

# Exhibit M

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI  
NORTHERN DIVISION**

MISSISSIPPI STATE CONFERENCE OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; DR.  
ANDREA WESLEY; DR. JOSEPH WESLEY;  
ROBERT EVANS; GARY FREDERICKS; PAMELA  
HAMNER; BARBARA FINN; OTHO BARNES;  
SHIRLINDA ROBERTSON; SANDRA SMITH;  
DEBORAH HULITT; RODESTA TUMBLIN; DR.  
KIA JONES; MARCELEAN ARRINGTON;  
VICTORIA ROBERTSON,

*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

STATE BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS;  
TATE REEVES, *in his official capacity as Governor of  
Mississippi*; LYNN FITCH, *in her official capacity as  
Attorney General of Mississippi*; MICHAEL WATSON,  
*in his official capacity as Secretary of State of  
Mississippi,*

*Defendants,*

AND

MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE,

*Intervenor-Defendant.*

**CIVIL ACTION NO.  
3:22-cv-734-DPJ-HSO-LHS**

**DECLARATION OF MAMIE CUNNINGHAM**

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Mamie Cunningham, declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of eighteen, and I am competent to make this declaration. I provide this declaration based upon my personal knowledge. I would testify to the facts in this declaration under oath if called upon to do so.
2. I previously testified in this matter at trial.
3. I am a registered voter in HD 22, and I have never been convicted of a crime.
4. I am 84 years old, an African-American woman, and a lifelong resident of Okolona in Chickasaw County, Mississippi. I live near the border between Chickasaw and Monroe Counties.
5. I am a retired public-school teacher, with a Master's degree in education from Mississippi State. I have experience teaching in Aberdeen in Monroe County while residing in Chickasaw County.
6. For over six decades, ever since I was 19 years old, I have been active in registering voters and advocating for civil rights in Mississippi. When I was a college student at Rust College in 1964, I worked with Stokely Carmichael and other Freedom Riders who came to campus to organize voter registration efforts. That same year, I went with Fannie Lou Hamer, Bob Moses, Ed King, Aaron Henry, and other members of the Freedom Democratic Party to attend and later protest at the National Democratic Convention, which had seated an all-White, all-male delegation (of over 40 members) from Mississippi.
7. After returning to Mississippi from the convention, I continued my efforts to organize and register voters. This work is important to me because since 1964 there are still barriers to voting and I have never been able to vote for a State Representative who represents my interests.

8. For more than two decades, I have assisted members of my community register to vote and cast a ballot. Many of those voters have suffered from blindness, immobility, illiteracy, and old age and need assistance. These voters often live alone and have nobody else who can assist them. They trust me with assisting them in casting their ballots, because I have known them almost our entire lives. Without assistance and efforts to register and turn out the vote, many of these voters would not vote.
9. Because of my efforts, I am widely known in my community as someone who is knowledgeable about elections and voting, and people frequently contact me for advice and assistance.
10. Because of my decades of experience organizing, educating, and assisting voters in my community, I am familiar with voting behavior in and around Chickasaw and Monroe Counties, particularly among Black voters.
11. I have been active in raising awareness about Mississippi's redistricting efforts, including the new version of HD 22 that the state legislature passed in response to the Court's order. For instance, I organized a community meeting on February 8, 2025, at a local church, where more than 100 people and different organizations, including churches, from Chickasaw, Monroe, Clay, and Lee Counties attended, reviewed, and discussed the legislature's proposal for HD 22.
12. I understand that the goal of the latest House redistricting is supposed to be the creation of an additional district that gives Black voters an equal opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. My impression is that most members of my community in Chickasaw and Monroe Counties, including myself, do not feel optimistic about Black voters being able to successfully elect their preferred candidate under the new district lines. The new

HD 22 does the same thing that the old District 22 did, and that is it split black majority precincts in Chickasaw and Monroe Counties. Furthermore, the new HD 22 has a lone precinct from Clay County in the district. The split precincts confuse voters and election officials. Voter confusion has a tendency to suppress voter turnout.. In fact, I and others are concerned that the new district lines *hurt* Black voters in the area even more than the plan that this Court struck down, because it reduces the chances of Black voters electing their preferred candidate in HD 16 and HD 36 while not providing a realistic opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice in HD 22.

13. I am concerned about Black voters having sufficient electoral opportunity in HD 22 for several reasons.
14. First, although I am aware that the new HD 22 may have a slight majority Black population according to Census data, I also know that the proposed district includes a state prison, the Chickasaw County Regional Correctional Facility, which has approximately 300 beds, in addition to the local jail. I am aware of unsuccessful efforts to conduct voter registration and voter assistance for those held at the prison. I was told by the local sheriff and circuit clerk that those efforts would be meaningless because those voters would not be eligible to vote because of their convictions.
15. Second, I recently requested and obtained records from the circuit clerk about voters whose registrations have been purged, including for failure to vote in recent elections under Mississippi's new voter purge law. I requested those records for the years 2022 and 2023 for the two black majority precincts in Chickasaw County - Northwest Houston Precinct and East Okolona Precinct. Out of those two precincts, 459 voters had been purged. Some had been purged because of their status as inactive voter under the new



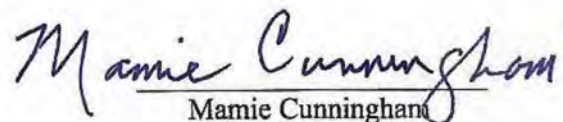
voter purge law. When voters are purged from the rolls, I and other organizers have to attempt to locate and re-register them. These efforts are time-consuming and difficult. The records do not contain telephone numbers, and you have to go knock on doors to identify the voters. The new HD 22 area is very rural, large covering three counties, and many residences are not easily accessible. The process of registering and casting a ballot typically requires multiple physical visits to each voter's home, particularly if they have a disability. Mail delivery in this rural area is very slow and often takes weeks to be delivered within the same county. The mail within the county is routed through Memphis, Tennessee before it is delivered. The instructions for completing and returning applications and ballots in Mississippi are very technical and complex, and voters I assist who are blind, not literate, or have lower levels of educational attainment have difficulty complying with every requirement. As an observer, I have seen election officials reject ballots for minor mistakes, such a signature not being placed precisely across the flap of the ballot envelope.

16. Third, in addition to those logistical challenges, based on my years of raising awareness about elections and attempting to register and get out the vote locally, I know that voter apathy is a big issue, as many Black residents I encounter do not believe that their vote will make a difference. They have not been able to elect a candidate of their choice in HD22 because black communities have been split in such a way that they are not a majority. As a result, some are reluctant even to register to vote. I believe that my and others' efforts to register voters and turn out the vote for a special election in HD 22 will be hampered by the general pessimism about the new district lines.

17. Finally, Mississippi has very frequent elections, and many voters I encounter are not aware of all of the various municipal, state, and federal elections that are taking place. Most of the Black residents in the HD 22 area do not have a college education, and most do not have access to the internet. I believe many of the Black voters in HD 22 will not know about the special election unless I and other organizations succeed in contacting them and persuading them to turn out to vote. My community is very rural and under-resourced, and getting the word out about a 2025 special election to Black voters will be especially challenging.
18. I have done this work for decades because I believe having an equal opportunity to be heard and represented in government is critically important. But like the other voting rights organizers I work with locally, we are volunteers and do not have any resources. There are not very many of us who can engage in this work to attempt to overcome all of the barriers to political participation faced by Black voters in my community.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 10<sup>th</sup> day of March of 2025.

  
Mamie Cunningham