

A decorative graphic on the left side of the slide, consisting of a network of thin, light-orange lines and small circles, resembling a circuit board or a stylized tree structure.

# CONSTITUTIONALIZING OUR DEMOCRATIC EXPECTATIONS

VICE DEAN FRANITA TOLSON

USC GOULD SCHOOL OF LAW

# GEORGIA POLL TAX

**Impact of the Poll Tax on Overall Turnout Rate:  
Rates for Georgia and the Rest of the South in the  
Presidential Elections, 1880s\***

Election	Georgia	Rest of the South
1880	48.8	65.4
1884	40.6	65.7
1888	37.3	65.7

**Impact of the Poll Tax on Whites: Estimated White  
Turnout in the Presidential Elections in Florida and  
Georgia, 1880s\***

Election	Georgia	Florida
1880	56	80
1884	40	74
1888	56	84

**Impact of the Poll Tax on Blacks: Estimated Black  
Turnout in Presidential Elections in Florida and  
Georgia, 1880s\***

Election	Georgia	Florida
1880	39	88
1884	38	86
1888	19	64

*\* From Kousser, The Shaping of  
Southern Politics, p. 67, 68, 71*

Table 4. Estimates of Disenfranchised African Americans with Felony Convictions, 2016

State	Prison	Parole	Felony probation	Jail	Post-sentence	Total	VAP	% Disenfranchised
Alabama	17,775	3,957	7,740	823	113,629	143,924	952,671	15.11%
Alaska	519	211	718	2		1,450	21,219	6.83%
Arizona	5,879	952	5,654	361	12,645	25,492	214,412	11.89%
Arkansas	8,524	8,844	8,676	62		26,106	333,472	7.83%
California	39,451	23,939				63,390	1,858,353	3.41%
Colorado	4,098	1,439		320		5,858	172,849	3.39%
Connecticut	6,222	1,041				7,263	273,185	2.66%
Delaware	3,910	396	1,869		1,937	8,113	151,584	5.35%
Florida	50,110	2,328	26,259	2,385	418,224	499,306	2,338,940	21.35%
Georgia	31,814	13,927	98,740	64		144,546	2,301,258	6.28%
Hawaii	269					269	23,868	1.13%
Idaho	192	105	207	77		580	8,308	6.98%
Illinois	27,292			135		27,427	1,387,719	1.98%
Iowa	2,341	1,065	1,881	159	1,434	6,879	69,892	9.84%
Indiana	10,280			37		10,317	444,706	2.32%
Kansas	3,130	1,164	1,021	286		5,601	130,602	4.29%
Kentucky	6,080	4,393	5,007	389	53,902	69,771	266,806	26.15%
Louisiana	24,848	20,284	21,829	1,104		68,065	1,084,997	6.27%
Maine						0	10,940	0.00%
Maryland	14,960			423		15,383	1,348,123	1.14%
Massachusetts	2,906			60		2,966	355,908	0.83%
Michigan	23,015			664		23,679	1,057,458	2.24%

Minnesota	4,032	2,121	9,151	127		15,432	210,110	7.34%
Mississippi	9,158	5,049	18,074	524	94,325	127,130	801,471	15.86%
Missouri	12,807	5,714	11,584	269		30,374	525,285	5.78%
Montana	106			98		204	4,245	4.80%
North Carolina	21,304	6,414	14,979	208		42,905	1,630,848	2.63%
North Dakota	144			38		182	8,799	2.07%
Nebraska	1,675	185	362	115	1,202	3,540	63,187	5.60%
Nevada	3,299	2,270	2,409	25	13,566	21,568	183,389	11.76%
New Hampshire	177			27		204	12,994	1.57%
New Jersey	12,294	6,466	28,243	467		47,470	899,227	5.28%
New Mexico	560	192	777	51		1,581	33,582	4.71%
New York	25,524	19,851		911		46,286	2,277,485	2.03%
Ohio	24,111			718		24,829	1,069,118	2.32%
Oklahoma	7,955	892	6,220	49		15,116	223,354	6.77%
Oregon	1,453			140		1,593	60,807	2.62%
Pennsylvania	24,360			1,235		25,596	1,041,629	2.46%
Rhode Island	963					963	47,566	2.03%
South Carolina	13,067	3,123	22,303	424		38,916	1,014,456	3.84%
South Dakota	189	151		24		363	9,316	3.90%
Tennessee	13,918	6,010	20,887	1,038	132,042	173,895	817,457	21.27%
Texas	58,254	41,812	47,428	233		147,727	2,393,055	6.17%
Utah	462			263		724	22,763	3.18%
Vermont						0	5,244	0.00%
Virginia	23,593	1,087	29,321	184	217,759	271,944	1,241,868	21.90%
Washington	3,470	703	3,789	24		7,987	215,438	3.71%
West Virginia	902	364	399	127		1,792	50,496	3.55%
Wisconsin	9,664	7,590	4,945	248		22,447	256,592	8.75%
Wyoming	113	32	93	16	712	966	5,621	17.18%
Total	557,169	194,071	400,568	14,933	1,061,377	2,228,118	29,932,674	7.44%