## UNHEARD VOICES

Restoring Voting Rights to Returning Citizens to Build an Inclusive, Accountable Democracy in Kansas



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

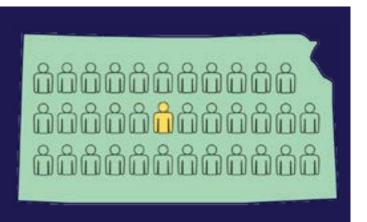
Democracy is, at its core, the idea that every person counts and has an equal say in the governance of the nation. Today, that foundational idea is frequently under attack. There are relentless efforts to make it harder for eligible citizens to register to vote, cast a ballot, and have their ballots counted. Beyond the right to vote, politicians consistently advocate for or implement policies of exclusion, isolation, and marginalization, especially towards communities of color, LGBTQ+ people, immigrants, and vulnerable populations. The thread connecting these actions is that they all undermine the values of our democracy by explicitly or implicitly asserting that some people are not fully included in our shared community, that their voices need not be heard, or that they have no role to play in holding government and politicians accountable to the people.

In such an environment, it is all the more important that we defend the principles of

Our analysis reveals that a shockingly large number of Kansans—**nearly 85,000, or 1 in every 35 people in the state**—are returning citizens who are eligible to vote.

democracy by doing all we can to ensure that every eligible citizen's voice is heard. Although there are many steps between our current moment and the destination of fully realizing that ideal, one essential step is to prioritize voter registration and ensure that every eligible citizen can exercise their right to vote. In Kansas, returning citizens are eligible to have their voting rights restored immediately upon completion of their sentence, including probation and parole. The process for having voting rights restored can be as simple as filling out a voter registration form. However, a combination of structural challenges, policy barriers, and blatant misinformation about eligibility result in huge numbers of returning citizens not registering, seeking rights restoration, or participating in Kansas democracy.

Their absence—and exclusion—from the electoral process impoverishes our democracy, the dialogue about our shared future, government accountability, and the



Just 14,147 individuals have actually registered to vote, resulting in a voter registration rate of around 16.6%, well below the overall statewide voter registration rate. That leaves fully 71,000 Kansans—or about 2% of the state's total population—who are returning citizens, eligible to vote, and unregistered.

policy outcomes that all Kansans experience.

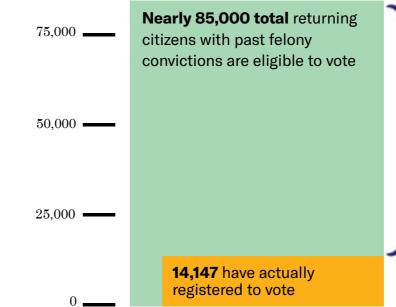
This report demonstrates just how important meaningful rights restoration is to the future of Kansas democracy. It does so by providing a comprehensive analysis of eligibility to vote in the state's returning citizen community, while interrogating how many Kansans are excluded from fully participating in the electoral process. This report provides findings resulting from an unprecedented data collection and research project, conducted through a partnership between the ACLU Foundation of Kansas and the nonprofit organization Free Our Vote.

Our analysis reveals that a shockingly large number of Kansans—more than 84,938, or 1 in every 35 people in the state—are returning citizens who are eligible to vote. Of these roughly 85,000 eligible Kansans, just 14,147 individuals with past felony convictions have actually registered to vote, resulting in a voter registration rate of around 16.6%, well below the overall statewide voter registration rate. That leaves fully 71,000 Kansans—or about 2% of the state's total population who are returning citizens, eligible to vote, and unregistered. These individuals have completed their sentences and have no indication of being currently registered, making them eligible to re-enfranchise and participate in the democratic process.

## Key Findings on Demographic Disparities<sup>1</sup>

- Gender Disparities: A significant majority of unregistered eligible voters with past felony convictions in Kansas are male, with 79% of this group being men. This is a substantial overrepresentation compared to the general population, where men make up about 50.2%. As of September 2024, Kansas surpassed 2 million registered voters. However, male voters are still underrepresented in the general registered voter base in Kansas, particularly among returning citizens. With an overall voter registration rate of 71%, many eligible males remain unregistered, especially in counties like Sedgwick, Johnson, and Wyandotte, which have the highest concentrations of unregistered eligible individuals.
- *Racial Disparities:* While white individuals are the largest racial group in Kansas, making up around 80% of

## Returning Citizens in Kansas Eligible to Vote, Registered to Vote, and the 71,000 Gap in Between



the overall population, they are slightly underrepresented among unregistered eligible voters with past felony convictions, accounting for around 74% of that group. This suggests that while white individuals still form the majority of unregistered voters who are returning citizens, they are registering to vote at rates more reflective of their population size. In contrast, Black individuals are overrepresented among the unregistered returning citizens group—constituting approximately 23% of unregistered eligible voters, despite only making up around 6% of the state's total population. This stark disparity indicates that Black Kansans face unique barriers or challenges to voter registration, making them a critical focus for outreach and support efforts.

• *Geographic Trends:* The unregistered eligible voters are not evenly distributed across the state. The top counties with the largest numbers of



## **THE 71,000 GAP**

71,000 people, or 2% of the state's total population, are returning citizens eligible to vote today but are not registered. These individuals have completed their sentences, do not owe any outstanding balances, and have no indication of being previously registered, making them eligible to re-enfranchise and participate in the democratic process.

eligible but unregistered individuals with past felony convictions are Sedgwick (16,734), Johnson (9,810), Wyandotte (9,395), Shawnee (5,550), and Douglas (1,875). These counties, along with Saline (3,475), Reno (2,895), Geary (2,608), Montgomery (1,966), and Finney (1,876), represent the largest concentrations of unregistered eligible voters who are returning citizens. Targeted voter registration efforts in these areas could significantly improve overall voter turnout and engagement.

Barriers to voter access remain a significant issue in Kansas, despite state laws that allow individuals with felony convictions to have their voting rights restored immediately upon completion of their sentence, including probation and parole (Kansas Statute K.S.A. 21-6613). Misinformation, structural challenges, and a lack of targeted outreach have resulted in large numbers of eligible Kansans not registering to vote. Black Kansans, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For all county-level data, the county provided is the jurisdiction where an individual's conviction or legal financial obligation originated. Individuals may not necessarily have been residents of the county at the time of conviction, though the overwhelming majority were. Upon completion of sentence, returning citizens may or may not return to that county as the location of permanent residence, although in practice many do.

Chronic misinformation, systemic conditions, and policy barriers have left thousands of Kansans unheard. Their voices are absent from the democratic process, contradicting the values of equality and representation that are central to the state's identity as the Free State.

particular, are disproportionately affected by these barriers, facing unique obstacles in the voter registration process.

By weaving together historical context, legal analysis, and current data, this report seeks to foster a deeper understanding of the barriers to voter participation and to advocate for meaningful changes that ensure all eligible individuals can exercise their right to vote. Chronic misinformation, systemic conditions, and policy barriers have left thousands of Kansans unheard. Their voices are absent from the democratic process, contradicting the values of equality and representation that are central to the state's identity as the Free State.

Using the data and insights from this report, we can implement policy reforms, community programs, and education efforts to strengthen democracy and ensure every voice in Kansas is heard. By addressing these barriers, especially in communities disproportionately affected, Kansas can make significant strides toward creating a more inclusive and equitable electoral process.

## NOTE ON DATA LIMITATIONS

We regret that this report does not accurately reflect the impact of felony disenfranchisement on Hispanic or Latino Kansans. Publicly accessible data from the Kansas Department of Corrections is only available for race, not for ethnicity. The U.S. Census Bureau and other statistical agencies categorize Hispanic or Latino identity as an ethnicity, where individuals may identify as a member of any racial group. Since this ethnicity data is not available for individuals from the Kansas Department of Corrections, the dataset used here is only able to report on racial disparities. Given other social science research demonstrating that Hispanics and Latinos are also disparately impacted by the criminal justice system and voter suppression, this population is almost certainly disproportionately impacted by felony disenfranchisement in Kansas. It is deeply disappointing that data availability issues prevent us from documenting the scale of that impact in this report.

## AN UNPRECEDENTED DATA PROJECT

The ACLU of Kansas undertook an ambitious data project to support the re-enfranchisement of individuals with felony records. This project, the first of its kind in Kansas and one of only a handful of such projects in the entire nation, created a comprehensive, statewide dataset of individuals with felony convictions dating from the period 1990-2024. The resulting dataset allows us to conduct analysis about two groups of individuals: those who have fully completed their sentences and are eligible to register to vote but have not done so, and those who have completed their sentences and have in fact registered to vote.

The complexity and scale of this project is unprecedented in Kansas. It presented significant obstacles, including collecting and integrating publicly-available—though not readily accessible—data from multiple sources such as the Kansas District Courts, Kansas Department of Corrections, and county-level records. All data involved in this project came from public records, but ones which have not previously been aggregated, cross-referenced, cleaned for accuracy, or analyzed in this way.

This project was only possible thanks to a collaboration with Free Our Vote, a nonprofit devoted to reincorporating returning citizens into the electorate through the provision of empirical data and evidence. Free Our Vote has special expertise in large-scale research, data collection, and data analysis projects like this one, having undertaken similar projects in other states with active rights restoration efforts.

In addition to analyzing the raw material for this report, the ACLU of Kansas is leveraging this unique dataset to conduct meaningful outreach and policy efforts to remove barriers to re-enfranchisement.

This project, report, and ongoing collaboration on voting rights for returning citizens was made possible thanks to generous financial support from REACH Healthcare Foundation.



## FELONY DISENFRANCHISEMENT'S SHAMEFUL HISTORY - AND PRESENT

The denial of participation in political life has long been a component of American criminal punishment, deeply rooted in the racist practices of the Reconstruction era. Following the Civil War, felony disenfranchisement laws were implemented to weaken the political power of communities of color, particularly African American men. During Reconstruction, newly freed African Americans gained political rights, including the right to vote. However, as Reconstruction ended, Southern states sought to restore white dominance and suppress the political influence of Black citizens. As part of this effort, felony disenfranchisement laws were systematically introduced to strip voting rights from individuals convicted of crimes.<sup>2</sup>

These laws spread rapidly across the United States, with the South adopting them most aggressively. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many Southern states had enacted constitutional amendments and statutes that targeted offenses thought to

be disproportionately committed by African Americans.<sup>3</sup> These disenfranchisement laws coincided with other discriminatory practices, such as literacy tests and poll taxes, all designed to undermine African American political participation and maintain white supremacy.<sup>4</sup>

Felony disenfranchisement soon became a national phenomenon. States varied in their approach, with some initially focusing on specific crimes while others implemented broader measures.<sup>5</sup> These disenfranchisement laws not only shaped the political landscape during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras but also laid the groundwork for the continued disenfranchisement of marginalized communities in contemporary America. Today, felony disenfranchisement laws still prevent individuals with convictions from voting, holding political office, or serving on a jury, often for extended periods or even permanently. Each state has its own

- <sup>2</sup> Alexander, M. (2010). The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness. The New Press.
- <sup>3</sup> Keyssar, A. (2009). The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States. Basic Books.
- <sup>4</sup> Kousser, J. M. (1974). The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910. Yale University Press

These disenfranchisement laws coincided with other discriminatory practices, such as literacy tests and poll taxes, all designed to undermine **African American political** participation and maintain white supremacy.

approach to these laws, and no federal standards impose uniformity. The federal courts, including the Supreme Court, have historically upheld these practices. In the landmark case of Richardson v. Ramirez (1974), the Supreme Court explicitly permitted the permanent disenfranchisement of individuals convicted of felonies under the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>6</sup>

This legal framework has significantly contributed to the dramatic increase in disenfranchisement as the U.S. prison population surged over the past five decades. Since the 1970s, mass incarceration has led to a nearly fourfold increase in the number of Americans who cannot vote due to felony convictions.<sup>7</sup> Today, more than 4.6 million people nationwide are disenfranchised by these laws, a result of both increased incarceration rates and policies that extend the loss of voting rights beyond incarceration.8

The impact of these laws is disproportionately felt by Black Americans, who are incarcerated at nearly five times the rate of white Americans, despite similar-or even lower-rates of criminal activity.9 Black individuals make up about 33% of the prison population but only 12% of the U.S. population. In Kansas, Black people are similarly overrepresented in the criminal justice system, comprising 28% of the prison population while making up only 6% of the state's total population.<sup>10</sup> This stark overrepresentation leads to a significant portion of disenfranchised individuals, disproportionately impacting Black communities and perpetuating efforts to suppress Black political participation.

These findings highlight the urgent need for comprehensive reforms to address the historical and systemic inequities perpetuated by felony disenfranchisement laws. By examining the historical context of these laws, understanding current legal frameworks, and acknowledging socioeconomic disparities, we can advocate for policy changes that promote social equity, enhance civic participation, and reduce recidivism. Ensuring that all returning citizens can reclaim their voting rights is not only a matter of justice but also a crucial step towards a more inclusive and accountable democracy in Kansas and across the United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Behrens, A., Uggen, C., & Manza, J. (2003). "Ballot Manipulation and the 'Menace of Negro Domination': Racial Threat and Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States, 1850-2002." American Journal of Sociology, 109(3), 559-605.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Richardson v. Ramirez, 418 U.S. 24 (1974). Clear, T. R., & Frost, N. A. (2014). The Punishment Imperative: The Rise and Failure of Mass Incarceration in America. New York University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Sentencing Project. (2021). "Locked Out 2021: Estimates of People Denied Voting Rights Due to a Felony Conviction." Retrieved from The Sentencing Project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Nellis, A. (2021). "The Color of Justice: Racial and Ethnic Disparity in State Prisons." The Sentencing Project. Retrieved from The Sentencing Project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Carson, E. A. (2021). "Prisoners in 2020." Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from Bureau of Justice Statistics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kansas Department of Corrections, (2023). "Annual Report FY 2023." Retrieved from Kansas Department of Corrections.

## **BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS:** DANIEL'S STORY

The restoration of voting rights for individuals with felony convictions is often impeded by a combination of stigma, misinformation, and administrative barriers. Public perception of these individuals frequently carries negative connotations, which can discourage them from seeking to restore their voting rights and fully reintegrate into society. This stigma is compounded by misinformation and bureaucratic hurdles that create confusion and



discourage engagement in the electoral process.

A compelling example of these challenges is the story of Marine veteran Daniel Mainsville. His stint in the Marine Corps ended when he medically separated because of an injury and subsequent pain issues. Back in 2009, he said, doctors threw pain medications at him. It was the beginning of an awful downward spiral of addiction for him, ending with four state drugrelated charges and a federal case.

After serving his time for a series of drug-related offenses, Mainsville got an education, graduating with a bachelor's degree in mobile development in 2022 with a 3.88 grade point average. Mainsville now writes code, building applications for cell phones and television. It was tough, but he's proud: "I did great in it."

But the giants kept coming. Despite his degree, his criminal record made finding work virtually impossible, and he faced rejection after rejection.

"Trying to find work as a felon is a joke," he said. "What do they tell you? If you do right. If you do what we say. If you follow the rules and you play fair, you will have a life eventually. That is an outright lie. I'm going to tell you, it's an outright lie."

On top of his demoralizing job search, Mainsville also began the process of re-registering to vote, having thoroughly researched his post-conviction rights. Despite expecting a straightforward process, he faced nearly two years of bureaucratic obstacles to restore his right to vote.

When he first tried to register to vote, the Riley County Clerk rejected his registration, saying

he was ineligible. Mainsville disagreed—but was rejected again. So began a journey of multiple registration attempts and direct appeals to the Clerk to exercise his right to vote.

"I was like, one time? No? Well, maybe the paperwork is slow," he said. "Two times? Whatever. A third time? I complained. I reached out to the Riley County person. I reached out to his office and said, 'Look man, I know I'm not on paperwork anymore. I've got my paperwork saying I'm off.' I literally had to say, 'You're violating my civil rights and I'm going to seek a lawsuit if you don't return my calls.""

Eventually, Mainsville was told it was a "clerical error" and he was able to register and votebut only after two years of hurdles that could have understandably discouraged him from continuing his efforts. It made him wonder who else went through what he did.

"How many people did you 'clerically error' before me, after me, and are still doing?" He realizes that not everyone has this kind of fight in them and will "just take whatever they're

offering." So he decided to fight on, not just for himself, but for others because it was his duty, and his understanding as a Marine.

"As Marines, we tell each other if it's not right, you need to say something," Mainesville said. "If that command that you're given is not morally correct, you are not only not obligated to not follow that command, but you are then obligated to try to take control or find a way to make sure that that command is not taken so that it's reported."

The law in Kansas is clear that individuals convicted of a felony lose their voting rights and these rights can be restored upon completion of their sentence. However, the process of reregistering to vote is fraught with fear and confusion. Many Kansans with criminal histories fear committing a new felony by attempting to vote while ineligible, however unintentional. The problem, Mainsville said, is that the criminal justice system frightens people from even exploring their rights.

"They say, You're a felon, you can't vote." he said. "They always give you that same reply. If you're a felon and you're still in prison or you're on probation or you're serving a sentence of any kind, then you can't register to vote. They give you a big warning at the bottom [of the voter registration form] that says if you try to register when you're not supposed to, then it's a new felony charge.

"Isn't that a fun thing to put at the bottom of that? That's how you scare felons into not doing it."

Mainsville's eventual success in restoring his voting rights, despite repeated rejections, underscores the systemic issues that disenfranchise many Kansans. His story reveals how the criminal justice system can intimidate individuals from exploring their voting rights and the gap that remains for every election official to truly and meaningfully support all eligible Kansans in exercising their right to vote.

To listen to Daniel tell his story, watch his full interview at aclukansas.org/unheardvoices.

"How many people did you 'clerically error' before me, after me, and are still doing?"

## KANSAS'S APPROACH TO FELONY DISENFRANCHISEMENT

The legal framework for restoring voting rights to individuals with felony convictions in Kansas has long been enshrined in the state's constitution and election laws. The Kansas Constitution explicitly mentions felony conviction as a basis for denying suffrage, reflecting a common practice across many states. Historically, this provision has been used to disenfranchise individuals convicted of felonies, aligning with broader trends in the United States where felony disenfranchisement laws were implemented or expanded during the post-Reconstruction era.

Kansas law stipulates that individuals who have completed their felony sentences, including any parole or probation, are eligible to have their voting rights restored. However, this restoration is not automatic: individuals must actively re-register to vote. This process requires awareness of their eligibility, access to the necessary forms, and an understanding of the registration procedures. The state's approach can create significant barriers to re-enfranchisement, as many eligible individuals remain unaware of their restored rights or the steps required to reclaim them. This lack of clear guidance and assistance often results in eligible voters not participating in elections.

These challenges are part of a broader issue within the U.S. electoral system, where administrative complexities and a lack of public awareness can prevent formerly incarcerated individuals from re-entering the democratic process. This situation has been a persistent issue in Kansas for many years, as the state constitution has explicitly cited felony conviction as a basis for denying suffrage since its establishment in 1859. This policy has shaped voting rights in the state for over a century and underscores the ongoing struggle to ensure that all citizens, regardless of their criminal history, have the opportunity to participate fully in the democratic process.

Kansas is one of 18 states where voting rights can be restored upon completion of a sentence, but the state does not provide assistance or automation in the voter registration process for newly eligible individuals. In contrast, Nebraska *automatically* restores voting rights two years after the completion of a felony sentence, a policy more conducive to increasing participation than that of Kansas. Maine, Vermont, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico allow people who are currently serving prison sentences for felonies to vote, not restricting the right to anyone who has a criminal conviction at any time.<sup>11</sup>

## SURVEYING THE IMPACTED

To ensure that the perspectives of impacted Kansans were included in this report's analysis and policy recommendations, the ACLU of Kansas partnered with Global Strategies Group to conduct survey research through in-depth interviews over the phone in the summer of 2024 among Kansans who had completed their sentences in full. The research sought to understand barriers and motivators to registering to vote and to voting and to identify gaps in knowledge or resources about the process of registering to vote, the process of voting, and eligibility to vote for people with felony records.

Misinformation about whether returning citizens are eligible to vote or not was identified as a key obstacle. This is compounded by additional stress and anxiety around registering and casting a vote even among those who know they are eligible—but there is the fear associated with "clicking the button" and possibly being wrong or even accused of voter fraud.

Among those not registered, the two largest barriers to registration were: 1) having other priorities (i.e., work, family) or; 2) individuals did not think they were eligible to vote with a felony record. Notably, their own personal networks were often the source of misinformation about registering to vote. Additionally, many of the interviewees were unaware of other aspects of the process, including that they could register to vote online.

Many of the returning citizens believe there is room to better promote eligibility and stop misinformation by educating those who are currently incarcerated. Returning citizens like this because it helps stop the misinformation being circulated while incarcerated and doesn't get lost in all of the information they receive once they start the process of returning. Moreover, this information is best positioned when being delivered by a person with authority and knowledge (parole officer, etc.) face to face.

Interviewees talked about feelings of happiness and excitement when voting and registering, attributing these emotions to feeling like a normal citizen and regaining the right to vote after having it taken away. These individuals also saw registering to vote as a clear, tangible step in the process of "reclaiming their lives."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Uggen, C., Larson, R., & Shannon, S. (2020). Locked Out 2020: Estimates of People Denied Voting Rights Due to a Felony Conviction. The Sentencing Project. Retrieved from https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/lockedout-2020-estimates-of-people-denied-voting-rights-due-to-a-felony-conviction

## A FULL-FLEDGED AMERICAN: DR. LATANYA 'S STORY

At age 15, Dr. Latanya Goodloe stood light years from where she stands today. As a teenager living alone, she was on a rocket veering almost certainly toward prison.

"I was into heavy drug dealing, that was my thing," she said with a laugh. "Even then, I always wanted to have a business. I was a little wild until things started to click in me."

It doesn't take much creativity, Goodloe said, to imagine just where the chaos in her life would lead her. But despite her circumstances as a teen, she still described herself as fortunate. She never fell into drug abuse because she stayed on the other side of it as a dealer.

"I had a great hedge around me," she said. "I'm not the average returning citizen. I do feel I was covered. I was protected as I lived inside of a world that was inside a world."

She rode that rocket from one world



of imprisonment, then a new one that today, continues to expand. She now owns a for-profit construction business that does interior painting, finished carpentry, and janitorial services and runs a nonprofit organization called "Ladies That Lean," which helps women with reentry,

"You're not even thinking about voting at first. You're in survival and trauma mode. When you're inside of this, the rest of the world does not exist. You're inside of a world, inside of a world."

housing, education, mentoring, and life skills.

Goodloe said like most people trying to reenter society after incarceration, she did not prioritize voting when she came home.

"You're not even thinking about voting at first," she said. "You're in survival and trauma mode. When you're inside of this, the rest of the world does not exist. You're inside of a world, inside of a world."

Many people, Goodloe said, faced with challenges and few resources, go back to what they know, which puts them back on the path toward prison. No one is thinking about voting. More than anything, they're trying to hide.

When Goodloe attended one of the Million Man Marches

in Washington D.C., excited about the prospects for community and individual renewal and the themes of unity and justice, she looked forward to seeing the nation's first Black president at the event.

But he didn't show.

"That kind of flamed up my activism," she said. "I felt really disrespected. I just knew he would come out and address us. It was so sad. I was so excited about him getting elected. It was the first time that I could remember so many people on the street being tuned in."

That disappointment fueled her launch into the civic sphere.

"That was the point where I said, 'I want to vote. I want to be in the process. You don't get to not come out and not address me. I was so offended. I needed him to understand that. In the streets, they call that being fake. I needed to be in the space where I could let my voice be heard."

She applied and got her voting rights restored.

Before, Goodloe had never felt comfortable being out front. She never had a life that she'd have felt comfortable with someone digging into.

But now, she's very out front and very outspoken. She wonders aloud about how citizens can imbue government with honesty. She asks openly how Black communities could pivot away from racial symbolism and toward community building policies. She's talked on panels, sat for interviews, and recently self-published a book.



She has zero interest in joining any political camp. Rather, she focuses on policies that serve her community, her interests, her business.

As a business owner, she said she wants tax breaks, especially as her for-profit business will have to help sustain her nonprofit. She wants to help people imagine new worlds for themselves beyond grievance and generational poverty.

"I can't stand a poor mentality," she said. "We did not come this far to become a people of hate and ignorance. We need to be more accountable to ourselves and to each other."

Goodloe has found a new world, with intelligent life, galaxies away from her old world.

She left prison as someone who'd had no stake in the nation's dealings and transformed into someone demanding her say in how government operates. She's become, she said, a full-fledged American. Goodloe may soon have her record expunged and outstanding legal financial obligations paid off.

"I am, today, all of the things I dreamed of being when I was young, and I still have big dreams." To listen to Latanya tell her story, watch her full interview at aclukansas.org/unheardvoices.

"I'm very much either one," she said of America's leading political parties. "There are people who can relate to each side."

> "I am, today, all of the things I dreamed of being when I was young, and I still have big dreams."

## UNHEARD VOICES: A CLOSER LOOK AT VOTING RIGHTS AND DISPARITIES IN KANSAS

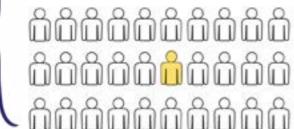
The cumulative impact of mass incarceration policies, felony disenfranchisement, racial discrimination, socioeconomic conditions, bureaucratic barriers, and misinformation has significantly affected Kansas. Our analysis shows that out of a total statewide population of roughly 2,940,000, there are 84,938 unique individuals who have completed their sentences for felony convictions and are eligible to vote. This means that approximately 3% of the population of Kansas has been involved with the criminal legal system, highlighting the magnitude of the impacts of the state's criminal justice policies.

A troubling aspect of this issue is the racial disparity among those with felony convictions. Black Kansans make up around 6% of the population but are disproportionately represented among individuals with felony convictions and those eligible to vote but unregistered. While 1 in 41 White Kansans has a felony conviction, 1 in 7 Black Kansans is affected, underscoring the racial inequities within the criminal justice system. These disparities are further compounded by gender, with men making up the vast majority (around 79%) of eligible but unregistered individuals. Approximately 28% of Black men in Kansas have been involved with the criminal legal system.

Despite Kansas law allowing individuals with felony convictions to have their voting rights restored immediately upon completion of their sentence, many eligible individuals are not registered due to misinformation and systemic barriers. Black men, in particular, face significant challenges to voter registration, as reflected in counties like Sedgwick (with 4,041 unregistered Black men), Wyandotte (3,625), and Johnson (2,009).

African Americans make up just 6% of the Kansas population, yet a significantly greater proportion of individuals with felony convictions are African American:

#### 1 in 7 Black Kansas residents have a felony record



1 in 30 white Kansas residents have a felony record The registration rate among eligible returning citizens is significantly lower than the general population. Whereas around 71% of eligible Kansans are registered to vote, only 16.6% of eligible individuals with felony convictions have done so. This wide gap indicates that Kansas must prioritize voter education, outreach, and more streamlined registration processes to ensure that all eligible individuals, particularly those from marginalized communities, can fully participate in the democratic process.

To address these challenges, Kansas needs to enact comprehensive policy changes and community-driven voter outreach efforts. This will ensure that the voices of returning citizens, especially Black men and other marginalized groups, are included in shaping the future of the state.

#### 85,000 Kansans with Felony Convictions: Representation Disparity Relative to the Kansas Population

Racial Group	Number of People with Felony Convictions	% of People with Felony Convictions	% of Kansas Population	Representation Disparity
White	63,345 individuals	75%	75%	0.9
Black	19,485 individuals	23%	6%	3.82
American Indian or Alaskan Native	1,595 individuals	2%	1%	1.8
Asian or Pacific Islander	723 individuals	1%	3%	0.2
Unknown race	287 individuals	0.3%	0.3%	0.1

The table above breaks down the racial distribution of individuals with felony convictions in Kansas, comparing their share in the felony population to their proportion of the overall state population. We use Representation Disparity (%): this is a calculated ratio showing how overrepresented or underrepresented a racial group is in the felony population compared to their percentage in the general Kansas population. A value over 1 means the group is overrepresented in the felony population compared to their share of the state population. A value below 1 indicates underrepresentation.

The registration rate among eligible returning citizens is significantly lower than the overall registration rate in Kansas. Whereas about 71% of all eligible Kansans are registered to vote, **only 16.6% of eligible individuals with felony convictions have done so.**  This 71,347 gap demonstrates how misinformation plays a significant role; **many returning citizens and their families believe that Kansas law is more restrictive than it actually is**, leading to the false impression that they are permanently ineligible to vote. The lack of clear information and proactive government mechanisms to facilitate or automate the registration process compounds the issue.

#### A Deeper Look at the Numbers

The 84,938 unique individuals in Kansas who have completed their sentences for felony convictions are without question fully legally eligible to vote. They have completed their required probation or parole, and they should have no additional barriers to registering.

Of the 84,938 eligible people, the 14,147 (about 16.6%) with an identifiable voter registration leaves a significant gap of approximately 71,347 eligible individuals who have not yet registered to vote. While these returning citizens are eligible to participate in Kansas's democratic process, many are not registered due to various factors, including a lack of awareness about their restored rights and systemic barriers to the registration process.

This 71,347 gap demonstrates how misinformation plays a significant role; many returning citizens and their families believe that Kansas law is more restrictive than it actually is, leading to the false impression that they are permanently ineligible to vote. The lack of clear information and proactive government mechanisms to facilitate or automate the registration process compounds the issue. The stark disparity highlights the critical need for outreach and education to ensure that all eligible Kansans are empowered to exercise their right to vote.

These Kansans with past felony convictions who are eligible but unregistered voters are diverse in race, gender, socioeconomic status, geography, and political ideology. Their exclusion from the democratic process means a wide range of perspectives and experiences are not being represented in Kansas's elections and policies. Empowering this group to register and vote is crucial to creating a more inclusive and representative democracy in the state, especially when considering the intersections of various demographics in this group.

#### **Gender Disparities**

According to the Free Our Vote dataset, among the 71,347 eligible but unregistered individuals in Kansas, approximately 79% are male. This reflects a significant gender disparity, particularly when considering that the overall population of Kansas is nearly evenly split (about 50.24% male and 49.76% female). This disparity is particularly stark among the ten counties with the highest numbers of unregistered men and women, as shown in the table below.

#### Gender Disparities among Counties with Highest Numbers of Returning Kansans Eligible but Unregistered to Vote

County	F	emale	Male			
County	Registered	Unregistered	Registered	Unregistered		
Douglas	76 (17%)	359 (83%)	411 (21%)	1,516 (79%)		
Finney	48 (14%)	296 (86%)	174 (10%)	1,580 (90%)		
Geary	78 (12%)	564 (88%)	226 (10%)	2,044 (90%)		
Johnson	364 (13%)	2,337 (87%)	1,301 (15%)	7,473 (85%)		
Montgomery	63 (11%)	488 (89%)	232 (14%)	1,478 (86%)		
Reno	186 (21%)	687 (79%)	587 (21%)	2,208 (79%)		
Saline	172 (17%)	863 (83%)	597 (19%)	2,612 (81%)		
Sedgwick	1,015 (21%)	3,706 (79%)	3,210 (20%)	13,028 (80%)		
Shawnee	242 (17%)	1,196 (83%)	880 (17%)	4,354 (83%)		
Wyandotte	315 (15%)	1,730 (85%)	1,312 (15%)	7,665 (85%)		
Statewide	2,956 (17%)	14,717 (83%)	11,097 (17%)	56,168 (84%)		

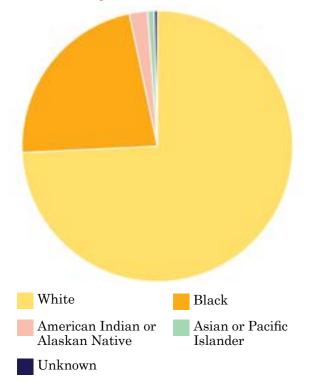
These figures are based on the Free Our Vote dataset and do not represent the entire populations of these counties. However, they provide critical insight into areas where focused voter registration efforts targeting males could have a substantial impact. The discrepancy between registered and unregistered men in the dataset highlights the importance of addressing the barriers to registration, such as misinformation and disengagement.

#### **Racial Disparities**

Among the 71,347 eligible but unregistered individuals in Kansas, the breakdown by race is as follows:

- *White Individuals*: They form the largest group among the unregistered, with 68,962 individuals, accounting for 74.25% of the unregistered population. While this reflects their proportion in the state's overall demographic, it highlights that efforts to boost registration among this large group could have a substantial impact on voter participation.
- Black or African-American *Individuals*: This group is significantly overrepresented, comprising 20,824 individuals or 22.4% of the unregistered population, despite making up around 6% of the state's total population. The

#### **Eligible but Unregistered Voters** with Felony Convictions in **Kansas by Race**



**Black Kansans are** significantly overrepresented, comprising 20,824 individuals or 22.4% of the unregistered population, despite making up around 6% of the state's total population. The high number of unregistered but eligible Black individuals suggests they face specific barriers to voter registration and civic participation.

high number of unregistered eligible Black individuals means that specific, targeted steps are needed within this community to increase voter registration and civic participation.

- American Indian or Alaskan *Native Individuals*: There are 2,015 eligible but unregistered individuals in this group, making up 2.2% of the unregistered population. Targeted efforts to support voter registration among this group could address their underrepresentation in the electorate.
- Asian or Pacific Islander *Individuals*: This group includes 760 unregistered eligible individuals, representing 0.8% of the total unregistered population.
- Individuals of Unknown Race: A small group of 318 individuals (around 0.3%) has no identified race data in the records, indicating either incomplete data or categorization challenges.

#### **Unregistered Voters in Kansas on** the Map

The geographic distribution of eligible but unregistered voters in Kansas shows that these individuals are concentrated in specific counties, which presents both a challenge and an opportunity for targeted voter registration efforts. The counties with the highest numbers of eligible but unregistered voters include Sedgwick (16,794), Johnson (9,810), Wyandotte (9,395), Shawnee (5,550), and Douglas (1,875). Additionally, counties such as Saline, Reno, Geary, Montgomery, and Finney also have significant numbers of unregistered eligible individuals.

#### **Returning Kansans Eligible to Vote as Percentage of County Voting Age Population**



#### **Counties with Highest Numbers** of Returning Kansans Eligible but Unregistered to Vote

County	Registered	Unregistered
Douglas	487 (21%)	1,875 (79%)
Finney	222 (11%)	1,876 (89%)
Geary	304 (10%)	2,608 (90%)
Johnson	1,665 (15%)	9,810 (85%)
Montgomery	295 (13%)	1,966 (87%)
Reno	773 (21%)	2,895 (79%)
Saline	769 (18%)	3,475 (82%)
Sedgwick	4,225 (20%)	16,734 (80%)
Shawnee	1,122 (17%)	5,550 (83%)
Wyandotte	1,627 (15%)	9,395 (85%)
Statewide	14,717 (17%)	71,347 (83%)

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## BUILDING THE SCAFFOLDING: ROBIN'S STORY

People think we make change in our lives in broad, sweeping gestures, but Wichita resident Robin Monroe knows that change is a daily discipline that comes from the little decisions we make consciously every day, the small choices no one sees. No one's offering accolades for walking to work even though it's snowing and you don't have a car or for getting up and making

your bed, but every day you build a little of the scaffolding to climb higher.

But spectacular climbs follow spectacular falls.

Monroe had been a registered nurse who graduated summa cum laude. She was focused and career-minded with a sterling reputation. She was also struggling with alcoholism, substance addiction, and severe mental health issues in addition to childhood trauma.

"I went downhill super-fast," she said. "I tried meth for the first time, and I immediately became addicted. I know we hear that, and people think, 'Oh, come on. You don't try it once and get hooked.' But yeah, yeah, you do."

Monroe was educated. She thought she could handle it. She thought she knew her limitations—but "it cost me everything," she said. "It cost me my children. It cost me my career. It cost me my freedom eventually when I went to prison.

"One of the worst memories I remember from my addiction is waking up in jail and knowing nobody even misses me. I didn't have my kids. I wasn't expected at work. I was just an anonymous person."

When Monroe got out, she didn't have much of anything. She would walk to her job as a waitress. At one point, the divided house she was living in burned down, leaving her temporarily homeless. She lived in her mom's basement for a while. She pushed through viciously abusive exes and snobby types who talked down to her. But she was making little changes every day, building her scaffolding with every small but significant moment she chose not to drink or use. When she made \$20, she stashed five. When micro-blessings came around, even just a kind word from a customer, she treasured them.

"This isn't the last chapter, this is where you are now," she'd say to herself. "This is part of the journey. This is not the whole of who I am."

Soon, she had rekindled her family relationships and reconnected with her children. Her coworkers became extended family. Every little choice led to better opportunities. Her spectacular fall had become a spectacular climb.

"Prior to my short-lived career as a felon, I was very active politically," said Monroe. "The first person I ever canvassed for was Dan Glickman. The first election where I was really involved in was Bill Clinton's first run. Prior to that, I remember taking my daughter to canvass with me. She wasn't even two years old. I did clinic support during the whole Operation Rescue situation.



#### When the AIDS Quilt came, I was a reader.

"So when I lost that right to vote, it was a big part of who I am," she said. During the 2016 election season, Monroe was venting to a civically engaged friend about Ruth Bader Ginsburg's age and the philosophical balance on the Supreme Court. She was dejected that she could never vote again.

"I was carrying on about it one day to an organizer who said, 'I don't think that's true,' and he'd make some calls."

Days later, the organizer told her she should be able to vote with no problems, and she registered immediately. The revelation reignited her passion for civic participation, leading her to run for and win a spot as a precinct committee person.

"It shows how you can come from being totally alienated from the process to being on a ballot. That was a remarkable thing for me."

"[Re-enfranchisement] "We live in these systems, systemic racism, mass incarceration, other systems because 'we've always shows how you can come lived this way,' or, 'we don't know any different.' Worse, if you say, 'that's just how it is,' things will from being totally alienated never change," said Monroe. "But voting is one of from the process to being those moves we have to make. It's something we have on a ballot. That was a to develop a discipline for. It's not important that you're seen doing it, it's simply important to do it if remarkable thing for me." we want real change in our lives and in our society, she said.

Monroe's transformation from a struggling addict to an active voter and community leader underscores the importance of re-enfranchisement. She's deeply involved politically again. She writes opinion pieces, volunteers, and sits on panels to share her story with other formerly incarcerated people. She owns her home, a car, and has a savings account. In between working, she's attending the School of Social Work at Wichita State



she's attending t University.

Her story highlights the many layers of obstacles and hardships that people reentering society are dealing with—and the need to ensure that our state makes the process to vote again as easy as possible.

Recently, she took her 27-year-old son to an award ceremony to try and get him interested in furthering his education. She said she was being sneaky, but between the oath, the candles, and the solemnity of what people with her history had to achieve to be invited or even be considered, it worked. She saw her brawny

son in the crowd with tears in his eyes.

"My son was with me through the worst time of my addiction and abuse. And every now and then we'll just shake our heads, like, can you believe? We both own homes. We both have jobs. We're both sober. We're both stand up citizens. And I think it was in that moment that we just connected—'You've come a long way, baby."

To listen to Robin tell her story, watch her full interview at aclukansas.org/unheardvoices.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN INCLUSIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE DEMOCRACY IN KANSAS

To address the barriers to restoring voting rights and build a more inclusive and accountable democracy in Kansas, policymakers in Kansas should implement the following proposals:

#### Ensure Voting Rights Are Never Lost

Action Required by: State Legislature Description: Adopt a policy similar to those in Vermont, Maine, and Washington D.C., where individuals retain their voting rights regardless of felony convictions. This approach guarantees continuous participation in the democratic process and eliminates any form of disenfranchisement for all citizens.

#### Automatic Restoration of Voting Rights

Action Required by: State Legislature Description: Implement policies that automatically restore voting rights to individuals living in the community without conditions such as the payment of fines, fees, restitution, or other legal financial obligations. This ensures that all citizens have the opportunity to fully participate in the democratic process.

#### Automatic Notification and Assistance with Voter Reregistration

Action Required by: Department of Corrections, Probation and Parole Authorities

*Description*: Ensure that individuals with felony convictions receive automatic notification of their restored voting rights upon completion of their sentences. Provide assistance and resources to help these individuals re-register to vote. The Kansas Department of Corrections does provide this information to individuals during their discharge meeting. Local probation and parole authorities should do the same, facilitating voluntary voter registration and ensuring uniform application procedures.

#### Educational Outreach and Voter Registration Assistance

Action Required by: Kansas Secretary of State, Department of Corrections, County Clerks/Election Commissioners Description: Conduct educational outreach to inform eligible voters about their voting rights and the re-registration process. The state's chief election official should educate government agencies and the public about new voting laws. Additionally, criminal defendants should be informed: (1) prior to conviction and sentencing to prison, that they will lose their voting rights while incarcerated; and (2) upon release from prison, that they are again eligible to register and vote.

#### Synchronization of Voter Registration Databases

Action Required by: State Election Authorities, Criminal Justice Agencies Description: Synchronize statewide voter registration databases to ensure seamless reactivation of voting rights. Voter registration lists should be updated to mark individuals as inactive upon imprisonment and automatically reactivated upon their release through electronic informationsharing between criminal justice agencies and election authorities.

#### Implement "Vote from Jail" Programs

Action Required by: Local Detention Facilities, Kansas Secretary of State, County Clerks/Election Commissioners Description: Establish programs that ensure individuals held in local detention facilities, who are typically pre-trial and therefore still eligible to vote, are aware of their voting rights. Provide education, registration, and voting opportunities within these facilities to enable individuals to exercise their right to vote while in jail.

## CALL TO ACTION

This report underscores a critical and urgent call to action for eligible returning citizens in Kansas. If you have completed your sentence, you are eligible to register to vote and participate in the democratic process. There are over 71,000 Kansans who meet these criteria but remain unregistered, representing a significant portion of voices that could shape the future of our state. The participation of this group could be pivotal in many elections, given that state and local races in Kansas are often decided by far fewer than 71,000 votes.

If you are among the thousands of eligible individuals who can register to vote in Kansas today, your participation is crucial. Voting is a powerful way to reclaim your voice, advocate for change, and contribute to your community. Your vote is not just a right; it is a vital expression of your voice in our democracy.

### CONCLUSION

is informed and empowered to participate in the democratic process.

Kansas must enact these comprehensive policy changes to ensure equitable access to voting rights and foster an inclusive democracy. By doing so, the state can work toward a more just and equitable society, where all citizens have the opportunity to participate fully in the democratic process. Together, we can build a stronger democracy that truly represents all voices.

This report highlights systemic inequities that continue to disenfranchise many returning citizens in Kansas. As many as 85,494 Kansans are returning citizens, but their ability to participate in American democracy is adversely impacted by misinformation, policy choices, and systemic barriers to voter registration. These figures represent more than just numbers; they reflect a broader pattern of exclusion that affects individuals and entire communities, undermining the core principles of our democratic system.

A significant barrier to registration is the widespread misinformation about rights restoration. Many returning citizens, along with their families and communities, mistakenly believe they are permanently ineligible to vote, despite Kansas law allowing for automatic restoration of voting rights after completing all terms of a felony sentence. This misinformation, coupled with a lack of streamlined government processes for registration, has resulted in a low registration rate among eligible individuals. Currently, only about 20% of eligible returning citizens are registered to vote, significantly lower than the 71% registration rate of the general population in Kansas.

Racial disparities are especially evident in the Kansas returning citizen population. Black Kansans make up around 6% of the state's total population, yet they are overrepresented among those with felony convictions and unregistered eligible voters. Approximately 1 in 41 White Kansans has a felony record, but 1 in 7 Black Kansans is affected, highlighting racial inequities in the criminal justice system.

The analysis also reveals geographic concentrations of unregistered eligible voters, with the highest numbers found in Sedgwick, Johnson, Wyandotte, Shawnee, and Douglas. These counties represent the largest pools of eligible but unregistered individuals and should be prioritized for targeted voter registration efforts to ensure equitable access to the democratic process.

Efforts to address these challenges must include comprehensive policy changes to create a more inclusive and equitable democratic process. Key policy recommendations include:

- Ensuring Voting Rights Are Never Lost
- Automatic Restoration of Voting Rights
- Automatic Notification and Assistance
  with Voter Re-registration
- Educational Outreach and Voter Registration Assistance
- Synchronization of Voter Registration
  Databases

The personal stories of individuals who have regained their voting rights demonstrate the transformative power of re-enfranchisement and the profound impact it has on both personal and civic life. These experiences underscore the resilience of returning citizens and the necessity for systemic changes to ensure that every eligible voter We urge all eligible returning citizens to register to vote and reclaim their rights. Their participation is crucial not only for their own voices but also for the health and vibrancy of our democracy. By voting, they help ensure that policies reflect the diverse needs and aspirations of all Kansans. Including these individuals in the democratic process is vital, and their voices must be prioritized.



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## APPENDIX: REGISTRATION OF RETURNING CITIZENS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE BY COUNTY

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF RETURNING CITIZENS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE	UNREGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION PER 2020 CENSUS
ALLEN	572	474	98	9,548
ANDERSON	323	266	57	5,856
ATCHISON	826	683	143	12,606
BARBER	122	114	8	3,062
BARTON	1161	960	201	18,760
BOURBON	567	488	79	10,570
BROWN	607	532	75	7,017
BUTLER	1785	1385	400	49,620
CHASE	109	86	23	1,951
CHAUTAUQUA	154	135	19	2,597
CHEROKEE	390	339	51	14,844
CHEYENNE	48	43	5	1,961
CLARK	60	53	7	1,468
CLAY	326	262	64	6,161
CLOUD	400	331	69	6,695
COFFEY	473	390	83	6,489
COMANCHE	32	26	6	1,412
COWLEY	1454	1240	214	25,896
CRAWFORD	1223	1037	186	30,083
DECATUR	79	64	15	2,185
DICKINSON	855	715	140	14,212
DONIPHAN	321	294	27	5,970
DOUGLAS	2362	1875	487	93,463
EDWARDS	96	85	11	2,024
ELK	73	61	12	1,889
ELLIS	1269	1038	231	22,476
ELLSWORTH	264	238	26	5,169
FINNEY	2098	1876	222	22,284
FORD	2107	1872	235	19,191
FRANKLIN	1165	954	211	19,571
GEARY	2912	2608	304	23,981
GOVE	47	39	8	2,027
GRAHAM	98	83	15	1,929
GRANT	274	231	43	4,066
GRAY	172	141	31	3,547
GREELEY	47	37	10	865

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF RETURNING CITIZENS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE	UNREGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION PER 2020 CENSUS
GREENWOOD	374	311	63	4,691
HAMILTON	101	89	12	1,388
HARPER	321	257	64	3,987
HARVEY	1888	1457	431	25,356
HASKELL	467	155	312	2,196
HODGEMAN	53	45	8	1,317
JACKSON	746	629	117	9,793
JEFFERSON	401	319	82	14,169
JEWELL	108	98	10	2,314
JOHNSON	11475	9810	1665	442,140
KEARNY	222	200	22	2,481
KINGMAN	299	234	65	5,760
KIOWA	180	162	18	1,815
LABETTE	863	724	139	15,164
LANE	45	38	7	1,177
LEAVENWORTH	1789	1491	298	61,390
LINCOLN	46	39	7	2,267
LINN	384	318	66	7,526
LOGAN	74	58	16	2,022
LYON	2135	1778	357	23,040
MARION	245	191	54	23,079
MARSHALL	386	329	57	9,297
MCPHERSON	917	721	196	7,530
MEADE	113	93	20	2,713
MIAMI	719	593	126	26,024
MITCHELL	240	200	40	4,473
MONTGOMERY	2261	1966	295	23,581
MORRIS	143	116	27	4,185
MORTON	138	114	24	1,798
NEMAHA	237	196	41	7,412
NEOSHO	720	576	144	11,778
NESS	66	50	16	2,018
NORTON	185	157	28	4,325
OSAGE	499	401	98	12,023
OSBORNE	100	89	11	2,732
OTTAWA	144	123	21	4,412
PAWNEE	405	322	83	5,381
PHILLIPS	127	116	11	3,826
POTTAWATOMIE	557	465	92	17,862
PRATT	678	568	110	6,834
RAWLINS	53	48	5	1,932
RENO	3668	2895	773	47,247

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER OF RETURNING CITIZENS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE	UNREGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION PER 2020 CENSUS
REPUBLIC	138	116	22	3,586
RICE	454	372	82	7,095
RILEY	1561	1278	283	57,656
ROOKS	221	192	29	3,880
RUSH	90	72	18	2,320
RUSSELL	293	260	33	5,182
SALINE	4244	3475	769	40,711
SCOTT	171	134	37	3,422
SEDGWICK	20959	16734	4225	369,209
SEWARD	1762	1590	172	11,533
SHAWNEE	6672	5550	1122	132,923
SHERIDAN	17	12	5	1,776
SHERMAN	386	361	25	4,457
SMITH	71	61	10	2,861
STAFFORD	121	98	23	2,947
STANTON	80	63	17	1,356
STEVENS	283	252	31	3,265
SUMNER	1159	961	198	16,902
THOMAS	293	250	43	5,746
TREGO	153	141	12	2,261
WABAUNSEE	151	125	26	5,305
WALLACE	41	37	4	1,115
WASHINGTON	133	112	21	4,148
WICHITA	63	52	11	1,519
WILSON	477	393	84	6,561
WOODSON	111	97	14	2,491
WYANDOTTE	11022	9395	1627	103,996

## **APPENDIX: RETURNING KANSANS** ELIGIBLE TO VOTE BY COUNTY, RACE, AND REGISTRATION STATUS

UNREGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS

REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ARE RETURNING CITIZENS

COUNTY	BLACH	X	WHIT	E	AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE		N ASIAN OR R PACIFIC ISLANDER		UNKN	UNKNOWN	
ALLEN	27	7	433	89	9	2	3		2		
ANDERSON	5		253	56	6		1		1	1	
ATCHISON	144	37	521	103	16	3	1		1		
BARBER			111	8	3						
BARTON	53	12	887	188	12				8	1	
BOURBON	69	6	410	72	5	1	2		2		
BROWN	25	4	432	54	69	17	2		4		
BUTLER	106	28	1248	367	25	2	4	1	2	2	
CHASE	2	1	81	21	3			1			
CHAUTAUQUA	5	1	124	18	6						
CHEROKEE	8	2	312	47	18	2			1		
CHEYENNE	1		41	5	1						
CLARK	6		44	7	1		2				
CLAY	5	1	252	60	2	1	1		2	2	
CLOUD	13	3	309	65	6		2	1	1		
COFFEY	22	2	358	80	5	1	1		3		
COMANCHE	1		25	6							
COWLEY	156	30	1014	180	54	2	16	1		1	
CRAWFORD	147	15	867	170	20		2	1			
DECATUR	1		63	15							
DICKINSON	67	5	637	134	6	1	1		5		
DONIPHAN	18		269	26	6	1			1		
DOUGLAS	458	123	1245	339	140	18	20	5	12	2	
EDWARDS	1		79	11	4		1				
ELK	1	1	60	11							
ELLIS	97	11	920	217	9	1	6	1	6	1	
ELLSWORTH	37	2	192	23	3		4		2	1	
FINNEY	133	15	1677	204	26	2	38	1	2		
FORD	131	10	1685	217	27	5	28	3	1		
FRANKLIN	59	14	869	194	15		1		10	3	
GEARY	1169	134	1339	165	27	1	50	2	23	2	
GOVE	3		35	8			3				
GRAHAM	4	2	78	12			1	1			
GRANT	3	1	222	41	6	1					

COUNTY	BLACK		WHITE		AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE		ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER		UNKNOWN	
GRAY	5		134	30	2	1				
GREELEY	2	1	35	9						
GREENWOOD	7		289	62	11	1	2		2	
HAMILTON	1	1	88	10		1				
HARPER	2		248	59	7	5				
HARVEY	159	46	1268	376	17	6	10	2	3	1
HASKELL	4		146	21	4		1			
HODGEMAN	4		41	8					-	
JACKSON	44	6	489	99	94	12	1		1	
JEFFERSON	16	9	297	73	6					
JEWELL	1		96	10	1					
JOHNSON	2636	321	7000	1321	72	8	65	10	37	5
KEARNY	5	2	191	20	3		1			
KINGMAN	3	3	228	62	2		1			
KIOWA	12	1	147	17	2		1			
LABETTE	143	16	568	119	11	4	2			
LANE			38	7						
LEAVENWORTH	458	93	1000	199	21	2	11	4	1	
LINCOLN	4		35	7						
LINN	12		300	66	5		1			
LOGAN	5	1	52	15			1			
LYON	267	64	1463	279	20	8	22	6	6	
MARION	10	3	179	47	1	4	1			
MARSHALL	8		312	54	6	3	2		1	
MCPHERSON	62	17	639	177	14	2	4		2	
MEADE	3	1	87	19	2		1			
MIAMI	60	11	525	113	7	1		1	1	
MITCHELL	10		185	39	3				2	
MONTGOMERY	484	70	1415	214	52	11	9		6	
MORRIS	1		113	26	1		1			1
MORTON	1		110	24	3					
NEMAHA	7	1	179	39	9	1	1			
NEOSHO	28	4	529	134	12	4	3	2	4	
NESS	1		49	16						
NORTON	9		144	28	3		1			
OSAGE	11	2	385	93	4			3	1	
OSBORNE			87	10			2	1		
OTTAWA	4	1	117	19	2	1				
PAWNEE	29	13	284	70	8				1	
PHILLIPS			106	11	9		1			
POTTAWATOMIE	46	11	410	80	7	1	2			
PRATT	36	2	520	105	9	3	2		1	

COUNTY	BLACK	X	1 1		AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE		ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER		UNKNOWN	
RAWLINS			48	5						
RENO	405	93	2423	668	40	5	9		18	7
REPUBLIC	5		110	22	1					
RICE	6	5	353	75	5	1	2		6	1
RILEY	384	74	863	203	16	2	11	3	4	1
ROOKS	1	1	189	28	1		1			
RUSH			71	18	1					
RUSSELL	20	2	231	30	4				5	1
SALINE	550	90	2836	661	43	13	41	4	5	1
SCOTT	3		130	36	1	1				
SEDGWICK	5161	1391	10991	2730	340	63	230	40	12	1
SEWARD	247	41	1303	128	15	2	20		5	1
SHAWNEE	1748	379	3597	714	164	19	16	6	25	4
SHERIDAN			12	5						
SHERMAN	41	1	309	23	7		4	1		
SMITH			60	10	1					
STAFFORD	2		94	23	2					
STANTON	1		61	15	1			2		
STEVENS	6	1	241	30	4		1			
SUMNER	58	8	875	185	22	2	5	2	1	1
THOMAS	16	2	229	41	3		2			
TREGO	19		112	12	4		5		1	
WABAUNSEE	9	3	113	22	1	1	2			
WALLACE	2		35	4						
WASHINGTON	1		109	20	2	1				
WICHITA		1	51	10	1					
WILSON	6	3	376	80	9	1			2	
WOODSON	1		95	14	1					
WYANDOTTE	4398	892	4888	720	57	8	37	5	15	2
UNKNOWN	6	1	12	6	1					



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This report and additional assets are available online at aclukansas.org/unheardvoices.

For more on our Restore My Vote project to correct felony disenfranchisement in Kansas, visit www.restoremyvoteks.org.

*About the ACLU of Kansas:* The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Kansas is a nonpartisan organization dedicated to defending and preserving individual rights and liberties. The ACLU of Kansas works tirelessly to ensure that all Kansans, particularly those impacted by the criminal legal system, have access to their fundamental rights, including the right to vote. Through advocacy, public education, and litigation, the ACLU of Kansas seeks to promote a more inclusive and equitable democratic process.

The ACLU of Kansas thanks REACH Healthcare Foundation and the national American Civil Liberties Union for making this report possible.

#### 34 UNHEARD VOICES