312.0	229.8	51.6	15.0	0.0

About the Report

About the Data

The data used to generate this report is freely available on the Redistricting Data Hub website. Thank you to Rory Kramer, PhD, Brianna Remster, PhD, and Denise Wilson of Villanova University for creating the dataset and allowing us to share it publicly. The counterfactual method used in the dataset is described in the following paper:

Remster, Brianna and Rory Kramer. 2018. "[Shifting Power: The Impact of Incarceration on Political Representation](#)." Du Bois Review 15(2):417-39.

About the Redistricting Data Hub

The nonpartisan [Redistricting Data Hub](#) was founded by experts with backgrounds in pioneering redistricting legal cases, the establishment of independent redistricting commissions, and related ballot initiatives in Florida, Arizona and other states.

Our mission is to provide individuals, civic organizations, and good government groups the data, resources, and knowledge to participate effectively in redistricting processes by learning how to define their communities, provide meaningful public input, recognize gerrymandering, and advocate for fair and legal maps. In service of this mission, we host over 12,000 datasets in all 50 states, from the census block to the district level, and continue to add new data that is useful for map drawing and analysis. This data is free to the public, and accompanied by technical support and nonpartisan analysis on request.

During the 2021 redistricting cycle, our data was used in at least 21 briefs or expert reports during litigation in 12 states; public testimony submitted by organizations and individuals to 34 state and local redistricting bodies; dozens of articles in local, state, and national media outlets such as *The Guardian* and *Bloomberg*; numerous academic papers, reports, or presentations; and thousands of members of the public to understand and participate in the redistricting process.

About the Author

Peter Horton is a Data Analyst at the Redistricting Data Hub. In addition to processing and validating redistricting datasets for the public, he works closely with civil rights organizations to produce datasets for litigation and local journalists to produce useful and accessible graphics on redistricting and elections.

Contact Us

This report is current as of July 2023. The maps in the report reflect the first enacted maps following the 2021 redistricting cycle. Contact us at support@redistrictingdatahub.org with any questions or comments about this report.

Notes

Counterfactual Data Methodology

The counterfactual dataset used in this report contains the following explanation:

These data sets include adjustments to the population to account for prisoner reallocation based on self-declared, unverified resident address, residential county, or sentencing county. The Population is adjusted by subtracting prisoners from the block where they are incarcerated and adding them to the block of their previously reported address. When address data was not available, we first used residential county followed by sentencing county. The population adjusted for returning prisoners to residential or sentencing county is based on the block's proportion of the county's not incarcerated in a state facility of the same race. For example, if block 1 has 1% of the county's non-state-incarcerated white population, it receives 1% of the county's returning white population. Our estimates may be less precise because we only adjust for state facilities and not other levels of incarceration (e.g., local jails, federal facilities). Those with unknown address or county (i.e., residential or sentencing) were excluded from the analysis. Those with unknown race were included in the total return but not the race specific returns. Any differences between pre- and post- reallocation total populations are due to census differential privacy measures. Differences should be small and have no substantive impact on our measures of the impact of prison gerrymandering. Additionally, our estimates are adjusted based on a mix of self-declared unverified resident address, residential county, and sentencing county, as opposed to block of last residence, which could affect the accuracy and/or precision of the estimates. District data includes separate tabs for house and senate districts.

Please view the file's [README](#) for additional information