

Racial Disparities in Imprisonment in Wisconsin

Pamela Oliver
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin

Thanks to Jody Wolak and Thomas MacLeod for research assistance.

Wisconsin ranked #2 (behind Minnesota) in 1996 black/white racial disparities in new imprisonments. This disparity arose from being **fifth highest** in the nation in the per capita rate of new imprisonment of **African Americans**, but **fifth lowest** in the rate of new imprisonment for **whites**. African Americans were 20.6 TIMES as likely to enter prison in Wisconsin as whites. (And in these numbers, "white" includes white Hispanics.)

Imprisonment rates arise both from crime and from politically-influenced decisions about arrests, prosecution, and sentencing. This report documents the patterns of racial disparities as a first step toward understanding what to do about them. Part I looks at black and white arrest and new imprisonment rates for offense categories in 1996. The data show evidence both of large differentials in the rate of arrests for very serious violent crimes, and of disparities in law enforcement and sentencing. Part II looks at differences among Wisconsin's counties in the rates of imprisonment for African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, American Indians and non-Hispanic whites.

I. Arrests and Imprisonment for Offense Groups

It is usually fair to assume that a person in prison has committed a crime, although some innocent people are convicted. However, the proportion of different social groups in prison is not necessarily a direct reflection of the amount of crime committed by members of those groups. Enforcement, prosecution, and sentencing decisions intervene between the rates at which people are committing crimes and the rates at which people are in prison. Figure 1 summarizes these relationships.

Thus, one question we can ask is whether racial disparities in imprisonment rates are closely related to disparities in underlying crime rates. Arrest rates are the most readily available source of information about crime, but arrests are a function not only of crime, but of enforcement capacity and zeal. Wisconsin, for example, has an extraordinarily high rate of arrests of whites for "public order" offenses such as disorderly conduct and liquor law violations (over 60% higher than the next highest state, and well over double the national average) but this high arrest rate does not necessarily mean that Wisconsin's white citizens are exceptionally disorderly, nor does it suggest that, even in Wisconsin, every person who is drunk and disorderly gets arrested.

Table 1 compares black and white arrest and imprisonment rates for broad offense categories. It should be remembered that arrests and imprisonments do not exactly match up, as a

person can be imprisoned only once in a year while he can be arrested multiple times for multiple offenses, and sentencing does not necessarily occur in the same year as arrest. People arrested multiple times before imprisonment will tend to reduce the ratio of imprisonment to arrests for a crime group. Nevertheless, comparing arrest and imprisonment rates gives us some idea of how crime rates affect imprisonment. African Americans in Wisconsin do have much higher arrest rates than whites, especially for the very serious crime categories of homicide and robbery. But the ratio of imprisonment rates to arrest rates is higher for blacks than for whites for all offense groups except homicide. In the most extreme case, blacks are not only 7.6 times as likely to be arrested on drug charges as whites (even though public health data indicates that rates of illegal drug use are very similar for blacks and whites), the ratio of imprisonment to arrest for blacks is 6.8 times that for whites. The net effect is that the racial disparity for new imprisonment on drug charges in Wisconsin in 1996 was a whopping 51.7! By contrast, the also high 47.5 racial disparity ratio for new imprisonment for robbery was principally due to the large racial disparity in arrests for robbery, although the ratio of imprisonment to arrests for robbery was still 1.4 times higher for blacks than whites. For homicide (murder and manslaughter), the imprisonment to arrest ratio was actually higher for whites than for blacks. If the imprisonment to arrest ratios were the same for blacks as whites in all offense categories (including homicide, where it would go up), Wisconsin's racial disparity in imprisonment would be 8.5 instead of 20.6; still high, but less than half of its current value.

Obviously, there are more and less serious offenses grouped together within these offense categories, and these imprisonment to arrest ratios cannot be taken as direct evidence of bias in the criminal justice system. But they do certainly suggest that we need to pay attention both to why there are disparities in the rates at which some very serious crimes are committed, and to why there are disparities in the enforcement and punishment for other, less serious, crimes. In general, it is reasonable to suppose that arrest rates come closer to tracking crime rates for the most serious crimes against the person, including homicide, robbery, and sex offenses. For simple assault (i.e. fighting), theft, drug and public order offenses, self-report data tell us that large proportions of the population engage in these crimes at least sometimes, and the probability of the offense being even reported to the police varies both with its severity and with the level of police enforcement in a particular community.

II. Racial disparities in Wisconsin's counties

We have analyzed the computer file from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections of everyone in the prison system as of April 2000. This file gives the county in which a person was sentenced. This is, of course, not identical to the county of residence at the time of committing the crime, but that information is not available in the Corrections data base. The state of Wisconsin is over 90% non-Hispanic white, so there are only a few counties in which statistical estimates of incarceration rates for minorities can be reliably calculated. Table 2 shows the inmate populations, total populations, imprisonment rates, and racial disparity indices for Wisconsin's 13 largest counties; even for these, the numbers of minorities (especially African Americans and American Indians) are too small for reliable calculation of rates, so in these cases

the calculated rates are printed in a smaller font to highlight their unreliability. Table 3 shows imprisonment rates and disparity indices for the two other counties with significant Asian populations and six other counties with significant American Indian populations.

There are high racial disparities in imprisonment for all minority groups in Wisconsin except Asian Americans. Asians are imprisoned at rates higher than whites only in Brown, Outagamie, and Manitowoc counties, where Asians are incarcerated at rates 2-3 times of those of whites. Hispanic men are generally incarcerated at about five times the rates of non-Hispanic whites, with only Brown county standing out as having an especially high rate; the incarceration rate for Hispanic women is roughly three times that of non-Hispanic white women, with only Brown, Outagamie, and Sheboygan counties standing out as being much higher. American Indians men are imprisoned at nearly six times the rate of white men, while American Indian women are imprisoned at eight times the rate of white women; Brown and Shawano counties have especially high rates of imprisoning American Indians.

There are only six counties in Wisconsin with enough African Americans for imprisonment rates to have any statistical meaning: Milwaukee, Dane, Waukesha, Racine, Rock, and Kenosha. Kenosha county has an unusually high rate of imprisoning white non-Hispanic males of 837, which is 2.4 times the state average, and also has a very high rate of incarcerating black males of 12,786. That says that nearly 13% of the black male population of Kenosha county is in prison. Similarly astronomical rates are found in Dane and Waukesha counties where over 10% of the black male population is in prison. Because their white male imprisonment rates are substantially below the state averages, Waukesha and Dane counties have enormous racial disparity ratios: in Dane County, black men are 35.5 times more likely than white men to be in prison, and black women are 28.4 times more likely to be in prison than white women. In Waukesha (where the resident black population is only about 1700 total), black/white disparities are 43.2 for men and 93.9 for women! Milwaukee's racial disparities of 13.9 for men and 10.6 for women are huge by national standards or usual standards of justice, but are below the state averages.

Appendices 1 and 2 give the inmate counts and population totals by race and sex for all counties, respectively. Appendix 3 gives the male and female imprisonment rates for non-Hispanic whites for all counties, and also the ratio of each county's rates to the state average and the rank order of the counties in white imprisonment rates.

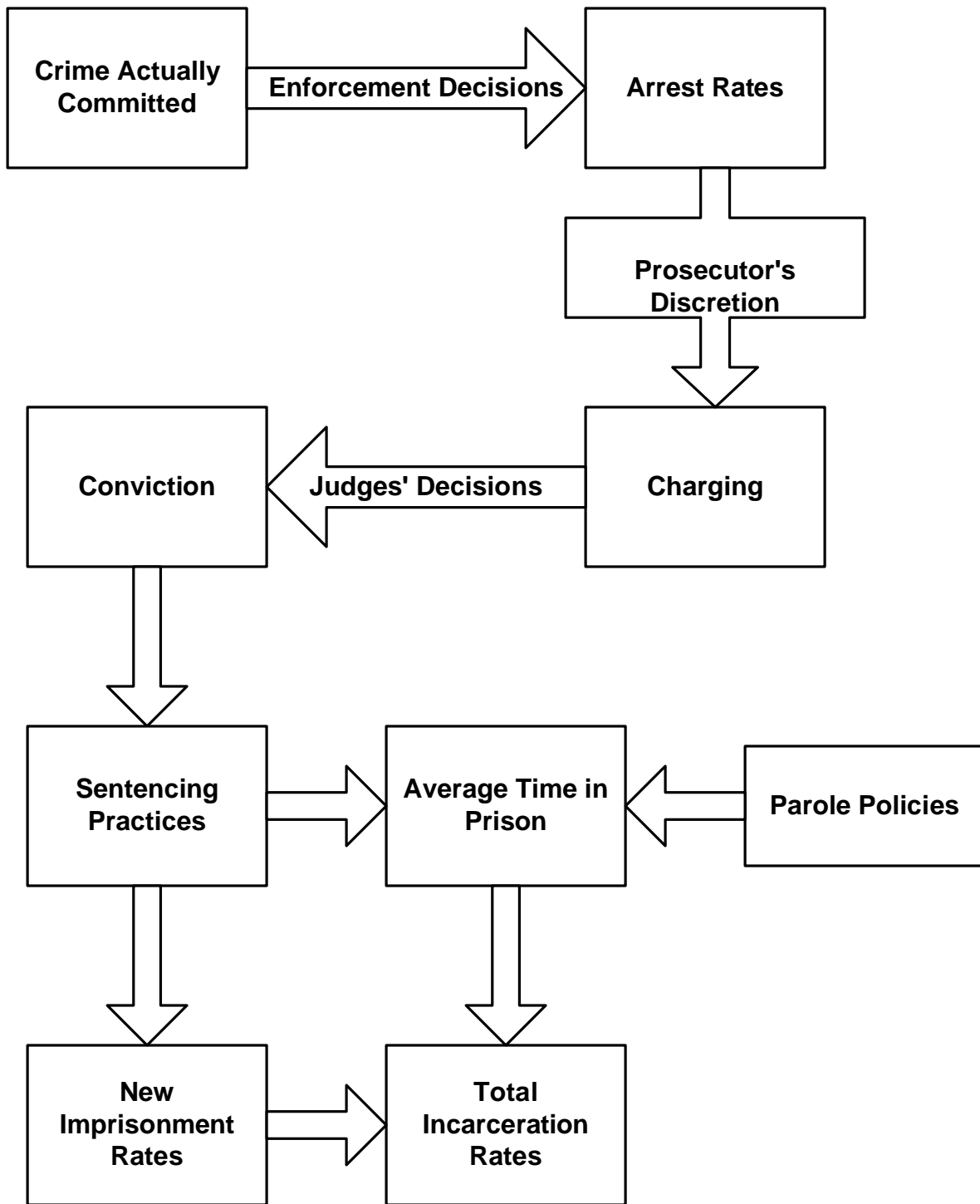


Figure 1. A schematic representation of the factors which affect incarceration rates

Rank White	12	18	16	3	6	6	14	1	9	4		1
Rank Black	1	2	4	1	2	3	7	1	8	1		1
Rank Ratio	2	5	3	9	6	8	7	6	17	14		8
White proportion	0.000	0.062	0.002	0.010	0.117	0.001	0.041	0.456	0.038	0.272		1.00
Black proportion	0.003	0.123	0.014	0.011	0.155	0.001	0.067	0.339	0.025	0.261		1.00
Imprisonment Rate												
White per 100,000	1	7	3	9	14	0	6	3	4	3	2	53
Black per 100,000	31	142	144	61	212	6	324	61	44	28	32	1087
Disparity Ratio	30.3	20.6	47.5	6.7	15.1	12.7	51.7	21.6	12.5	9.3	13.7	20.6
Rank White	33	24	24	7	30	29	32	30	32	21	19	32
Rank Black	4	6	3	4	7	4	10	8	16	12	8	5
Rank Ratio	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	2	5	12	3	2
White proportion	0.02	0.13	0.06	0.17	0.27	0.01	0.12	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.04	1.00
Black proportion	0.03	0.13	0.13	0.06	0.19	0.01	0.30	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.03	1.00
Ratio of Imprisonment Rate to Arrest Rate												
White	0.364	0.015	0.222	0.127	0.016	0.056	0.021	0.001	0.013	0.002		
Black	0.264	0.034	0.301	0.171	0.040	0.165	0.142	0.005	0.051	0.003		
Ratio of Ratios	0.7	2.2	1.4	1.3	2.5	2.9	6.8	6.2	4.0	2.1		
Rank White	33	20	25	30	35	30	33	35	34	32		
Rank Black	31	22	23	24	28	18	25	27	22	27		
Rank Ratio of Ratios	22	16	14	13	5	5	6	5	3	10		

Rank is of the 37 states participating in the National Corrections Reporting Program and the 36 states participating in the Uniform Crime Reports. Arrest data does not separate whites by Hispanic ethnicity; the disparities are greater if blacks are compared to white non-Hispanics. "Homicide" includes both murder and non-negligent manslaughter. "Assault" includes both simple and aggravated assaults, as well as attempted murder. "Robbery" includes both simple and armed robbery. "Property" crimes include burglary and other serious property offenses. "Sex offenses" include rape, child molestation, etc. "Other non-violent crimes" include blackmail, extortion, intimidation, forgery, and receiving stolen property. "Not spec" indicates the offense was not specified or was one of a few miscellaneous other offenses. "Derived" offenses include escape, parole violations, etc.

County	Milwaukee	Dane	Waukesha	Brown	Racine	Outagamie	Rock	Winnebago	Kenosha	Marathon	Washington	Sheboygan	La Crosse	Total Other Counties	Wisconsin Total
Imprisonment per 100,000*															
WhNHMr	404	288	241	348	440	274	441	314	837	296	249	336	445	293	353
WhNHFr	32	34	19	25	35	20	42	16	59	27	12	23	34	17	25
BlackMr	5594	10212	10432	<i>10082</i>	6396	<i>13514</i>	7123	<i>3879</i>	12786	<i>16667</i>	<i>3509</i>	<i>3295</i>	<i>13793</i>	3919	6421
BlackFr	339	975	1743	<i>3878</i>	600	<i>847</i>	567	<i>3608</i>	1396	<i>0</i>	<i>1869</i>	<i>2913</i>	<i>2294</i>	287	463
AsiMr	269	116	43	781	0	374	142	236	206	382	<i>360</i>	378	335	355	286
AsiFr	10	14	0	93	0	60	0	0	0	0	<i>0</i>	0	0	0	12
IndMr	1751	1949	<i>1121</i>	3271	<i>1676</i>	1506	<i>1633</i>	<i>1220</i>	<i>3692</i>	<i>2713</i>	<i>1786</i>	<i>2811</i>	<i>3763</i>	1727	2057
IndFr	292	250	<i>229</i>	291	<i>671</i>	0	<i>0</i>	<i>265</i>	<i>334</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	467	<i>0</i>	148	204
HispMr	2088	1146	1201	3462	1391	1368	1357	929	2794	<i>1928</i>	1089	1829	2060	1441	1878
HispFr	94	109	43	169	74	120	0	0	22	<i>258</i>	0	162	0	83	85
Rank WhiNHM Rate**	14	33	50	23	11	36	10	27	1	32	49	25	9		
Ratio County/State WhiNHM Rate**	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.2	0.9	2.4	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.8	
Disparity Ratios*															
BlkMdis	13.9	35.5	43.2	<i>29.0</i>	14.5	<i>49.3</i>	16.1	<i>12.3</i>	15.3	<i>56.3</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>9.8</i>	<i>31.0</i>	13.4	18.2
BlkFdis	10.6	28.4	93.9	<i>156.2</i>	17.4	<i>43.0</i>	13.7	<i>220.1</i>	23.8	<i>0.0</i>	<i>151.5</i>	<i>126.5</i>	<i>67.7</i>	16.5	18.4
HisMdis	5.2	4.0	5.0	10.0	3.2	5.0	3.1	3.0	3.3	6.5	4.4	5.4	4.6	4.9	5.3
HisFdis	3.0	3.2	2.3	6.8	2.1	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	9.6	0.0	7.0	0.0	4.8	3.4
IndMdis	4.3	6.8	<i>4.6</i>	9.4	<i>3.8</i>	5.5	3.7	3.9	4.4	9.2	7.2	<i>8.4</i>	<i>8.4</i>	5.9	5.8
IndFdis	9.2	7.3	<i>12.3</i>	11.7	<i>19.4</i>	0.0	<i>0.0</i>	<i>16.1</i>	5.7	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>20.3</i>	<i>0.0</i>	8.5	8.1
AsMdis	0.7	0.4	0.2	2.2	0.0	1.4	0.3	0.7	0.2	1.3	<i>1.4</i>	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.8
AsFdis	0.3	0.4	0.0	3.7	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<i>0.0</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5

* Rates and disparity ratios are highly unstable if there are less than 1000 group members in the county and are printed in small italicized font to highlight the fact that they should not be treated as significant

** White non-hispanic male imprisonment rate is a baseline for the overall propensity of a county of imprison, as compared with the state averages.

Table 3. Imprisonment rates and disparity ratios for Asians and American Indians in selected counties

County	Asian		American Indian						Smaller Counties Average	State Average
	Eau Claire	Manitowoc	Shawano	Vilas	Ashland	Sawyer	Bayfield	Menominee		
Number Inmates										
WhiNHMi	178	104	87	22	27	21	21	1		
WhiNHFi	12	6	4	1	0	0	0	0		
AsianMi	7	6	1	0	0	1	0	0		
AsianFi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
AmIndMi	10	2	48	13	14	12	6	0		
AmIndFi	1	1	7	1	0	0	0	0		
Population										
Totpop	89826	82787	39198	21735	16425	16296	15378	5172		
WhitnhMp	40856	39095	18418	9772	7204	6812	7006	253		
WhitnhFp	44168	40645	18418	9758	7391	6629	6749	239		
IndMp	262	170	1005	970	763	1327	753	2215		
IndFp	277	183	1002	985	810	1298	702	2259		
AsianMp	1615	813	32	22	33	12	14	5		
AsianFp	1647	832	81	66	37	18	25	7		
Incarceration per 100,000										
WhNHMr	436	266	472	225	375	308	300	395	293	353
WhNHFr	27	15	22	10	0	0	0	0	17	25
AsiafMr	433	738							355	286
AsiafFr	0	0							0	12
IndMr			4776	1340	1835	904	797	0	1727	2057
IndFr			699	102	0	0	0	0	148	204
Disparity Ratios										
IndMdis			10.1	6.0	4.9	2.9	2.7	0.0	5.9	5.8
IndFdis			32.2	9.9					8.5	8.1
AsMdis	1.0	2.8							1.2	0.8
AsFdis	0.0	0.0							0.0	0.5
Rank WhNHM	12	43	7	53	18	29	30			
Cnty/St WhNHM	1.2	0.8	1.3	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.8			

Appendix 1. Wisconsin Inmate population as of April 2000, by county, race/ethnicity, sex

Number of inmates in Wisconsin prisons as of April 2000

County	WhiNHMi	WhiNHFi	HispMi	HispFi	BlackMi	BlackFi	AsianMi	AsianFi	AmIndMi	AmIndFi	OtherMi	OtherFi
Adams	32	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
Ashland	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	1	0
Barron	59	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Bayfield	21	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Brown	346	26	44	2	98	14	16	2	77	7	8	1
Buffalo	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Burnett	14	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	1	0	0
Calumet	41	3	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Chippewa	60	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0
Clark	28	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Columbia	55	1	4	0	5	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
Crawford	29	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dane	547	68	62	5	832	73	8	1	16	2	15	2
Dodge	81	4	13	0	7	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Door	34	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Douglas	66	2	5	1	7	0	1	0	4	0	4	0
Dunn	27	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Eau Claire	178	12	8	0	25	1	7	0	10	1	3	0
Florence	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Fond du Lac	122	11	9	1	25	1	1	0	2	0	1	0
Forest	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	0
Grant	67	6	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Green	37	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Green Lake	25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Iowa	21	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron	24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Jackson	24	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Jefferson	150	9	16	0	7	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Juneau	44	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	2	0
Kenosha	527	38	136	1	469	57	1	0	12	1	11	0
Kewaunee	19	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
La Crosse	207	17	11	0	52	5	7	0	7	0	3	0
Lafayette	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Langlade	48	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	1	1	0

Number of inmates in Wisconsin prisons as of April 2000

County	WhiNHMi	WhiNHFi	HispMi	HispFi	BlackMi	BlackFi	AsianMi	AsianFi	AmIndMi	AmIndFi	OtherMi	OtherFi
Lincoln	55	1	1	0	15	0	2	0	5	0	0	0
Manitowoc	104	6	15	1	8	0	6	0	2	1	1	0
Marathon	174	16	7	1	21	0	7	0	7	0	3	0
Marinette	108	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Marquette	19	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Milwaukee	1157	101	626	28	5712	409	27	1	62	11	112	3
Monroe	67	4	9	1	9	0	1	0	4	0	0	0
Oconto	40	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Oneida	63	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
Outagamie	205	15	12	1	30	1	6	1	19	0	1	0
Ozaukee	78	6	5	0	17	1	1	0	0	0	2	0
Pepin	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pierce	29	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Polk	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
Portage	68	10	7	1	14	0	3	0	1	0	2	0
Price	38	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Racine	317	26	99	5	707	73	0	0	6	2	10	0
Richland	27	3	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rock	297	29	21	0	313	28	1	0	4	0	5	0
Rusk	21	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Croix	42	7	2	0	7	2	0	0	1	0	3	0
Sauk	97	1	3	0	4	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Sawyer	21	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12	0	0	0
Shawano	87	4	6	0	4	0	1	0	48	7	2	0
Sheboygan	172	12	27	2	20	3	6	0	7	1	0	0
Taylor	25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Trempealea	26	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vernon	34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Vilas	22	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	1	2	0
Walworth	246	13	31	1	16	2	0	0	5	1	4	0
Washburn	23	3	2	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Washington	141	7	7	0	4	2	1	0	2	0	0	0
Waukesha	409	32	58	2	111	11	1	0	5	1	6	0
Waupaca	66	7	6	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	1	0
Waushara	42	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Number of inmates in Wisconsin prisons as of April 2000

County	WhiNHMi	WhiNHFi	HispMi	HispFi	BlackMi	BlackFi	AsianMi	AsianFi	AmIndMi	AmindFi	OtherMi	OtherFi
Winnebago	223	12	9	0	36	7	3	0	6	1	1	0
Wood	99	8	8	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
Menominee	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not in Wisconsin	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Multiple Counties	258	16	22	1	100	12	2	0	13	2	1	1
No County Given	242	9	37	1	235	9	0	0	17	1	137	2
Wisconsin Total	8170	601	1354	58	8976	711	114	5	480	48	354	9

Appendix 2. Race/Ethnicity/Sex Breakdown of Population of Wisconsin Counties, 1999 Census Bureau Estimates

County	totpop	WhitnhMp	WhitnhFp	blackMp	blackFp	IndMp	IndFp	AsianMp	AsianFp	hispMp	hispFp	Prison*
Adams	18877	9032	8562	406	33	140	45	82	52	401	124	
Ashland	16425	7204	7391	36	7	763	810	33	37	68	76	
Barron	44129	21552	21817	48	36	110	136	79	90	138	123	
Bayfield	15378	7006	6749	28	21	753	702	14	25	42	38	
Brown	217028	99555	104729	972	361	2354	2403	2048	2150	1271	1185	1090 M
Buffalo	14288	7155	6984	10	0	9	16	13	36	31	34	
Burnett	14918	7007	7087	31	20	319	329	19	28	26	52	
Calumet	39049	19118	19079	29	29	83	100	154	180	127	150	
Chippewa	54748	26676	27154	31	11	72	87	189	252	121	155	
Clark	33414	16648	16367	25	20	58	46	27	39	94	90	
Columbia	51853	25065	25344	336	25	105	76	111	148	345	298	815 M
Crawford	16536	8109	8165	27	29	12	15	28	52	57	42	
Dane	429631	190015	198171	8147	7490	821	799	6917	7294	5408	4569	554 M
Dodge	83613	40535	39375	1438	56	199	97	163	193	931	626	3650 M 60 F
Door	27088	13127	13410	31	19	89	103	34	41	113	121	
Douglas	42990	20142	21027	130	73	441	465	189	217	159	147	
Dunn	39223	18833	18760	140	92	54	62	452	534	146	150	
Eau Claire	89826	40856	44168	198	119	262	277	1615	1647	343	341	
Florence	5138	2594	2487	9	2	10	7	2	6	8	13	
Fond du Lac	94857	44758	47197	131	225	156	183	329	383	761	734	623 F
Forest	9674	4314	4263	89	35	456	445	7	16	32	17	
Grant	49339	24513	23977	127	40	45	50	185	152	118	132	
Green	33866	16429	16994	40	12	34	28	50	76	96	107	
Green Lake	19572	9306	9729	14	13	25	23	78	83	139	162	
Iowa	22718	11259	11279	17	5	11	13	12	27	50	45	
Iron	6302	3105	3150	0	1	20	11	0	4	6	5	
Jackson	17853	8523	8232	54	13	404	375	22	28	150	52	957 M
Jefferson	74085	35301	35971	133	116	103	122	206	260	1028	845	
Juneau	24106	11607	11841	32	16	98	109	56	87	143	117	
Kenosha	146797	62937	64837	3668	4084	325	299	486	666	4868	4627	
Kewaunee	19978	9984	9763	31	12	32	29	10	32	37	48	
La Crosse	102749	46472	50190	377	218	186	186	2090	2005	534	491	
Lafayette	16038	7873	8033	21	6	12	10	10	22	27	24	
Langlade	20570	9863	10325	29	5	88	65	19	16	74	86	
Lincoln	29969	14616	14745	124	31	58	52	59	85	111	88	
Manitowoc	82787	39095	40645	110	56	170	183	813	832	459	424	
Marathon	123745	58735	59646	126	41	258	310	1834	2044	363	388	
Marinette	43028	20910	21544	44	7	84	86	43	62	108	140	
Marquette	15357	7415	7487	31	25	38	33	12	28	158	130	
Milwaukee	913940	286523	317045	102113	120688	3540	3772	10050	10526	29984	29699	

County	totpop	WhitnhMp	WhitnhFp	blackMp	blackFp	IndMp	IndFp	AsianMp	AsianFp	hispMp	hispFp	Prison*
Monroe	39777	19380	19162	162	74	173	189	104	144	209	180	
Oconto	34403	17020	16790	37	8	134	142	24	54	93	101	
Oneida	36073	17547	17911	53	23	124	139	37	73	73	93	
Outagamie	158717	74795	76099	222	118	1262	1237	1604	1668	877	835	
Ozaukee	82080	39480	39932	444	392	68	101	351	418	421	473	
Pepin	7307	3621	3615	5	0	8	10	7	9	12	20	
Pierce	36080	17694	17564	77	35	37	68	114	158	166	167	
Polk	39394	19343	19252	50	17	189	201	44	63	117	118	
Portage	65102	31279	31220	153	82	137	159	573	599	452	448	
Price	15571	7726	7625	19	2	45	35	16	22	39	42	
Racine	186861	72112	75346	11054	12175	358	298	755	855	7119	6789	1835 M
Richland	17750	8737	8800	30	3	15	21	22	34	38	50	
Rock	151352	67309	69811	4394	4936	245	201	706	903	1547	1300	
Rusk	15103	7359	7346	38	9	28	58	61	83	44	77	
St. Croix	60281	29802	29505	122	31	84	83	109	175	181	189	
Sauk	54306	26387	26821	122	42	174	201	56	92	222	189	
Sawyer	16296	6812	6629	30	6	1327	1298	12	18	88	76	
Shawano	39198	18418	18418	32	15	1005	1002	32	81	97	98	
Sheboygan	110428	51157	52113	607	103	249	214	1588	1684	1476	1237	1204 M
Taylor	19263	9665	9384	28	6	19	23	28	41	44	25	
Trempealea	26679	13257	13191	26	7	17	17	19	57	43	45	
Vernon	27710	13574	13806	28	8	22	22	27	51	79	93	
Vilas	21735	9772	9758	25	6	970	985	22	66	54	77	
Walworth	86649	40016	41343	329	366	130	128	433	397	1998	1509	
Washburn	15770	7752	7720	38	10	61	64	20	40	37	28	
Washington	115780	56652	56738	114	107	112	168	278	365	643	603	
Waukesha	358732	169413	172350	1064	631	446	437	2309	2578	4828	4676	
Waupaca	50859	24658	25148	33	11	81	83	78	99	353	315	
Waushara	21831	10448	10538	21	24	46	38	26	54	313	323	
Winnebago	150731	70910	73189	928	194	492	378	1272	1514	969	885	1900 M
Wood	76348	36215	37711	95	48	262	280	550	586	297	304	
Menominee	5172	253	239	19	4	2215	2259	5	7	97	74	
Wisconsin Total	5264820	2312330	2388793	139782	153585	23332	23498	39822	43443	72101	68134	

Prison population from 1999 DOC public information. Prisoners are counted by the Census as residents of the county in which they are imprisoned. Otherwise small black populations, especially with highly skewed sex ratios, are doubtless due to the presence of a prison in the county.

Appendix 3. Imprisonment rates for non-Hispanic white men and women, by Wisconsin County.

County	Imprisonment Rate		Men		Women	
	Men	Women	Rank	County/State	Rank	County/State
Adams	354	47	22	1.0	3	1.9
Ashland	375	0	18	1.1	59	0.0
Barron	274	18	37	0.8	34	0.7
Bayfield	300	0	30	0.8	59	0.0
Brown	348	25	23	1.0	22	1.0
Buffalo	70	0	71	0.2	59	0.0
Burnett	200	0	59	0.6	59	0.0
Calumet	214	16	57	0.6	39	0.6
Chippewa	225	4	54	0.6	58	0.1
Clark	168	0	64	0.5	59	0.0
Columbia	219	4	55	0.6	56	0.2
Crawford	358	12	21	1.0	46	0.5
Dane	288	34	33	0.8	9	1.4
Dodge	200	10	58	0.6	49	0.4
Door	259	15	44	0.7	41	0.6
Douglas	328	10	26	0.9	50	0.4
Dunn	143	21	67	0.4	27	0.8
Eau Claire	436	27	12	1.2	18	1.1
Florence	463	0	8	1.3	59	0.0
Fond du Lac	273	23	40	0.8	24	0.9
Forest	255	0	47	0.7	59	0.0
Grant	273	25	39	0.8	20	1.0
Green	225	6	52	0.6	55	0.2
Green Lake	269	21	41	0.8	31	0.8
Iowa	187	18	63	0.5	35	0.7
Iron	773	32	2	2.2	14	1.3
Jackson	282	12	35	0.8	47	0.5
Jefferson	425	25	13	1.2	21	1.0
Juneau	379	8	16	1.1	52	0.3
Kenosha	837	59	1	2.4	1	2.3
Kewaunee	190	31	62	0.5	16	1.2
La Crosse	445	34	9	1.3	11	1.3
Lafayette	165	0	65	0.5	59	0.0
Langlade	487	48	6	1.4	2	1.9
Lincoln	376	7	17	1.1	54	0.3
Manitowoc	266	15	43	0.8	42	0.6
Marathon	296	27	32	0.8	19	1.1
Marinette	516	14	4	1.5	43	0.6
Marquette	256	0	46	0.7	59	0.0
Milwaukee	404	32	14	1.1	13	1.3
Monroe	346	21	24	1.0	30	0.8
Oconto	235	36	51	0.7	7	1.4
Oneida	359	17	20	1.0	37	0.7
Outagamie	274	20	36	0.8	32	0.8
Ozaukee	198	15	60	0.6	40	0.6
Pepin	138	0	69	0.4	59	0.0
Pierce	164	17	66	0.5	36	0.7
Polk	109	0	70	0.3	59	0.0

County	Imprisonment Rate		Men		Women	
	Men	Women	Rank	County/State	Rank	County/State
Portage	217	32	56	0.6	12	1.3
Price	492	39	5	1.4	5	1.6
Racine	440	35	11	1.2	8	1.4
Richland	309	34	28	0.9	10	1.4
Rock	441	42	10	1.2	4	1.7
Rusk	285	14	34	0.8	44	0.5
St. Croix	141	24	68	0.4	23	0.9
Sauk	368	4	19	1.0	57	0.1
Sawyer	308	0	29	0.9	59	0.0
Shawano	472	22	7	1.3	26	0.9
Sheboygan	336	23	25	1.0	25	0.9
Taylor	259	21	45	0.7	28	0.8
Trempealea	196	0	61	0.6	59	0.0
Vernon	250	7	48	0.7	53	0.3
Vilas	225	10	53	0.6	48	0.4
Walworth	615	31	3	1.7	15	1.2
Washburn	297	39	31	0.8	6	1.5
Washington	249	12	49	0.7	45	0.5
Waukesha	241	19	50	0.7	33	0.7
Waupaca	268	28	42	0.8	17	1.1
Waushara	402	9	15	1.1	51	0.4
Winnebago	314	16	27	0.9	38	0.7
Wood	273	21	38	0.8	29	0.8
Menominee	395	0				
Wisconsin Total	353	25				