

SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA

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NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF	)	
CONSERVATION VOTERS, INC., et al.,	)	
Plaintiffs-Appellants,	)	
	)	
REBECCA HARPER, et al.,	)	
Plaintiffs-Appellants, and	)	
	)	
COMMON CAUSE,	)	
Plaintiff-Intervenor-Appellant,	)	
	)	
v.	)	
	)	
REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in	)	<u>From Wake</u>
his official capacity as Chair of the House	)	<u>County</u>
Standing Committee on Redistricting, et	)	21 CVS 015426
al.,	)	21 CVS 500058
	)	
Defendants-Appellees.	)	
	)	
	)	
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	)	
	)	
	)	
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RULE 9(d) COPIES OF EXHIBITS AND OTHER ITEMS

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# FAILED



**NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AMENDMENT  
Senate Bill 740**

AMENDMENT NO. **A1**  
(to be filled in by  
Principal Clerk)

S740-AST-73 [v.1]

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Amends Title [NO]  
First Edition

Date \_\_\_\_\_, 2021

Representative Reives

moves to amend the bill on page 1, line 9, through page 15, line 43, by rewriting those lines to read:

**"District 1:** Bertie County, Chowan County, Edgecombe County, Franklin County, Gates County, Granville County, Greene County, Halifax County, Hertford County, Martin County, Nash County, Northampton County, Pasquotank County, Perquimans County, Pitt County: VTD 101, VTD 1201, VTD 1501, VTD 1503, VTD 1504A, VTD 1504B, VTD 1505B, VTD 1506, VTD 1507, VTD 1507B, VTD 1508A, VTD 1508B, VTD 1509, VTD 1512A: Block(s) 1470006072012, 1470006072013, 1470006073000, 1470006073001, 1470016011001; VTD 301, VTD 401, VTD 501, VTD 701, VTD 800A, VTD 800B, VTD 901; Vance County, Warren County, Washington County, Wayne County: VTD 002: Block(s) 1910002001008, 1910002003000, 1910002003001, 1910002003002, 1910002003003, 1910002003004, 1910002003005, 1910002003006, 1910002003007, 1910002003008, 1910002003009, 1910002003010, 1910002003011, 1910002003012, 1910002003013, 1910002003014, 1910002003015, 1910002003016, 1910002003017, 1910002003018, 1910002003019, 1910002003020, 1910002003021, 1910002003022, 1910002003023, 1910002003025, 1910002003028, 1910002003029, 1910002003030, 1910002003031, 1910002003032, 1910002003033, 1910002003035, 1910002003036, 1910002003037, 1910002003038, 1910002003039, 1910002003040, 1910002003041, 1910002003042, 1910002003043, 1910002003044, 1910002003045, 1910003031000, 1910003031001, 1910003031021, 1910003031022, 1910003032000, 1910003041000, 1910003041033, 1910003041034, 1910003041036, 1910003041037, 1910003041038, 1910003041039, 1910003043000; VTD 006, VTD 007, VTD 012; Wilson County.

**District 2:** Wake County: VTD 01-01, VTD 01-02, VTD 01-03, VTD 01-04, VTD 01-05, VTD 01-06, VTD 01-07, VTD 01-09, VTD 01-10, VTD 01-11, VTD 01-12, VTD 01-13, VTD 01-14, VTD 01-15, VTD 01-16, VTD 01-17, VTD 01-18, VTD 01-19, VTD 01-20, VTD 01-21, VTD 01-22, VTD 01-23, VTD 01-25, VTD 01-26, VTD 01-27, VTD 01-28, VTD 01-29, VTD 01-30, VTD 01-31, VTD 01-32, VTD 01-33, VTD 01-34, VTD 01-35, VTD 01-36, VTD 01-37, VTD 01-38, VTD 01-39, VTD 01-40, VTD 01-41, VTD 01-42, VTD 01-43, VTD 01-44, VTD 01-45, VTD 01-46, VTD 01-47, VTD 01-48, VTD 01-50, VTD 01-51, VTD 02-01, VTD 02-02, VTD 02-03, VTD 02-04, VTD 02-05, VTD 02-06, VTD 04-05, VTD 05-05, VTD 07-01, VTD 07-02, VTD 07-03, VTD 07-04, VTD 07-05, VTD



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PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1445**

NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

AMENDMENT

Senate Bill 740

FAILED

AMENDMENT NO. A1

(to be filled in by  
Principal Clerk)

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1 07-06, VTD 07-07, VTD 07-09, VTD 07-10, VTD 07-11, VTD 07-12, VTD 07-13, VTD  
2 08-02, VTD 08-03, VTD 08-04, VTD 08-05, VTD 08-06, VTD 08-07, VTD 08-08, VTD  
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27 13-01, VTD 13-02, VTD 13-05, VTD 13-06, VTD 13-07, VTD 13-08, VTD 13-09, VTD  
28 13-10, VTD 13-11, VTD 14-01, VTD 14-02, VTD 15-01, VTD 15-02, VTD 15-04, VTD  
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34 19-15, VTD 19-16, VTD 19-17, VTD 19-18, VTD 19-19, VTD 19-20, VTD 19-21.  
35 **District 3:** Beaufort County, Camden County, Carteret County, Craven County, Currituck  
36 County, Dare County, Duplin County, Hyde County, Jones County, Lenoir County, Onslow  
37 County, Pamlico County, Pender County: VTD LT18: Block(s) 1419201061094,  
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– Ex. 5980 –  
NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
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FAILED

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1 1419202022022, 1419202022023, 1419202022024, 1419202022025, 1419202022026,  
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7 1419202032049, 1419901000002, 1419901000003; VTD MH07, VTD MT19, VTD SC13,  
8 VTD SP15, VTD UH08, VTD UT14; Pitt County: VTD 1001, VTD 1101, VTD 1102A, VTD  
9 1102B, VTD 1301, VTD 1403A1, VTD 1403A2, VTD 1403B, VTD 1505A, VTD 1510A,  
10 VTD 1510B, VTD 1511A, VTD 1511B, VTD 1512A: Block(s) 1470006071000,  
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34 1470016011057, 1470016011058, 1470016011060; VTD 1512B, VTD 1513A, VTD 1513B,  
35 VTD 200A, VTD 200B, VTD 601; Tyrrell County.

36 **District 4:** Alamance County, Caswell County, Durham County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 003,  
37 VTD 004, VTD 005, VTD 006, VTD 007, VTD 008, VTD 009, VTD 010, VTD 012, VTD  
38 013, VTD 014, VTD 015, VTD 016, VTD 017, VTD 018, VTD 019, VTD 020, VTD 021,  
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40 031, VTD 032, VTD 033, VTD 036, VTD 037, VTD 038, VTD 039, VTD 040, VTD 041,  
41 VTD 042, VTD 043, VTD 044, VTD 045, VTD 046, VTD 047, VTD 048, VTD 050, VTD  
42 051, VTD 052, VTD 054, VTD 055-11, VTD 055-49, VTD 30-1, VTD 30-2, VTD 34-1, VTD  
43 34-2, VTD 35.3: Block(s) 0630020131000, 0630020131001, 0630020131002,

NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

AMENDMENT

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1 0630020131003, 0630020131004, 0630020131005, 0630020131006, 0630020131007,  
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21 0630020211012, 0630020211013, 0630020211014, 0630020211015, 0630020211016,  
22 0630020361004, 0630020361006; VTD 53-1, VTD 53-2; Orange County, Person County,  
23 Rockingham County: VTD DR, VTD IR, VTD LI, VTD MC, VTD MS, VTD RC: Block(s)  
24 1570401013003, 1570401013004, 1570401013006, 1570401013007, 1570411001012,  
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40 1570411005042, 1570411005043, 1570411005044, 1570411005045, 1570411005046,  
41 1570416012047; VTD SE.  
42 **District 5:** Alexander County, Alleghany County, Ashe County, Avery County, Burke County:  
43 VTD 001, VTD 003, VTD 011, VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 014, VTD 015, VTD 018, VTD

– Ex. 5982 –  
NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AMENDMENT  
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**FAILED**

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(to be filled in by  
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1 019, VTD 020, VTD 021, VTD 022, VTD 024, VTD 031, VTD 034, VTD 035, VTD 036,  
2 VTD 038, VTD 039, VTD 040, VTD 048, VTD 051: Block(s) 0230203013010,  
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11 0230203014037, 0230203014043, 0230214003011, 0230214003012; VTD 062, VTD 066,  
12 VTD 070, VTD 47-A, VTD 47-B; Caldwell County, Forsyth County: VTD 031, VTD 032,  
13 VTD 033, VTD 034, VTD 051, VTD 052, VTD 053, VTD 054, VTD 055, VTD 071, VTD  
14 072, VTD 073, VTD 074, VTD 075, VTD 091, VTD 092, VTD 101, VTD 122, VTD 123,  
15 VTD 131, VTD 132, VTD 133, VTD 201, VTD 206: Block(s) 0670014001015,  
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19 0670027021020; VTD 207, VTD 602, VTD 607, VTD 705, VTD 706, VTD 708, VTD 709,  
20 VTD 804, VTD 805, VTD 806, VTD 807, VTD 808, VTD 809, VTD 904, VTD 905, VTD  
21 906, VTD 907, VTD 908, VTD 909; Rockingham County: VTD EC, VTD EDEN-1, VTD  
22 HO, VTD HU, VTD LK-2, VTD MA, VTD NB, VTD RC: Block(s) 1570411001000,  
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42 1570416012039, 1570416012040, 1570416012041, 1570416012042; VTD WS; Stokes  
43 County, Surry County, Watauga County, Wilkes County, Yadkin County.

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NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AMENDMENT  
Senate Bill 740

**FAILED**

AMENDMENT NO. **A1**

(to be filled in by  
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**District 7:** Bladen County: VTD P10: Block(s) 0179505012025, 0179505012026, 0179505012032, 0179505012033, 0179505012034, 0179505022048, 0179505022049, 0179505023000, 0179505023008, 0179505023009, 0179505023010, 0179505023011, 0179505023021, 0179505023022, 0179505023023, 0179505023024, 0179505023025, 0179505023026, 0179505023028, 0179505023029, 0179505023030, 0179505023031, 0179505023032, 0179506014001, 0179506014002, 0179506014003, 0179506014004, 0179506014005, 0179506014010, 0179506014011, 0179506014012, 0179506014013, 0179506014014, 0179506014015, 0179506014016, 0179506014017, 0179506014018, 0179506014019, 0179506014020, 0179506014021, 0179506014022, 0179506014023, 0179506014024, 0179506014025, 0179506014026, 0179506014027, 0179506014028, 0179506014029, 0179506014030, 0179506014031, 0179506014036, 0179506014037, 0179506014038, 0179506014039, 0179506014043, 0179506014044, 0179506014045, 0179506014046, 0179506014047, 0179506014048, 0179506014061, 0179506014062, 0179506014068; VTD P25, VTD P30, VTD P40, VTD P45, VTD P502, VTD P55, VTD P65, VTD P75; Brunswick County, Columbus County, Johnston County: VTD PR04, VTD PR07, VTD PR08, VTD PR09: Block(s) 1010409033008, 1010409033009, 1010409033010, 1010409033011, 1010409033012, 1010409033013, 1010409033014, 1010409033015, 1010409033016, 1010409043008, 1010409043009, 1010409043010, 1010409043011, 1010409043012, 1010409043013, 1010409055000, 1010409055001, 1010409055002, 1010409055003, 1010409055004, 1010409055005, 1010409055006, 1010409055007, 1010409055010, 1010409055011, 1010409055013, 1010409055014, 1010409055019, 1010409055020, 1010409061005, 1010409061006, 1010409061007, 1010409061008, 1010409061009, 1010409061012, 1010409061013, 1010409061014, 1010409061015, 1010409061016, 1010409061018, 1010409061019, 1010409061020, 1010409061021, 1010409061022, 1010409061025; VTD PR13, VTD PR14, VTD PR19, VTD PR20, VTD PR21, VTD PR22, VTD PR24, VTD PR25, VTD PR26, VTD PR27A, VTD PR27B, VTD PR28, VTD PR29A, VTD PR29B, VTD PR30, VTD PR32, VTD PR35, VTD PR36, VTD PR37, VTD PR38; New Hanover County, Pender County: VTD CF11, VTD CL05, VTD CS04, VTD CT03, VTD GR06, VTD LC09, VTD LT18: Block(s) 1419202031026,

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4 1419202032044, 1419202032045, 1419202032048; VTD LU16, VTD NB01, VTD PL10,  
5 VTD RP20, VTD SB02, VTD SH12, VTD UU17; Sampson County, Wayne County: VTD  
6 001, VTD 002: Block(s) 1910002001000, 1910002001001, 1910002001002,  
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19 2530.  
20 **District 8:** Cabarrus County: VTD 02-01, VTD 02-02, VTD 02-05, VTD 02-06, VTD 02-07,  
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23 VTD 09-00: Block(s) 0250416022010, 0250417013028, 0250417013031, 0250417013033,  
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26 County, Davie County, Iredell County: VTD BA: Block(s) 0970612022026, 0970612022027,  
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18 0970613032049, 0970613032066, 0970613042000, 0970613042002; VTD CC1, VTD CC2,  
19 VTD CC3, VTD CC4, VTD DV1-A, VTD DV1-B, VTD DV2-A, VTD DV2-B; Randolph  
20 County, Rowan County.  
21 **District 9:** Cabarrus County: VTD 01-02, VTD 01-04, VTD 01-07, VTD 01-08, VTD 01-10,  
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41 033, VTD 034, VTD 036, VTD 045, VTD 048, VTD 049, VTD 060: Block(s)  
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12 1619602022004, 1619602022005, 1619602022006, 1619602022007, 1619602022011,  
13 1619602022012, 1619602022016, 1619605021000.

14 **District 11:** Buncombe County, Cherokee County, Clay County, Graham County, Haywood  
15 County, Henderson County, Jackson County, Macon County, Madison County, McDowell  
16 County, Mitchell County, Polk County, Rutherford County: VTD 06A, VTD 16A: Block(s)  
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22 1619602013010, 1619602013012, 1619602013013, 1619602013016, 1619602013017,  
23 1619602013018, 1619602013019, 1619602013021, 1619602013023; Swain County,  
24 Transylvania County, Yancey County.

25 **District 12:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 009, VTD 010, VTD 011, VTD  
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NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AMENDMENT  
Senate Bill 740

**FAILED**

AMENDMENT NO. **A1**  
(to be filled in by  
Principal Clerk)

S740-AST-73 [v.1]

Page 12 of 12

1 20-05, VTD 20-06A, VTD 20-06B, VTD 20-08, VTD 20-09, VTD 20-10, VTD 20-11, VTD  
2 20-12, VTD 20-14, VTD 20-15, VTD 20-16, VTD 20-17.  
3 **District 14:** Anson County, Bladen County: VTD P10: Block(s) 0179505012024,  
4 0179505012036, 0179505022007, 0179505022008, 0179505023001, 0179505023002,  
5 0179505023003, 0179505023004, 0179505023005, 0179505023006, 0179505023007,  
6 0179505023027; VTD P15, VTD P201, VTD P202, VTD P35, VTD P501, VTD P60, VTD  
7 P70, VTD P80; Cumberland County, Hoke County, Montgomery County, Moore County,  
8 Richmond County, Robeson County, Scotland County.".

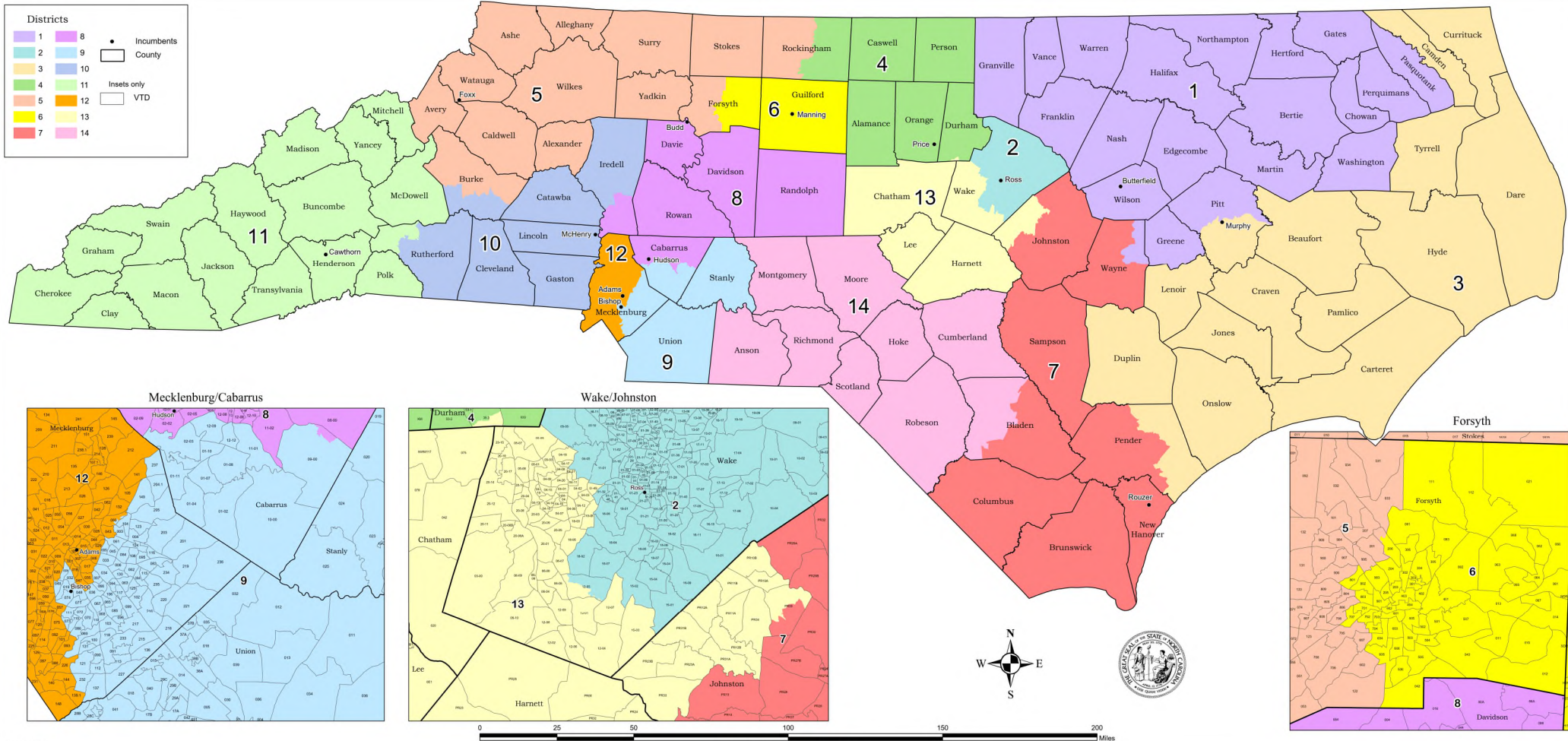
SIGNED \_\_\_\_\_  
Amendment Sponsor

SIGNED \_\_\_\_\_  
Committee Chair if Senate Committee Amendment

ADOPTED \_\_\_\_\_ FAILED \_\_\_\_\_ TABLED \_\_\_\_\_

**The official copy of this document, with signatures  
and vote information, is available in the  
House Principal Clerk's Office**

## CST-8



User:

Plan Name: **CST-8**

Plan Type: **Congressional**

## Measures of Compactness Report

Monday, October 25, 2021

9:55 AM

	<b>Reock</b>	<b>Polsby-Popper</b>
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.34	0.22
Max	0.59	0.54
Mean	0.45	0.36
Std. Dev.	0.08	0.09

<b>District</b>	<b>Reock</b>	<b>Polsby-Popper</b>
1	0.43	0.39
2	0.56	0.43
3	0.39	0.29
4	0.59	0.51
5	0.34	0.32
6	0.50	0.54
7	0.34	0.22
8	0.45	0.43
9	0.50	0.36
10	0.39	0.31
11	0.36	0.32

## Measures of Compactness Report

CST-8

	Reock	Polsby-Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.34	0.22
Max	0.59	0.54
Mean	0.45	0.36
Std. Dev.	0.08	0.09
District	Reock	Polsby-Popper
12	0.39	0.30
13	0.53	0.33
14	0.51	0.35

## Measures of Compactness Report

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CST-8

### Measures of Compactness Summary

<b>Reock</b>	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
<b>Polsby-Popper</b>	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

# Population Deviation Report

## District Plan: CST-8

District	Seats	Ideal Pop	Actual Pop	Deviation	Deviation %
1	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
2	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
3	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
4	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
5	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
6	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
7	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
8	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
9	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
10	1	745,671	745,670	-1	0.00%
11	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
12	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
13	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
14	1	745,671	745,671	0	0.00%
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>14</b>		<b>10,439,388</b>		

# County - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Alamance	4	171,415	745,671	171,415	100.00 %	22.99 %
Alexander	5	36,444	745,670	36,444	100.00 %	4.89 %
Alleghany	5	10,888	745,670	10,888	100.00 %	1.46 %
Anson	14	22,055	745,671	22,055	100.00 %	2.96 %
Ashe	5	26,577	745,670	26,577	100.00 %	3.56 %
Avery	5	17,806	745,670	17,806	100.00 %	2.39 %
Beaufort	3	44,652	745,671	44,652	100.00 %	5.99 %
Bertie	1	17,934	745,670	17,934	100.00 %	2.41 %
Bladen	7	29,606	745,671	11,928	40.29 %	1.60 %
	14	29,606	745,671	17,678	59.71 %	2.37 %
Brunswick	7	136,693	745,671	136,693	100.00 %	18.33 %
Buncombe	11	269,452	745,671	269,452	100.00 %	36.14 %
Burke	5	87,570	745,670	71,394	81.53 %	9.57 %
	10	87,570	745,670	16,176	18.47 %	2.17 %
Cabarrus	8	225,804	745,671	150,716	66.75 %	20.21 %
	9	225,804	745,670	75,088	33.25 %	10.07 %
Caldwell	5	80,652	745,670	80,652	100.00 %	10.82 %
Camden	3	10,355	745,671	10,355	100.00 %	1.39 %
Carteret	3	67,686	745,671	67,686	100.00 %	9.08 %
Caswell	4	22,736	745,671	22,736	100.00 %	3.05 %
Catawba	10	160,610	745,670	160,610	100.00 %	21.54 %
Chatham	13	76,285	745,671	76,285	100.00 %	10.23 %
Cherokee	11	28,774	745,671	28,774	100.00 %	3.86 %
Chowan	1	13,708	745,670	13,708	100.00 %	1.84 %
Clay	11	11,089	745,671	11,089	100.00 %	1.49 %
Cleveland	10	99,519	745,670	99,519	100.00 %	13.35 %
Columbus	7	50,623	745,671	50,623	100.00 %	6.79 %
Craven	3	100,720	745,671	100,720	100.00 %	13.51 %
Cumberland	14	334,728	745,671	334,728	100.00 %	44.89 %
Currituck	3	28,100	745,671	28,100	100.00 %	3.77 %
Dare	3	36,915	745,671	36,915	100.00 %	4.95 %
Davidson	8	168,930	745,671	168,930	100.00 %	22.65 %
Davie	8	42,712	745,671	42,712	100.00 %	5.73 %
Duplin	3	48,715	745,671	48,715	100.00 %	6.53 %
Durham	4	324,833	745,671	323,173	99.49 %	43.34 %
	13	324,833	745,671	1,660	0.51 %	0.22 %
Edgecombe	1	48,900	745,670	48,900	100.00 %	6.56 %
Forsyth	5	382,590	745,670	178,219	46.58 %	23.90 %
	6	382,590	745,670	204,371	53.42 %	27.41 %
Franklin	1	68,573	745,670	68,573	100.00 %	9.20 %
Gaston	10	227,943	745,670	227,943	100.00 %	30.57 %
Gates	1	10,478	745,670	10,478	100.00 %	1.41 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

Printed 10/25/2021 [G20-CntyDist]

## County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Graham	11	8,030	745,671	8,030	100.00 %	1.08 %
Granville	1	60,992	745,670	60,992	100.00 %	8.18 %
Greene	1	20,451	745,670	20,451	100.00 %	2.74 %
Guilford	6	541,299	745,670	541,299	100.00 %	72.59 %
Halifax	1	48,622	745,670	48,622	100.00 %	6.52 %
Harnett	13	133,568	745,671	133,568	100.00 %	17.91 %
Haywood	11	62,089	745,671	62,089	100.00 %	8.33 %
Henderson	11	116,281	745,671	116,281	100.00 %	15.59 %
Hertford	1	21,552	745,670	21,552	100.00 %	2.89 %
Hoke	14	52,082	745,671	52,082	100.00 %	6.98 %
Hyde	3	4,589	745,671	4,589	100.00 %	0.62 %
Iredell	8	186,693	745,671	92,267	49.42 %	12.37 %
	10	186,693	745,670	94,426	50.58 %	12.66 %
Jackson	11	43,109	745,671	43,109	100.00 %	5.78 %
Johnston	7	215,999	745,671	128,866	59.66 %	17.28 %
	13	215,999	745,671	87,133	40.34 %	11.69 %
Jones	3	9,172	745,671	9,172	100.00 %	1.23 %
Lee	13	63,285	745,671	63,285	100.00 %	8.49 %
Lenoir	3	55,122	745,671	55,122	100.00 %	7.39 %
Lincoln	10	86,810	745,670	86,810	100.00 %	11.64 %
Macon	11	37,014	745,671	37,014	100.00 %	4.96 %
Madison	11	21,193	745,671	21,193	100.00 %	2.84 %
Martin	1	22,031	745,670	22,031	100.00 %	2.95 %
McDowell	11	44,578	745,671	44,578	100.00 %	5.98 %
Mecklenburg	9	1,115,482	745,670	369,811	33.15 %	49.59 %
	12	1,115,482	745,671	745,671	66.85 %	100.00 %
Mitchell	11	14,903	745,671	14,903	100.00 %	2.00 %
Montgomery	14	25,751	745,671	25,751	100.00 %	3.45 %
Moore	14	99,727	745,671	99,727	100.00 %	13.37 %
Nash	1	94,970	745,670	94,970	100.00 %	12.74 %
New Hanover	7	225,702	745,671	225,702	100.00 %	30.27 %
Northampton	1	17,471	745,670	17,471	100.00 %	2.34 %
Onslow	3	204,576	745,671	204,576	100.00 %	27.44 %
Orange	4	148,696	745,671	148,696	100.00 %	19.94 %
Pamlico	3	12,276	745,671	12,276	100.00 %	1.65 %
Pasquotank	1	40,568	745,670	40,568	100.00 %	5.44 %
Pender	3	60,203	745,671	27,018	44.88 %	3.62 %
	7	60,203	745,671	33,185	55.12 %	4.45 %
Perquimans	1	13,005	745,670	13,005	100.00 %	1.74 %
Person	4	39,097	745,671	39,097	100.00 %	5.24 %
Pitt	1	170,243	745,670	77,713	45.65 %	10.42 %
	3	170,243	745,671	92,530	54.35 %	12.41 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

Printed 10/25/2021 [G20-CntyDist]

# County - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Polk	11	19,328	745,671	19,328	100.00 %	2.59 %
Randolph	8	144,171	745,671	144,171	100.00 %	19.33 %
Richmond	14	42,946	745,671	42,946	100.00 %	5.76 %
Robeson	14	116,530	745,671	116,530	100.00 %	15.63 %
Rockingham	4	91,096	745,671	40,554	44.52 %	5.44 %
	5	91,096	745,670	50,542	55.48 %	6.78 %
Rowan	8	146,875	745,671	146,875	100.00 %	19.70 %
Rutherford	10	64,444	745,670	60,186	93.39 %	8.07 %
	11	64,444	745,671	4,258	6.61 %	0.57 %
Sampson	7	59,036	745,671	59,036	100.00 %	7.92 %
Scotland	14	34,174	745,671	34,174	100.00 %	4.58 %
Stanly	9	62,504	745,670	62,504	100.00 %	8.38 %
Stokes	5	44,520	745,670	44,520	100.00 %	5.97 %
Surry	5	71,359	745,670	71,359	100.00 %	9.57 %
Swain	11	14,117	745,671	14,117	100.00 %	1.89 %
Transylvania	11	32,986	745,671	32,986	100.00 %	4.42 %
Tyrrell	3	3,245	745,671	3,245	100.00 %	0.44 %
Union	9	238,267	745,670	238,267	100.00 %	31.95 %
Vance	1	42,578	745,670	42,578	100.00 %	5.71 %
Wake	2	1,129,410	745,670	745,670	66.02 %	100.00 %
	13	1,129,410	745,671	383,740	33.98 %	51.46 %
Warren	1	18,642	745,670	18,642	100.00 %	2.50 %
Washington	1	11,003	745,670	11,003	100.00 %	1.48 %
Watauga	5	54,086	745,670	54,086	100.00 %	7.25 %
Wayne	1	117,333	745,670	17,695	15.08 %	2.37 %
	7	117,333	745,671	99,638	84.92 %	13.36 %
Wilkes	5	65,969	745,670	65,969	100.00 %	8.85 %
Wilson	1	78,784	745,670	78,784	100.00 %	10.57 %
Yadkin	5	37,214	745,670	37,214	100.00 %	4.99 %
Yancey	11	18,470	745,671	18,470	100.00 %	2.48 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>10,439,388</b>		

Number of split counties: 14

Display: all counties

## District - County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
1	Bertie	745,670	17,934	17,934	2.41 %	100.00 %
	Chowan	745,670	13,708	13,708	1.84 %	100.00 %
	Edgecombe	745,670	48,900	48,900	6.56 %	100.00 %
	Franklin	745,670	68,573	68,573	9.20 %	100.00 %
	Gates	745,670	10,478	10,478	1.41 %	100.00 %
	Granville	745,670	60,992	60,992	8.18 %	100.00 %
	Greene	745,670	20,451	20,451	2.74 %	100.00 %
	Halifax	745,670	48,622	48,622	6.52 %	100.00 %
	Hertford	745,670	21,552	21,552	2.89 %	100.00 %
	Martin	745,670	22,031	22,031	2.95 %	100.00 %
	Nash	745,670	94,970	94,970	12.74 %	100.00 %
	Northampton	745,670	17,471	17,471	2.34 %	100.00 %
	Pasquotank	745,670	40,568	40,568	5.44 %	100.00 %
	Perquimans	745,670	13,005	13,005	1.74 %	100.00 %
	Pitt	745,670	170,243	77,713	10.42 %	45.65 %
	Vance	745,670	42,578	42,578	5.71 %	100.00 %
	Warren	745,670	18,642	18,642	2.50 %	100.00 %
	Washington	745,670	11,003	11,003	1.48 %	100.00 %
	Wayne	745,670	117,333	17,695	2.37 %	15.08 %
	Wilson	745,670	78,784	78,784	10.57 %	100.00 %
2	Wake	745,670	1,129,410	745,670	100.00 %	66.02 %
3	Beaufort	745,671	44,652	44,652	5.99 %	100.00 %
	Camden	745,671	10,355	10,355	1.39 %	100.00 %
	Carteret	745,671	67,686	67,686	9.08 %	100.00 %
	Craven	745,671	100,720	100,720	13.51 %	100.00 %
	Currituck	745,671	28,100	28,100	3.77 %	100.00 %
	Dare	745,671	36,915	36,915	4.95 %	100.00 %
	Duplin	745,671	48,715	48,715	6.53 %	100.00 %
	Hyde	745,671	4,589	4,589	0.62 %	100.00 %
	Jones	745,671	9,172	9,172	1.23 %	100.00 %
	Lenoir	745,671	55,122	55,122	7.39 %	100.00 %
	Onslow	745,671	204,576	204,576	27.44 %	100.00 %
	Pamlico	745,671	12,276	12,276	1.65 %	100.00 %
	Pender	745,671	60,203	27,018	3.62 %	44.88 %
	Pitt	745,671	170,243	92,530	12.41 %	54.35 %
	Tyrrell	745,671	3,245	3,245	0.44 %	100.00 %
4	Alamance	745,671	171,415	171,415	22.99 %	100.00 %
	Caswell	745,671	22,736	22,736	3.05 %	100.00 %
	Durham	745,671	324,833	323,173	43.34 %	99.49 %
	Orange	745,671	148,696	148,696	19.94 %	100.00 %
	Person	745,671	39,097	39,097	5.24 %	100.00 %
	Rockingham	745,671	91,096	40,554	5.44 %	44.52 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

[G20-DistCnty] - Generated 10/25/2021

## District - County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
5	Alexander	745,670	36,444	36,444	4.89 %	100.00 %
	Alleghany	745,670	10,888	10,888	1.46 %	100.00 %
	Ashe	745,670	26,577	26,577	3.56 %	100.00 %
	Avery	745,670	17,806	17,806	2.39 %	100.00 %
	Burke	745,670	87,570	71,394	9.57 %	81.53 %
	Caldwell	745,670	80,652	80,652	10.82 %	100.00 %
	Forsyth	745,670	382,590	178,219	23.90 %	46.58 %
	Rockingham	745,670	91,096	50,542	6.78 %	55.48 %
	Stokes	745,670	44,520	44,520	5.97 %	100.00 %
	Surry	745,670	71,359	71,359	9.57 %	100.00 %
	Watauga	745,670	54,086	54,086	7.25 %	100.00 %
	Wilkes	745,670	65,969	65,969	8.85 %	100.00 %
	Yadkin	745,670	37,214	37,214	4.99 %	100.00 %
6	Forsyth	745,670	382,590	204,371	27.41 %	53.42 %
	Guilford	745,670	541,299	541,299	72.59 %	100.00 %
7	Bladen	745,671	29,606	11,928	1.60 %	40.29 %
	Brunswick	745,671	136,693	136,693	18.33 %	100.00 %
	Columbus	745,671	50,623	50,623	6.79 %	100.00 %
	Johnston	745,671	215,999	128,866	17.28 %	59.66 %
	New Hanover	745,671	225,702	225,702	30.27 %	100.00 %
	Pender	745,671	60,203	33,185	4.45 %	55.12 %
	Sampson	745,671	59,036	59,036	7.92 %	100.00 %
	Wayne	745,671	117,333	99,638	13.36 %	84.92 %
8	Cabarrus	745,671	225,804	150,716	20.21 %	66.75 %
	Davidson	745,671	168,930	168,930	22.65 %	100.00 %
	Davie	745,671	42,712	42,712	5.73 %	100.00 %
	Iredell	745,671	186,693	92,267	12.37 %	49.42 %
	Randolph	745,671	144,171	144,171	19.33 %	100.00 %
	Rowan	745,671	146,875	146,875	19.70 %	100.00 %
9	Cabarrus	745,670	225,804	75,088	10.07 %	33.25 %
	Mecklenburg	745,670	1,115,482	369,811	49.59 %	33.15 %
	Stanly	745,670	62,504	62,504	8.38 %	100.00 %
	Union	745,670	238,267	238,267	31.95 %	100.00 %
10	Burke	745,670	87,570	16,176	2.17 %	18.47 %
	Catawba	745,670	160,610	160,610	21.54 %	100.00 %
	Cleveland	745,670	99,519	99,519	13.35 %	100.00 %
	Gaston	745,670	227,943	227,943	30.57 %	100.00 %
	Iredell	745,670	186,693	94,426	12.66 %	50.58 %
	Lincoln	745,670	86,810	86,810	11.64 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford	745,670	64,444	60,186	8.07 %	93.39 %

## District - County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
11	Buncombe	745,671	269,452	269,452	36.14 %	100.00 %
	Cherokee	745,671	28,774	28,774	3.86 %	100.00 %
	Clay	745,671	11,089	11,089	1.49 %	100.00 %
	Graham	745,671	8,030	8,030	1.08 %	100.00 %
	Haywood	745,671	62,089	62,089	8.33 %	100.00 %
	Henderson	745,671	116,281	116,281	15.59 %	100.00 %
	Jackson	745,671	43,109	43,109	5.78 %	100.00 %
	Macon	745,671	37,014	37,014	4.96 %	100.00 %
	Madison	745,671	21,193	21,193	2.84 %	100.00 %
	McDowell	745,671	44,578	44,578	5.98 %	100.00 %
	Mitchell	745,671	14,903	14,903	2.00 %	100.00 %
	Polk	745,671	19,328	19,328	2.59 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford	745,671	64,444	4,258	0.57 %	6.61 %
	Swain	745,671	14,117	14,117	1.89 %	100.00 %
	Transylvania	745,671	32,986	32,986	4.42 %	100.00 %
	Yancey	745,671	18,470	18,470	2.48 %	100.00 %
12	Mecklenburg	745,671	1,115,482	745,671	100.00 %	66.85 %
13	Chatham	745,671	76,285	76,285	10.23 %	100.00 %
	Durham	745,671	324,833	1,660	0.22 %	0.51 %
	Harnett	745,671	133,568	133,568	17.91 %	100.00 %
	Johnston	745,671	215,999	87,133	11.69 %	40.34 %
	Lee	745,671	63,285	63,285	8.49 %	100.00 %
	Wake	745,671	1,129,410	383,740	51.46 %	33.98 %
14	Anson	745,671	22,055	22,055	2.96 %	100.00 %
	Bladen	745,671	29,606	17,678	2.37 %	59.71 %
	Cumberland	745,671	334,728	334,728	44.89 %	100.00 %
	Hoke	745,671	52,082	52,082	6.98 %	100.00 %
	Montgomery	745,671	25,751	25,751	3.45 %	100.00 %
	Moore	745,671	99,727	99,727	13.37 %	100.00 %
	Richmond	745,671	42,946	42,946	5.76 %	100.00 %
	Robeson	745,671	116,530	116,530	15.63 %	100.00 %
	Scotland	745,671	34,174	34,174	4.58 %	100.00 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>10,439,388</b>		

## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Aberdeen	14	8,516	745,671	8,516	100.00 %	1.14 %
Ahoskie	1	4,891	745,670	4,891	100.00 %	0.66 %
Alamance	4	988	745,671	988	100.00 %	0.13 %
Albemarle	9	16,432	745,670	16,432	100.00 %	2.20 %
Alliance	3	733	745,671	733	100.00 %	0.10 %
Andrews	11	1,667	745,671	1,667	100.00 %	0.22 %
Angier	13	5,265	745,671	5,265	100.00 %	0.71 %
Ansonville	14	440	745,671	440	100.00 %	0.06 %
Apex	13	58,780	745,671	58,780	100.00 %	7.88 %
Arapahoe	3	416	745,671	416	100.00 %	0.06 %
Archdale	6	11,907	745,670	380	3.19 %	0.05 %
	8	11,907	745,671	11,527	96.81 %	1.55 %
Archer Lodge	7	4,797	745,671	4,797	100.00 %	0.64 %
Asheboro	8	27,156	745,671	27,156	100.00 %	3.64 %
Asheville	11	94,589	745,671	94,589	100.00 %	12.69 %
Askewville	1	184	745,670	184	100.00 %	0.02 %
Atkinson	7	296	745,671	296	100.00 %	0.04 %
Atlantic Beach	3	1,364	745,671	1,364	100.00 %	0.18 %
Aulander	1	763	745,670	763	100.00 %	0.10 %
Aurora	3	455	745,671	455	100.00 %	0.06 %
Autryville	7	167	745,671	167	100.00 %	0.02 %
Ayden	3	4,977	745,671	4,977	100.00 %	0.67 %
Badin	9	2,024	745,670	2,024	100.00 %	0.27 %
Bailey	1	568	745,670	568	100.00 %	0.08 %
Bakersville	11	450	745,671	450	100.00 %	0.06 %
Bald Head Island	7	268	745,671	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Banner Elk	5	1,049	745,670	1,049	100.00 %	0.14 %
Bath	3	245	745,671	245	100.00 %	0.03 %
Bayboro	3	1,161	745,671	1,161	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bear Grass	1	89	745,670	89	100.00 %	0.01 %
Beaufort	3	4,464	745,671	4,464	100.00 %	0.60 %
Beech Mountain	5	675	745,670	675	100.00 %	0.09 %
Belhaven	3	1,410	745,671	1,410	100.00 %	0.19 %
Belmont	10	15,010	745,670	15,010	100.00 %	2.01 %
Belville	7	2,406	745,671	2,406	100.00 %	0.32 %
Belwood	10	857	745,670	857	100.00 %	0.11 %
Benson	7	3,967	745,671	3,967	100.00 %	0.53 %
	13	3,967	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Bermuda Run	8	3,120	745,671	3,120	100.00 %	0.42 %
Bessemer City	10	5,428	745,670	5,428	100.00 %	0.73 %
Bethania	5	344	745,670	344	100.00 %	0.05 %
Bethel	1	1,373	745,670	1,373	100.00 %	0.18 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Beulaville	3	1,116	745,671	1,116	100.00 %	0.15 %
Biltmore Forest	11	1,409	745,671	1,409	100.00 %	0.19 %
Biscoe	14	1,848	745,671	1,848	100.00 %	0.25 %
Black Creek	1	692	745,670	692	100.00 %	0.09 %
Black Mountain	11	8,426	745,671	8,426	100.00 %	1.13 %
Bladenboro	14	1,648	745,671	1,648	100.00 %	0.22 %
Blowing Rock	5	1,376	745,670	1,376	100.00 %	0.18 %
Boardman	7	166	745,671	166	100.00 %	0.02 %
Bogue	3	695	745,671	695	100.00 %	0.09 %
Boiling Spring Lakes	7	5,943	745,671	5,943	100.00 %	0.80 %
Boiling Springs	10	4,615	745,670	4,615	100.00 %	0.62 %
Bolivia	7	149	745,671	149	100.00 %	0.02 %
Bolton	7	519	745,671	519	100.00 %	0.07 %
Boone	5	19,092	745,670	19,092	100.00 %	2.56 %
Boonville	5	1,185	745,670	1,185	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bostic	10	355	745,670	355	100.00 %	0.05 %
Brevard	11	7,744	745,671	7,744	100.00 %	1.04 %
Bridgeton	3	349	745,671	349	100.00 %	0.05 %
Broadway	13	1,267	745,671	1,267	100.00 %	0.17 %
Brookford	10	442	745,670	442	100.00 %	0.06 %
Brunswick	7	973	745,671	973	100.00 %	0.13 %
Bryson City	11	1,558	745,671	1,558	100.00 %	0.21 %
Bunn	1	327	745,670	327	100.00 %	0.04 %
Burgaw	7	3,088	745,671	3,088	100.00 %	0.41 %
Burlington	4	57,303	745,671	55,481	96.82 %	7.44 %
	6	57,303	745,670	1,822	3.18 %	0.24 %
Burnsville	11	1,614	745,671	1,614	100.00 %	0.22 %
Butner	1	8,397	745,670	8,397	100.00 %	1.13 %
Cajah's Mountain	5	2,722	745,670	2,722	100.00 %	0.37 %
Calabash	7	2,011	745,671	2,011	100.00 %	0.27 %
Calypso	3	327	745,671	327	100.00 %	0.04 %
Cameron	14	244	745,671	244	100.00 %	0.03 %
Candor	14	813	745,671	813	100.00 %	0.11 %
Canton	11	4,422	745,671	4,422	100.00 %	0.59 %
Cape Carteret	3	2,224	745,671	2,224	100.00 %	0.30 %
Carolina Beach	7	6,564	745,671	6,564	100.00 %	0.88 %
Carolina Shores	7	4,588	745,671	4,588	100.00 %	0.62 %
Carrboro	4	21,295	745,671	21,295	100.00 %	2.86 %
Carthage	14	2,775	745,671	2,775	100.00 %	0.37 %
Cary	2	174,721	745,670	6,689	3.83 %	0.90 %
	13	174,721	745,671	168,032	96.17 %	22.53 %
Casar	10	305	745,670	305	100.00 %	0.04 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Castalia	1	264	745,670	264	100.00 %	0.04 %
Caswell Beach	7	395	745,671	395	100.00 %	0.05 %
Catawba	10	702	745,670	702	100.00 %	0.09 %
Cedar Point	3	1,764	745,671	1,764	100.00 %	0.24 %
Cedar Rock	5	301	745,670	301	100.00 %	0.04 %
Cerro Gordo	7	131	745,671	131	100.00 %	0.02 %
Chadbourn	7	1,574	745,671	1,574	100.00 %	0.21 %
Chapel Hill	4	61,960	745,671	61,960	100.00 %	8.31 %
Charlotte	9	874,579	745,670	297,095	33.97 %	39.84 %
	12	874,579	745,671	577,484	66.03 %	77.44 %
Cherryville	10	6,078	745,670	6,078	100.00 %	0.82 %
Chimney Rock Village	11	140	745,671	140	100.00 %	0.02 %
China Grove	8	4,434	745,671	4,434	100.00 %	0.59 %
Chocowinity	3	722	745,671	722	100.00 %	0.10 %
Claremont	10	1,692	745,670	1,692	100.00 %	0.23 %
Clarkton	7	614	745,671	614	100.00 %	0.08 %
Clayton	2	26,307	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	7	26,307	745,671	4,268	16.22 %	0.57 %
	13	26,307	745,671	22,039	83.78 %	2.96 %
Clemmons	5	21,163	745,670	21,163	100.00 %	2.84 %
Cleveland	8	846	745,671	846	100.00 %	0.11 %
Clinton	7	8,383	745,671	8,383	100.00 %	1.12 %
Clyde	11	1,368	745,671	1,368	100.00 %	0.18 %
Coats	13	2,155	745,671	2,155	100.00 %	0.29 %
Cofield	1	267	745,670	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Colerain	1	217	745,670	217	100.00 %	0.03 %
Columbia	3	610	745,671	610	100.00 %	0.08 %
Columbus	11	1,060	745,671	1,060	100.00 %	0.14 %
Como	1	67	745,670	67	100.00 %	0.01 %
Concord	8	105,240	745,671	80,520	76.51 %	10.80 %
	9	105,240	745,670	24,720	23.49 %	3.32 %
Conetoe	1	198	745,670	198	100.00 %	0.03 %
Connelly Springs	5	1,529	745,670	1,529	100.00 %	0.21 %
Conover	10	8,421	745,670	8,421	100.00 %	1.13 %
Conway	1	752	745,670	752	100.00 %	0.10 %
Cooleemee	8	940	745,671	940	100.00 %	0.13 %
Cornelius	12	31,412	745,671	31,412	100.00 %	4.21 %
Cove City	3	378	745,671	378	100.00 %	0.05 %
Cramerton	10	5,296	745,670	5,296	100.00 %	0.71 %
Creedmoor	1	4,866	745,670	4,866	100.00 %	0.65 %
Creswell	1	207	745,670	207	100.00 %	0.03 %
Crossnore	5	143	745,670	143	100.00 %	0.02 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Dallas	10	5,927	745,670	5,927	100.00 %	0.79 %
Danbury	5	189	745,670	189	100.00 %	0.03 %
Davidson	8	15,106	745,671	378	2.50 %	0.05 %
	12	15,106	745,671	14,728	97.50 %	1.98 %
Dellview	10	6	745,670	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Denton	8	1,494	745,671	1,494	100.00 %	0.20 %
Dillsboro	11	213	745,671	213	100.00 %	0.03 %
Dobbins Heights	14	687	745,671	687	100.00 %	0.09 %
Dobson	5	1,462	745,670	1,462	100.00 %	0.20 %
Dortches	1	1,082	745,670	1,082	100.00 %	0.15 %
Dover	3	349	745,671	349	100.00 %	0.05 %
Drexel	5	1,760	745,670	1,760	100.00 %	0.24 %
Dublin	14	267	745,671	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Duck	3	742	745,671	742	100.00 %	0.10 %
Dunn	13	8,446	745,671	8,446	100.00 %	1.13 %
Durham	2	283,506	745,670	269	0.09 %	0.04 %
	4	283,506	745,671	281,683	99.36 %	37.78 %
	13	283,506	745,671	1,554	0.55 %	0.21 %
Earl	10	198	745,670	198	100.00 %	0.03 %
East Arcadia	7	418	745,671	418	100.00 %	0.06 %
East Bend	5	634	745,670	634	100.00 %	0.09 %
East Laurinburg	14	234	745,671	234	100.00 %	0.03 %
Eastover	14	3,656	745,671	3,656	100.00 %	0.49 %
East Spencer	8	1,567	745,671	1,567	100.00 %	0.21 %
Eden	4	15,421	745,671	3,158	20.48 %	0.42 %
	5	15,421	745,670	12,263	79.52 %	1.64 %
Edenton	1	4,460	745,670	4,460	100.00 %	0.60 %
Elizabeth City	1	18,631	745,670	18,593	99.80 %	2.49 %
	3	18,631	745,671	38	0.20 %	0.01 %
Elizabethtown	7	3,296	745,671	1,481	44.93 %	0.20 %
	14	3,296	745,671	1,815	55.07 %	0.24 %
Elkin	5	4,122	745,670	4,122	100.00 %	0.55 %
Elk Park	5	542	745,670	542	100.00 %	0.07 %
Ellenboro	10	723	745,670	723	100.00 %	0.10 %
Ellerbe	14	864	745,671	864	100.00 %	0.12 %
Elm City	1	1,218	745,670	1,218	100.00 %	0.16 %
Elon	4	11,336	745,671	11,336	100.00 %	1.52 %
Emerald Isle	3	3,847	745,671	3,847	100.00 %	0.52 %
Enfield	1	1,865	745,670	1,865	100.00 %	0.25 %
Erwin	13	4,542	745,671	4,542	100.00 %	0.61 %
Eureka	1	214	745,670	175	81.78 %	0.02 %
	7	214	745,671	39	18.22 %	0.01 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Everetts	1	150	745,670	150	100.00 %	0.02 %
Fair Bluff	7	709	745,671	709	100.00 %	0.10 %
Fairmont	14	2,191	745,671	2,191	100.00 %	0.29 %
Fairview	9	3,456	745,670	3,456	100.00 %	0.46 %
Faison	3	784	745,671	784	100.00 %	0.11 %
	7	784	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Faith	8	819	745,671	819	100.00 %	0.11 %
Falcon	7	324	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	14	324	745,671	324	100.00 %	0.04 %
Falkland	1	47	745,670	47	100.00 %	0.01 %
Fallston	10	627	745,670	627	100.00 %	0.08 %
Farmville	1	4,461	745,670	4,461	100.00 %	0.60 %
Fayetteville	14	208,501	745,671	208,501	100.00 %	27.96 %
Flat Rock	11	3,486	745,671	3,486	100.00 %	0.47 %
Fletcher	11	7,987	745,671	7,987	100.00 %	1.07 %
Fontana Dam	11	13	745,671	13	100.00 %	0.00 %
Forest City	10	7,377	745,670	7,377	100.00 %	0.99 %
Forest Hills	11	303	745,671	303	100.00 %	0.04 %
Fountain	1	385	745,670	385	100.00 %	0.05 %
Four Oaks	7	2,158	745,671	2,158	100.00 %	0.29 %
Foxfire	14	1,288	745,671	1,288	100.00 %	0.17 %
Franklin	11	4,175	745,671	4,175	100.00 %	0.56 %
Franklinton	1	2,456	745,670	2,456	100.00 %	0.33 %
Franklinville	8	1,197	745,671	1,197	100.00 %	0.16 %
Fremont	7	1,196	745,671	1,196	100.00 %	0.16 %
Fuquay-Varina	2	34,152	745,670	1,373	4.02 %	0.18 %
	13	34,152	745,671	32,779	95.98 %	4.40 %
Gamewell	5	3,702	745,670	3,702	100.00 %	0.50 %
Garland	7	595	745,671	595	100.00 %	0.08 %
Garner	2	31,159	745,670	31,159	100.00 %	4.18 %
Garysburg	1	904	745,670	904	100.00 %	0.12 %
Gaston	1	1,008	745,670	1,008	100.00 %	0.14 %
Gastonia	10	80,411	745,670	80,411	100.00 %	10.78 %
Gatesville	1	267	745,670	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Gibson	14	449	745,671	449	100.00 %	0.06 %
Gibsonville	4	8,920	745,671	4,278	47.96 %	0.57 %
	6	8,920	745,670	4,642	52.04 %	0.62 %
Glen Alpine	5	1,529	745,670	1,152	75.34 %	0.15 %
	10	1,529	745,670	377	24.66 %	0.05 %
Godwin	14	128	745,671	128	100.00 %	0.02 %
Goldsboro	1	33,657	745,670	6,282	18.66 %	0.84 %
	7	33,657	745,671	27,375	81.34 %	3.67 %

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[G20-MuniDist] - Generated 10/25/2021

# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Goldston	13	234	745,671	234	100.00 %	0.03 %
Graham	4	17,157	745,671	17,157	100.00 %	2.30 %
Grandfather Village	5	95	745,670	95	100.00 %	0.01 %
Granite Falls	5	4,965	745,670	4,965	100.00 %	0.67 %
Granite Quarry	8	2,984	745,671	2,984	100.00 %	0.40 %
Grantsboro	3	692	745,671	692	100.00 %	0.09 %
Greenevers	3	567	745,671	567	100.00 %	0.08 %
Green Level	4	3,152	745,671	3,152	100.00 %	0.42 %
Greensboro	6	299,035	745,670	299,035	100.00 %	40.10 %
Greenville	1	87,521	745,670	45,905	52.45 %	6.16 %
	3	87,521	745,671	41,616	47.55 %	5.58 %
Grifton	3	2,448	745,671	2,448	100.00 %	0.33 %
Grimesland	3	386	745,671	386	100.00 %	0.05 %
Grover	10	802	745,670	802	100.00 %	0.11 %
Halifax	1	170	745,670	170	100.00 %	0.02 %
Hamilton	1	306	745,670	306	100.00 %	0.04 %
Hamlet	14	6,025	745,671	6,025	100.00 %	0.81 %
Harmony	10	543	745,670	543	100.00 %	0.07 %
Harrells	3	160	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	7	160	745,671	160	100.00 %	0.02 %
Harrellsville	1	85	745,670	85	100.00 %	0.01 %
Harrisburg	9	18,967	745,670	18,967	100.00 %	2.54 %
Hassell	1	49	745,670	49	100.00 %	0.01 %
Havelock	3	16,621	745,671	16,621	100.00 %	2.23 %
Haw River	4	2,252	745,671	2,252	100.00 %	0.30 %
Hayesville	11	461	745,671	461	100.00 %	0.06 %
Hemby Bridge	9	1,614	745,670	1,614	100.00 %	0.22 %
Henderson	1	15,060	745,670	15,060	100.00 %	2.02 %
Hendersonville	11	15,137	745,671	15,137	100.00 %	2.03 %
Hertford	1	1,934	745,670	1,934	100.00 %	0.26 %
Hickory	5	43,490	745,670	111	0.26 %	0.01 %
	10	43,490	745,670	43,379	99.74 %	5.82 %
Highlands	11	1,072	745,671	1,072	100.00 %	0.14 %
High Point	6	114,059	745,670	107,405	94.17 %	14.40 %
	8	114,059	745,671	6,654	5.83 %	0.89 %
High Shoals	10	595	745,670	595	100.00 %	0.08 %
Hildebran	5	1,679	745,670	1,679	100.00 %	0.23 %
Hillsborough	4	9,660	745,671	9,660	100.00 %	1.30 %
Hobgood	1	268	745,670	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Hoffman	14	418	745,671	418	100.00 %	0.06 %
Holden Beach	7	921	745,671	921	100.00 %	0.12 %
Holly Ridge	3	4,171	745,671	4,171	100.00 %	0.56 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Holly Springs	2	41,239	745,670	1,675	4.06 %	0.22 %
	13	41,239	745,671	39,564	95.94 %	5.31 %
Hookerton	1	413	745,670	413	100.00 %	0.06 %
Hope Mills	14	17,808	745,671	17,808	100.00 %	2.39 %
Hot Springs	11	520	745,671	520	100.00 %	0.07 %
Hudson	5	3,780	745,670	3,780	100.00 %	0.51 %
Huntersville	12	61,376	745,671	61,376	100.00 %	8.23 %
Indian Beach	3	223	745,671	223	100.00 %	0.03 %
Indian Trail	9	39,997	745,670	39,997	100.00 %	5.36 %
Jackson	1	430	745,670	430	100.00 %	0.06 %
Jacksonville	3	72,723	745,671	72,723	100.00 %	9.75 %
Jamestown	6	3,668	745,670	3,668	100.00 %	0.49 %
Jamesville	1	424	745,670	424	100.00 %	0.06 %
Jefferson	5	1,622	745,670	1,622	100.00 %	0.22 %
Jonesville	5	2,308	745,670	2,308	100.00 %	0.31 %
Kannapolis	8	53,114	745,671	53,114	100.00 %	7.12 %
Kelford	1	203	745,670	203	100.00 %	0.03 %
Kenansville	3	770	745,671	770	100.00 %	0.10 %
Kenly	1	1,491	745,670	198	13.28 %	0.03 %
	7	1,491	745,671	1,293	86.72 %	0.17 %
Kernersville	6	26,449	745,670	26,449	100.00 %	3.55 %
Kill Devil Hills	3	7,656	745,671	7,656	100.00 %	1.03 %
King	5	7,197	745,670	7,197	100.00 %	0.97 %
Kings Mountain	10	11,142	745,670	11,142	100.00 %	1.49 %
Kingstown	10	656	745,670	656	100.00 %	0.09 %
Kinston	3	19,900	745,671	19,900	100.00 %	2.67 %
Kittrell	1	132	745,670	132	100.00 %	0.02 %
Kitty Hawk	3	3,689	745,671	3,689	100.00 %	0.49 %
Knightdale	2	19,435	745,670	19,435	100.00 %	2.61 %
Kure Beach	7	2,191	745,671	2,191	100.00 %	0.29 %
La Grange	3	2,595	745,671	2,595	100.00 %	0.35 %
Lake Lure	11	1,365	745,671	1,365	100.00 %	0.18 %
Lake Park	9	3,269	745,670	3,269	100.00 %	0.44 %
Lake Santeetlah	11	38	745,671	38	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lake Waccamaw	7	1,296	745,671	1,296	100.00 %	0.17 %
Landis	8	3,690	745,671	3,690	100.00 %	0.49 %
Lansing	5	126	745,670	126	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lasker	1	64	745,670	64	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lattimore	10	406	745,670	406	100.00 %	0.05 %
Laurel Park	11	2,250	745,671	2,250	100.00 %	0.30 %
Laurinburg	14	14,978	745,671	14,978	100.00 %	2.01 %
Lawndale	10	570	745,670	570	100.00 %	0.08 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Leggett	1	37	745,670	37	100.00 %	0.00 %
Leland	7	22,908	745,671	22,908	100.00 %	3.07 %
Lenoir	5	18,352	745,670	18,352	100.00 %	2.46 %
Lewiston Woodville	1	426	745,670	426	100.00 %	0.06 %
Lewisville	5	13,381	745,670	13,381	100.00 %	1.79 %
Lexington	8	19,632	745,671	19,632	100.00 %	2.63 %
Liberty	8	2,655	745,671	2,655	100.00 %	0.36 %
Lilesville	14	395	745,671	395	100.00 %	0.05 %
Lillington	13	4,735	745,671	4,735	100.00 %	0.63 %
Lincolnton	10	11,091	745,670	11,091	100.00 %	1.49 %
Linden	14	136	745,671	136	100.00 %	0.02 %
Littleton	1	559	745,670	559	100.00 %	0.07 %
Locust	9	4,537	745,670	4,537	100.00 %	0.61 %
Long View	5	5,088	745,670	735	14.45 %	0.10 %
	10	5,088	745,670	4,353	85.55 %	0.58 %
Louisburg	1	3,064	745,670	3,064	100.00 %	0.41 %
Love Valley	10	154	745,670	154	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lowell	10	3,654	745,670	3,654	100.00 %	0.49 %
Lucama	1	1,036	745,670	1,036	100.00 %	0.14 %
Lumber Bridge	14	82	745,671	82	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lumberton	14	19,025	745,671	19,025	100.00 %	2.55 %
McAdenville	10	890	745,670	890	100.00 %	0.12 %
Macclesfield	1	413	745,670	413	100.00 %	0.06 %
McDonald	14	94	745,671	94	100.00 %	0.01 %
McFarlan	14	94	745,671	94	100.00 %	0.01 %
Macon	1	110	745,670	110	100.00 %	0.01 %
Madison	5	2,129	745,670	2,129	100.00 %	0.29 %
Maggie Valley	11	1,687	745,671	1,687	100.00 %	0.23 %
Magnolia	3	831	745,671	831	100.00 %	0.11 %
Maiden	10	3,736	745,670	3,736	100.00 %	0.50 %
Manteo	3	1,600	745,671	1,600	100.00 %	0.21 %
Marietta	14	111	745,671	111	100.00 %	0.01 %
Marion	11	7,717	745,671	7,717	100.00 %	1.03 %
Marshall	11	777	745,671	777	100.00 %	0.10 %
Mars Hill	11	2,007	745,671	2,007	100.00 %	0.27 %
Marshville	9	2,522	745,670	2,522	100.00 %	0.34 %
Marvin	9	6,358	745,670	6,358	100.00 %	0.85 %
Matthews	9	29,435	745,670	29,435	100.00 %	3.95 %
Maxton	14	2,110	745,671	2,110	100.00 %	0.28 %
Mayodan	5	2,418	745,670	2,418	100.00 %	0.32 %
Maysville	3	818	745,671	818	100.00 %	0.11 %
Mebane	4	17,797	745,671	17,797	100.00 %	2.39 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Mesic	3	144	745,671	144	100.00 %	0.02 %
Micro	7	458	745,671	458	100.00 %	0.06 %
Middleburg	1	101	745,670	101	100.00 %	0.01 %
Middlesex	1	912	745,670	912	100.00 %	0.12 %
Midland	9	4,684	745,670	4,684	100.00 %	0.63 %
Midway	8	4,742	745,671	4,742	100.00 %	0.64 %
Mills River	11	7,078	745,671	7,078	100.00 %	0.95 %
Milton	4	155	745,671	155	100.00 %	0.02 %
Mineral Springs	9	3,159	745,670	3,159	100.00 %	0.42 %
Minnesott Beach	3	530	745,671	530	100.00 %	0.07 %
Mint Hill	9	26,450	745,670	26,450	100.00 %	3.55 %
Misenheimer	9	650	745,670	650	100.00 %	0.09 %
Mocksville	8	5,900	745,671	5,900	100.00 %	0.79 %
Momeyer	1	277	745,670	277	100.00 %	0.04 %
Monroe	9	34,562	745,670	34,562	100.00 %	4.64 %
Montreat	11	901	745,671	901	100.00 %	0.12 %
Mooresboro	10	293	745,670	293	100.00 %	0.04 %
Mooresville	8	50,193	745,671	50,193	100.00 %	6.73 %
Morehead City	3	9,556	745,671	9,556	100.00 %	1.28 %
Morganton	5	17,474	745,670	16,963	97.08 %	2.27 %
	10	17,474	745,670	511	2.92 %	0.07 %
Morrisville	4	29,630	745,671	207	0.70 %	0.03 %
	13	29,630	745,671	29,423	99.30 %	3.95 %
Morven	14	329	745,671	329	100.00 %	0.04 %
Mount Airy	5	10,676	745,670	10,676	100.00 %	1.43 %
Mount Gilead	14	1,171	745,671	1,171	100.00 %	0.16 %
Mount Holly	10	17,703	745,670	17,703	100.00 %	2.37 %
Mount Olive	3	4,198	745,671	5	0.12 %	0.00 %
	7	4,198	745,671	4,193	99.88 %	0.56 %
Mount Pleasant	8	1,671	745,671	1,666	99.70 %	0.22 %
	9	1,671	745,670	5	0.30 %	0.00 %
Murfreesboro	1	2,619	745,670	2,619	100.00 %	0.35 %
Murphy	11	1,608	745,671	1,608	100.00 %	0.22 %
Nags Head	3	3,168	745,671	3,168	100.00 %	0.42 %
Nashville	1	5,632	745,670	5,632	100.00 %	0.76 %
Navassa	7	1,367	745,671	1,367	100.00 %	0.18 %
New Bern	3	31,291	745,671	31,291	100.00 %	4.20 %
Newland	5	715	745,670	715	100.00 %	0.10 %
New London	9	607	745,670	607	100.00 %	0.08 %
Newport	3	4,364	745,671	4,364	100.00 %	0.59 %
Newton	10	13,148	745,670	13,148	100.00 %	1.76 %
Newton Grove	7	585	745,671	585	100.00 %	0.08 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Norlina	1	920	745,670	920	100.00 %	0.12 %
Norman	14	100	745,671	100	100.00 %	0.01 %
North Topsail Beach	3	1,005	745,671	1,005	100.00 %	0.13 %
Northwest	7	703	745,671	703	100.00 %	0.09 %
North Wilkesboro	5	4,382	745,670	4,382	100.00 %	0.59 %
Norwood	9	2,367	745,670	2,367	100.00 %	0.32 %
Oakboro	9	2,128	745,670	2,128	100.00 %	0.29 %
Oak City	1	266	745,670	266	100.00 %	0.04 %
Oak Island	7	8,396	745,671	8,396	100.00 %	1.13 %
Oak Ridge	6	7,474	745,670	7,474	100.00 %	1.00 %
Ocean Isle Beach	7	867	745,671	867	100.00 %	0.12 %
Old Fort	11	811	745,671	811	100.00 %	0.11 %
Oriental	3	880	745,671	880	100.00 %	0.12 %
Orrum	14	59	745,671	59	100.00 %	0.01 %
Ossipee	4	536	745,671	536	100.00 %	0.07 %
Oxford	1	8,628	745,670	8,628	100.00 %	1.16 %
Pantego	3	164	745,671	164	100.00 %	0.02 %
Parkton	14	504	745,671	504	100.00 %	0.07 %
Parmelee	1	243	745,670	243	100.00 %	0.03 %
Patterson Springs	10	571	745,670	571	100.00 %	0.08 %
Peachland	14	390	745,671	390	100.00 %	0.05 %
Peletier	3	769	745,671	769	100.00 %	0.10 %
Pembroke	14	2,823	745,671	2,823	100.00 %	0.38 %
Pikeville	7	712	745,671	712	100.00 %	0.10 %
Pilot Mountain	5	1,440	745,670	1,440	100.00 %	0.19 %
Pinebluff	14	1,473	745,671	1,473	100.00 %	0.20 %
Pinehurst	14	17,581	745,671	17,581	100.00 %	2.36 %
Pine Knoll Shores	3	1,388	745,671	1,388	100.00 %	0.19 %
Pine Level	7	2,046	745,671	2,046	100.00 %	0.27 %
Pinetops	1	1,200	745,670	1,200	100.00 %	0.16 %
Pineville	12	10,602	745,671	10,602	100.00 %	1.42 %
Pink Hill	3	451	745,671	451	100.00 %	0.06 %
Pittsboro	13	4,537	745,671	4,537	100.00 %	0.61 %
Pleasant Garden	6	5,000	745,670	5,000	100.00 %	0.67 %
Plymouth	1	3,320	745,670	3,320	100.00 %	0.45 %
Polkton	14	2,250	745,671	2,250	100.00 %	0.30 %
Polkville	10	516	745,670	516	100.00 %	0.07 %
Pollocksville	3	268	745,671	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Powellsville	1	189	745,670	189	100.00 %	0.03 %
Princeton	7	1,315	745,671	1,315	100.00 %	0.18 %
Princeville	1	1,254	745,670	1,254	100.00 %	0.17 %
Proctorville	14	121	745,671	121	100.00 %	0.02 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Raeford	14	4,559	745,671	4,559	100.00 %	0.61 %
Raleigh	2	467,665	745,670	460,066	98.38 %	61.70 %
	4	467,665	745,671	1,559	0.33 %	0.21 %
	13	467,665	745,671	6,040	1.29 %	0.81 %
Ramseur	8	1,774	745,671	1,774	100.00 %	0.24 %
Randleman	8	4,595	745,671	4,595	100.00 %	0.62 %
Ranlo	10	4,511	745,670	4,511	100.00 %	0.60 %
Raynham	14	60	745,671	60	100.00 %	0.01 %
Red Cross	9	762	745,670	762	100.00 %	0.10 %
Red Oak	1	3,342	745,670	3,342	100.00 %	0.45 %
Red Springs	14	3,087	745,671	3,087	100.00 %	0.41 %
Reidsville	4	14,583	745,671	14,583	100.00 %	1.96 %
Rennert	14	275	745,671	275	100.00 %	0.04 %
Rhodhiss	5	997	745,670	997	100.00 %	0.13 %
Richfield	9	582	745,670	582	100.00 %	0.08 %
Richlands	3	2,287	745,671	2,287	100.00 %	0.31 %
Rich Square	1	894	745,670	894	100.00 %	0.12 %
River Bend	3	2,902	745,671	2,902	100.00 %	0.39 %
Roanoke Rapids	1	15,229	745,670	15,229	100.00 %	2.04 %
Robbins	14	1,168	745,671	1,168	100.00 %	0.16 %
Robbinsville	11	597	745,671	597	100.00 %	0.08 %
Robersonville	1	1,269	745,670	1,269	100.00 %	0.17 %
Rockingham	14	9,243	745,671	9,243	100.00 %	1.24 %
Rockwell	8	2,302	745,671	2,302	100.00 %	0.31 %
Rocky Mount	1	54,341	745,670	54,341	100.00 %	7.29 %
Rolesville	2	9,475	745,670	9,475	100.00 %	1.27 %
Ronda	5	438	745,670	438	100.00 %	0.06 %
Roper	1	485	745,670	485	100.00 %	0.07 %
Roseboro	7	1,163	745,671	1,163	100.00 %	0.16 %
Rose Hill	3	1,371	745,671	1,371	100.00 %	0.18 %
Rosman	11	701	745,671	701	100.00 %	0.09 %
Rowland	14	885	745,671	885	100.00 %	0.12 %
Roxboro	4	8,134	745,671	8,134	100.00 %	1.09 %
Roxobel	1	187	745,670	187	100.00 %	0.03 %
Rural Hall	5	3,351	745,670	3,351	100.00 %	0.45 %
Ruth	10	347	745,670	347	100.00 %	0.05 %
Rutherford College	5	1,226	745,670	1,226	100.00 %	0.16 %
Rutherfordton	10	3,640	745,670	3,640	100.00 %	0.49 %
St. Helena	7	417	745,671	417	100.00 %	0.06 %
St. James	7	6,529	745,671	6,529	100.00 %	0.88 %
St. Pauls	14	2,045	745,671	2,045	100.00 %	0.27 %
Salemburg	7	457	745,671	457	100.00 %	0.06 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Salisbury	8	35,540	745,671	35,540	100.00 %	4.77 %
Saluda	11	631	745,671	631	100.00 %	0.08 %
Sandy Creek	7	248	745,671	248	100.00 %	0.03 %
Sandyfield	7	430	745,671	430	100.00 %	0.06 %
Sanford	13	30,261	745,671	30,261	100.00 %	4.06 %
Saratoga	1	353	745,670	353	100.00 %	0.05 %
Sawmills	5	5,020	745,670	5,020	100.00 %	0.67 %
Scotland Neck	1	1,640	745,670	1,640	100.00 %	0.22 %
Seaboard	1	542	745,670	542	100.00 %	0.07 %
Seagrove	8	235	745,671	235	100.00 %	0.03 %
Sedalia	6	676	745,670	676	100.00 %	0.09 %
Selma	7	6,317	745,671	6,317	100.00 %	0.85 %
Seven Devils	5	313	745,670	313	100.00 %	0.04 %
Seven Springs	7	55	745,671	55	100.00 %	0.01 %
Severn	1	191	745,670	191	100.00 %	0.03 %
Shallotte	7	4,185	745,671	4,185	100.00 %	0.56 %
Sharpsburg	1	1,697	745,670	1,697	100.00 %	0.23 %
Shelby	10	21,918	745,670	21,918	100.00 %	2.94 %
Siler City	13	7,702	745,671	7,702	100.00 %	1.03 %
Simpson	3	390	745,671	390	100.00 %	0.05 %
Sims	1	275	745,670	275	100.00 %	0.04 %
Smithfield	7	11,292	745,671	11,292	100.00 %	1.51 %
Snow Hill	1	1,481	745,670	1,481	100.00 %	0.20 %
Southern Pines	14	15,545	745,671	15,545	100.00 %	2.08 %
Southern Shores	3	3,090	745,671	3,090	100.00 %	0.41 %
Southport	7	3,971	745,671	3,971	100.00 %	0.53 %
Sparta	5	1,834	745,670	1,834	100.00 %	0.25 %
Speed	1	63	745,670	63	100.00 %	0.01 %
Spencer	8	3,308	745,671	3,308	100.00 %	0.44 %
Spencer Mountain	10	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Spindale	10	4,225	745,670	4,225	100.00 %	0.57 %
Spring Hope	1	1,309	745,670	1,309	100.00 %	0.18 %
Spring Lake	14	11,660	745,671	11,660	100.00 %	1.56 %
Spruce Pine	11	2,194	745,671	2,194	100.00 %	0.29 %
Staley	8	397	745,671	397	100.00 %	0.05 %
Stallings	9	16,112	745,670	16,112	100.00 %	2.16 %
Stanfield	9	1,585	745,670	1,585	100.00 %	0.21 %
Stanley	10	3,963	745,670	3,963	100.00 %	0.53 %
Stantonsburg	1	762	745,670	762	100.00 %	0.10 %
Star	14	806	745,671	806	100.00 %	0.11 %
Statesville	10	28,419	745,670	28,419	100.00 %	3.81 %
Stedman	14	1,277	745,671	1,277	100.00 %	0.17 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

[G20-MuniDist] - Generated 10/25/2021

# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Stem	1	960	745,670	960	100.00 %	0.13 %
Stokesdale	6	5,924	745,670	5,924	100.00 %	0.79 %
Stoneville	5	1,308	745,670	1,308	100.00 %	0.18 %
Stonewall	3	214	745,671	214	100.00 %	0.03 %
Stovall	1	324	745,670	324	100.00 %	0.04 %
Sugar Mountain	5	371	745,670	371	100.00 %	0.05 %
Summerfield	6	10,951	745,670	10,951	100.00 %	1.47 %
Sunset Beach	7	4,175	745,671	4,175	100.00 %	0.56 %
Surf City	3	3,867	745,671	3,867	100.00 %	0.52 %
Swansboro	3	3,744	745,671	3,744	100.00 %	0.50 %
Sweepsonville	4	2,445	745,671	2,445	100.00 %	0.33 %
Sylva	11	2,578	745,671	2,578	100.00 %	0.35 %
Tabor City	7	3,781	745,671	3,781	100.00 %	0.51 %
Tarboro	1	10,721	745,670	10,721	100.00 %	1.44 %
Tar Heel	14	90	745,671	90	100.00 %	0.01 %
Taylorsville	5	2,320	745,670	2,320	100.00 %	0.31 %
Taylortown	14	634	745,671	634	100.00 %	0.09 %
Teachey	3	448	745,671	448	100.00 %	0.06 %
Thomasville	8	27,183	745,671	27,183	100.00 %	3.65 %
Tobaccoville	5	2,578	745,670	2,578	100.00 %	0.35 %
Topsail Beach	3	461	745,671	461	100.00 %	0.06 %
Trenton	3	238	745,671	238	100.00 %	0.03 %
Trent Woods	3	4,074	745,671	4,074	100.00 %	0.55 %
Trinity	8	7,006	745,671	7,006	100.00 %	0.94 %
Troutman	8	3,698	745,671	807	21.82 %	0.11 %
	10	3,698	745,670	2,891	78.18 %	0.39 %
Troy	14	2,850	745,671	2,850	100.00 %	0.38 %
Tryon	11	1,562	745,671	1,562	100.00 %	0.21 %
Turkey	7	213	745,671	213	100.00 %	0.03 %
Unionville	9	6,643	745,670	6,643	100.00 %	0.89 %
Valdese	5	4,689	745,670	4,689	100.00 %	0.63 %
Vanceboro	3	869	745,671	869	100.00 %	0.12 %
Vandemere	3	246	745,671	246	100.00 %	0.03 %
Varnamtown	7	525	745,671	525	100.00 %	0.07 %
Vass	14	952	745,671	952	100.00 %	0.13 %
Waco	10	310	745,670	310	100.00 %	0.04 %
Wade	14	638	745,671	638	100.00 %	0.09 %
Wadesboro	14	5,008	745,671	5,008	100.00 %	0.67 %
Wagram	14	615	745,671	615	100.00 %	0.08 %
Wake Forest	1	47,601	745,670	1,504	3.16 %	0.20 %
	2	47,601	745,670	46,097	96.84 %	6.18 %
Walkertown	6	5,692	745,670	5,692	100.00 %	0.76 %

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[G20-MuniDist] - Generated 10/25/2021

## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Wallace	3	3,413	745,671	3,413	100.00 %	0.46 %
	7	3,413	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Wallburg	8	3,051	745,671	3,051	100.00 %	0.41 %
Walnut Cove	5	1,586	745,670	1,586	100.00 %	0.21 %
Walnut Creek	7	1,084	745,671	1,084	100.00 %	0.15 %
Walstonburg	1	193	745,670	193	100.00 %	0.03 %
Warrenton	1	851	745,670	851	100.00 %	0.11 %
Warsaw	3	2,733	745,671	2,733	100.00 %	0.37 %
Washington	3	9,875	745,671	9,875	100.00 %	1.32 %
Washington Park	3	392	745,671	392	100.00 %	0.05 %
Watha	7	181	745,671	181	100.00 %	0.02 %
Waxhaw	9	20,534	745,670	20,534	100.00 %	2.75 %
Waynesville	11	10,140	745,671	10,140	100.00 %	1.36 %
Weaverville	11	4,567	745,671	4,567	100.00 %	0.61 %
Webster	11	372	745,671	372	100.00 %	0.05 %
Weddington	9	13,181	745,670	13,181	100.00 %	1.77 %
Weldon	1	1,444	745,670	1,444	100.00 %	0.19 %
Wendell	2	9,793	745,670	9,793	100.00 %	1.31 %
Wentworth	4	2,662	745,671	921	34.60 %	0.12 %
	5	2,662	745,670	1,741	65.40 %	0.23 %
Wesley Chapel	9	8,681	745,670	8,681	100.00 %	1.16 %
West Jefferson	5	1,279	745,670	1,279	100.00 %	0.17 %
Whispering Pines	14	4,987	745,671	4,987	100.00 %	0.67 %
Whitakers	1	627	745,670	627	100.00 %	0.08 %
White Lake	7	843	745,671	843	100.00 %	0.11 %
Whiteville	7	4,766	745,671	4,766	100.00 %	0.64 %
Whitsett	6	584	745,670	584	100.00 %	0.08 %
Wilkesboro	5	3,687	745,670	3,687	100.00 %	0.49 %
Williamston	1	5,248	745,670	5,248	100.00 %	0.70 %
Wilmington	7	115,451	745,671	115,451	100.00 %	15.48 %
Wilson	1	47,851	745,670	47,851	100.00 %	6.42 %
Wilson's Mills	7	2,534	745,671	2,534	100.00 %	0.34 %
Windsor	1	3,582	745,670	3,582	100.00 %	0.48 %
Winfall	1	555	745,670	555	100.00 %	0.07 %
Wingate	9	4,055	745,670	4,055	100.00 %	0.54 %
Winston-Salem	5	249,545	745,670	111,539	44.70 %	14.96 %
	6	249,545	745,670	138,006	55.30 %	18.51 %
Winterville	3	10,462	745,671	10,462	100.00 %	1.40 %
Winton	1	629	745,670	629	100.00 %	0.08 %
Woodfin	11	7,936	745,671	7,936	100.00 %	1.06 %
Woodland	1	557	745,670	557	100.00 %	0.07 %
Wrightsville Beach	7	2,473	745,671	2,473	100.00 %	0.33 %

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[G20-MuniDist] - Generated 10/25/2021

## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Yadkinville	5	2,995	745,670	2,995	100.00 %	0.40 %
Yanceyville	4	1,937	745,671	1,937	100.00 %	0.26 %
Youngsville	1	2,016	745,670	2,016	100.00 %	0.27 %
Zebulon	2	6,903	745,670	6,903	100.00 %	0.93 %
	7	6,903	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

Number of split municipalities: 37

Display: all municipalities

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Aberdeen	14	8,516	745,671	8,516	100.00 %	1.14 %
Ahoskie	1	4,891	745,670	4,891	100.00 %	0.66 %
Alamance	4	988	745,671	988	100.00 %	0.13 %
Albemarle	9	16,432	745,670	16,432	100.00 %	2.20 %
Alliance	3	733	745,671	733	100.00 %	0.10 %
Andrews	11	1,667	745,671	1,667	100.00 %	0.22 %
Angier (Harnett)	13	4,709	745,671	4,709	100.00 %	0.63 %
Angier (Wake)	13	556	745,671	556	100.00 %	0.07 %
Ansonville	14	440	745,671	440	100.00 %	0.06 %
Apex	13	58,780	745,671	58,780	100.00 %	7.88 %
Arapahoe	3	416	745,671	416	100.00 %	0.06 %
Archdale (Guilford)	6	380	745,670	380	100.00 %	0.05 %
Archdale (Randolph)	8	11,527	745,671	11,527	100.00 %	1.55 %
Archer Lodge	7	4,797	745,671	4,797	100.00 %	0.64 %
Asheboro	8	27,156	745,671	27,156	100.00 %	3.64 %
Asheville	11	94,589	745,671	94,589	100.00 %	12.69 %
Askewville	1	184	745,670	184	100.00 %	0.02 %
Atkinson	7	296	745,671	296	100.00 %	0.04 %
Atlantic Beach	3	1,364	745,671	1,364	100.00 %	0.18 %
Aulander	1	763	745,670	763	100.00 %	0.10 %
Aurora	3	455	745,671	455	100.00 %	0.06 %
Autryville	7	167	745,671	167	100.00 %	0.02 %
Ayden	3	4,977	745,671	4,977	100.00 %	0.67 %
Badin	9	2,024	745,670	2,024	100.00 %	0.27 %
Bailey	1	568	745,670	568	100.00 %	0.08 %
Bakersville	11	450	745,671	450	100.00 %	0.06 %
Bald Head Island	7	268	745,671	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Banner Elk	5	1,049	745,670	1,049	100.00 %	0.14 %
Bath	3	245	745,671	245	100.00 %	0.03 %
Bayboro	3	1,161	745,671	1,161	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bear Grass	1	89	745,670	89	100.00 %	0.01 %
Beaufort	3	4,464	745,671	4,464	100.00 %	0.60 %
Beech Mountain (Avery)	5	62	745,670	62	100.00 %	0.01 %
Beech Mountain (Watauga)	5	613	745,670	613	100.00 %	0.08 %
Belhaven	3	1,410	745,671	1,410	100.00 %	0.19 %
Belmont	10	15,010	745,670	15,010	100.00 %	2.01 %
Belville	7	2,406	745,671	2,406	100.00 %	0.32 %
Belwood	10	857	745,670	857	100.00 %	0.11 %
Benson (Harnett)	13	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Benson (Johnston)	7	3,967	745,671	3,967	100.00 %	0.53 %
Bermuda Run	8	3,120	745,671	3,120	100.00 %	0.42 %

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Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Bessemer City	10	5,428	745,670	5,428	100.00 %	0.73 %
Bethania	5	344	745,670	344	100.00 %	0.05 %
Bethel	1	1,373	745,670	1,373	100.00 %	0.18 %
Beulaville	3	1,116	745,671	1,116	100.00 %	0.15 %
Biltmore Forest	11	1,409	745,671	1,409	100.00 %	0.19 %
Biscoe	14	1,848	745,671	1,848	100.00 %	0.25 %
Black Creek	1	692	745,670	692	100.00 %	0.09 %
Black Mountain	11	8,426	745,671	8,426	100.00 %	1.13 %
Bladenboro	14	1,648	745,671	1,648	100.00 %	0.22 %
Blowing Rock (Caldwell)	5	91	745,670	91	100.00 %	0.01 %
Blowing Rock (Watauga)	5	1,285	745,670	1,285	100.00 %	0.17 %
Boardman	7	166	745,671	166	100.00 %	0.02 %
Bogue	3	695	745,671	695	100.00 %	0.09 %
Boiling Spring Lakes	7	5,943	745,671	5,943	100.00 %	0.80 %
Boiling Springs	10	4,615	745,670	4,615	100.00 %	0.62 %
Bolivia	7	149	745,671	149	100.00 %	0.02 %
Bolton	7	519	745,671	519	100.00 %	0.07 %
Boone	5	19,092	745,670	19,092	100.00 %	2.56 %
Boonville	5	1,185	745,670	1,185	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bostic	10	355	745,670	355	100.00 %	0.05 %
Brevard	11	7,744	745,671	7,744	100.00 %	1.04 %
Bridgeton	3	349	745,671	349	100.00 %	0.05 %
Broadway (Harnett)	13	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Broadway (Lee)	13	1,267	745,671	1,267	100.00 %	0.17 %
Brookford	10	442	745,670	442	100.00 %	0.06 %
Brunswick	7	973	745,671	973	100.00 %	0.13 %
Bryson City	11	1,558	745,671	1,558	100.00 %	0.21 %
Bunn	1	327	745,670	327	100.00 %	0.04 %
Burgaw	7	3,088	745,671	3,088	100.00 %	0.41 %
Burlington (Alamance)	4	55,481	745,671	55,481	100.00 %	7.44 %
Burlington (Guilford)	6	1,822	745,670	1,822	100.00 %	0.24 %
Burnsville	11	1,614	745,671	1,614	100.00 %	0.22 %
Butner	1	8,397	745,670	8,397	100.00 %	1.13 %
Cajah's Mountain	5	2,722	745,670	2,722	100.00 %	0.37 %
Calabash	7	2,011	745,671	2,011	100.00 %	0.27 %
Calypso	3	327	745,671	327	100.00 %	0.04 %
Cameron	14	244	745,671	244	100.00 %	0.03 %
Candor (Montgomery)	14	813	745,671	813	100.00 %	0.11 %
Candor (Moore)	14	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Canton	11	4,422	745,671	4,422	100.00 %	0.59 %
Cape Carteret	3	2,224	745,671	2,224	100.00 %	0.30 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Carolina Beach	7	6,564	745,671	6,564	100.00 %	0.88 %
Carolina Shores	7	4,588	745,671	4,588	100.00 %	0.62 %
Carrboro	4	21,295	745,671	21,295	100.00 %	2.86 %
Carthage	14	2,775	745,671	2,775	100.00 %	0.37 %
Cary (Chatham)	13	3,709	745,671	3,709	100.00 %	0.50 %
Cary (Wake)	2	171,012	745,670	6,689	3.91 %	0.90 %
	13	171,012	745,671	164,323	96.09 %	22.04 %
Casar	10	305	745,670	305	100.00 %	0.04 %
Castalia	1	264	745,670	264	100.00 %	0.04 %
Caswell Beach	7	395	745,671	395	100.00 %	0.05 %
Catawba	10	702	745,670	702	100.00 %	0.09 %
Cedar Point	3	1,764	745,671	1,764	100.00 %	0.24 %
Cedar Rock	5	301	745,670	301	100.00 %	0.04 %
Cerro Gordo	7	131	745,671	131	100.00 %	0.02 %
Chadbourn	7	1,574	745,671	1,574	100.00 %	0.21 %
Chapel Hill (Durham)	4	2,906	745,671	2,906	100.00 %	0.39 %
Chapel Hill (Orange)	4	59,054	745,671	59,054	100.00 %	7.92 %
Charlotte	9	874,579	745,670	297,095	33.97 %	39.84 %
	12	874,579	745,671	577,484	66.03 %	77.44 %
Cherryville	10	6,078	745,670	6,078	100.00 %	0.82 %
Chimney Rock Village	11	140	745,671	140	100.00 %	0.02 %
China Grove	8	4,434	745,671	4,434	100.00 %	0.59 %
Chocowinity	3	722	745,671	722	100.00 %	0.10 %
Claremont	10	1,692	745,670	1,692	100.00 %	0.23 %
Clarkton	7	614	745,671	614	100.00 %	0.08 %
Clayton (Johnston)	7	26,307	745,671	4,268	16.22 %	0.57 %
	13	26,307	745,671	22,039	83.78 %	2.96 %
Clayton (Wake)	2	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Clemmons	5	21,163	745,670	21,163	100.00 %	2.84 %
Cleveland	8	846	745,671	846	100.00 %	0.11 %
Clinton	7	8,383	745,671	8,383	100.00 %	1.12 %
Clyde	11	1,368	745,671	1,368	100.00 %	0.18 %
Coats	13	2,155	745,671	2,155	100.00 %	0.29 %
Cofield	1	267	745,670	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Colerain	1	217	745,670	217	100.00 %	0.03 %
Columbia	3	610	745,671	610	100.00 %	0.08 %
Columbus	11	1,060	745,671	1,060	100.00 %	0.14 %
Como	1	67	745,670	67	100.00 %	0.01 %
Concord	8	105,240	745,671	80,520	76.51 %	10.80 %
	9	105,240	745,670	24,720	23.49 %	3.32 %
Conetoe	1	198	745,670	198	100.00 %	0.03 %

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# Municipality by County - District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Connelly Springs	5	1,529	745,670	1,529	100.00 %	0.21 %
Conover	10	8,421	745,670	8,421	100.00 %	1.13 %
Conway	1	752	745,670	752	100.00 %	0.10 %
Cooleemee	8	940	745,671	940	100.00 %	0.13 %
Cornelius	12	31,412	745,671	31,412	100.00 %	4.21 %
Cove City	3	378	745,671	378	100.00 %	0.05 %
Cramerton	10	5,296	745,670	5,296	100.00 %	0.71 %
Creedmoor	1	4,866	745,670	4,866	100.00 %	0.65 %
Creswell	1	207	745,670	207	100.00 %	0.03 %
Crossnore	5	143	745,670	143	100.00 %	0.02 %
Dallas	10	5,927	745,670	5,927	100.00 %	0.79 %
Danbury	5	189	745,670	189	100.00 %	0.03 %
Davidson (Iredell)	8	378	745,671	378	100.00 %	0.05 %
Davidson (Mecklenburg)	12	14,728	745,671	14,728	100.00 %	1.98 %
Dellview	10	6	745,670	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Denton	8	1,494	745,671	1,494	100.00 %	0.20 %
Dillsboro	11	213	745,671	213	100.00 %	0.03 %
Dobbins Heights	14	687	745,671	687	100.00 %	0.09 %
Dobson	5	1,462	745,670	1,462	100.00 %	0.20 %
Dortches	1	1,082	745,670	1,082	100.00 %	0.15 %
Dover	3	349	745,671	349	100.00 %	0.05 %
Drexel	5	1,760	745,670	1,760	100.00 %	0.24 %
Dublin	14	267	745,671	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Duck	3	742	745,671	742	100.00 %	0.10 %
Dunn	13	8,446	745,671	8,446	100.00 %	1.13 %
Durham (Durham)	4	283,093	745,671	281,539	99.45 %	37.76 %
	13	283,093	745,671	1,554	0.55 %	0.21 %
Durham (Orange)	4	144	745,671	144	100.00 %	0.02 %
Durham (Wake)	2	269	745,670	269	100.00 %	0.04 %
	13	269	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Earl	10	198	745,670	198	100.00 %	0.03 %
East Arcadia	7	418	745,671	418	100.00 %	0.06 %
East Bend	5	634	745,670	634	100.00 %	0.09 %
East Laurinburg	14	234	745,671	234	100.00 %	0.03 %
East Spencer	8	1,567	745,671	1,567	100.00 %	0.21 %
Eastover	14	3,656	745,671	3,656	100.00 %	0.49 %
Eden	4	15,421	745,671	3,158	20.48 %	0.42 %
	5	15,421	745,670	12,263	79.52 %	1.64 %
Edenton	1	4,460	745,670	4,460	100.00 %	0.60 %
Elizabeth City (Camden)	3	38	745,671	38	100.00 %	0.01 %
Elizabeth City (Pasquotank)	1	18,593	745,670	18,593	100.00 %	2.49 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Elizabethtown	7	3,296	745,671	1,481	44.93 %	0.20 %
	14	3,296	745,671	1,815	55.07 %	0.24 %
Elk Park	5	542	745,670	542	100.00 %	0.07 %
Elkin (Surry)	5	4,049	745,670	4,049	100.00 %	0.54 %
Elkin (Wilkes)	5	73	745,670	73	100.00 %	0.01 %
Ellenboro	10	723	745,670	723	100.00 %	0.10 %
Ellerbe	14	864	745,671	864	100.00 %	0.12 %
Elm City (Nash)	1	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Elm City (Wilson)	1	1,218	745,670	1,218	100.00 %	0.16 %
Elon	4	11,336	745,671	11,336	100.00 %	1.52 %
Emerald Isle	3	3,847	745,671	3,847	100.00 %	0.52 %
Enfield	1	1,865	745,670	1,865	100.00 %	0.25 %
Erwin	13	4,542	745,671	4,542	100.00 %	0.61 %
Eureka	1	214	745,670	175	81.78 %	0.02 %
	7	214	745,671	39	18.22 %	0.01 %
Everetts	1	150	745,670	150	100.00 %	0.02 %
Fair Bluff	7	709	745,671	709	100.00 %	0.10 %
Fairmont	14	2,191	745,671	2,191	100.00 %	0.29 %
Fairview	9	3,456	745,670	3,456	100.00 %	0.46 %
Faison (Duplin)	3	784	745,671	784	100.00 %	0.11 %
Faison (Sampson)	7	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Faith	8	819	745,671	819	100.00 %	0.11 %
Falcon (Cumberland)	14	324	745,671	324	100.00 %	0.04 %
Falcon (Sampson)	7	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Falkland	1	47	745,670	47	100.00 %	0.01 %
Fallston	10	627	745,670	627	100.00 %	0.08 %
Farmville	1	4,461	745,670	4,461	100.00 %	0.60 %
Fayetteville	14	208,501	745,671	208,501	100.00 %	27.96 %
Flat Rock	11	3,486	745,671	3,486	100.00 %	0.47 %
Fletcher	11	7,987	745,671	7,987	100.00 %	1.07 %
Fontana Dam	11	13	745,671	13	100.00 %	0.00 %
Forest City	10	7,377	745,670	7,377	100.00 %	0.99 %
Forest Hills	11	303	745,671	303	100.00 %	0.04 %
Fountain	1	385	745,670	385	100.00 %	0.05 %
Four Oaks	7	2,158	745,671	2,158	100.00 %	0.29 %
Foxfire	14	1,288	745,671	1,288	100.00 %	0.17 %
Franklin	11	4,175	745,671	4,175	100.00 %	0.56 %
Franklinton	1	2,456	745,670	2,456	100.00 %	0.33 %
Franklinville	8	1,197	745,671	1,197	100.00 %	0.16 %
Fremont	7	1,196	745,671	1,196	100.00 %	0.16 %
Fuquay-Varina (Harnett)	13	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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Fuquay-Varina (Wake)	2	34,152	745,670	1,373	4.02 %	0.18 %
	13	34,152	745,671	32,779	95.98 %	4.40 %
Gamewell	5	3,702	745,670	3,702	100.00 %	0.50 %
Garland	7	595	745,671	595	100.00 %	0.08 %
Garner	2	31,159	745,670	31,159	100.00 %	4.18 %
Garysburg	1	904	745,670	904	100.00 %	0.12 %
Gaston	1	1,008	745,670	1,008	100.00 %	0.14 %
Gastonia	10	80,411	745,670	80,411	100.00 %	10.78 %
Gatesville	1	267	745,670	267	100.00 %	0.04 %
Gibson	14	449	745,671	449	100.00 %	0.06 %
Gibsonville (Alamance)	4	4,278	745,671	4,278	100.00 %	0.57 %
Gibsonville (Guilford)	6	4,642	745,670	4,642	100.00 %	0.62 %
Glen Alpine	5	1,529	745,670	1,152	75.34 %	0.15 %
	10	1,529	745,670	377	24.66 %	0.05 %
Godwin	14	128	745,671	128	100.00 %	0.02 %
Goldsboro	1	33,657	745,670	6,282	18.66 %	0.84 %
	7	33,657	745,671	27,375	81.34 %	3.67 %
Goldston	13	234	745,671	234	100.00 %	0.03 %
Graham	4	17,157	745,671	17,157	100.00 %	2.30 %
Grandfather Village	5	95	745,670	95	100.00 %	0.01 %
Granite Falls	5	4,965	745,670	4,965	100.00 %	0.67 %
Granite Quarry	8	2,984	745,671	2,984	100.00 %	0.40 %
Grantsboro	3	692	745,671	692	100.00 %	0.09 %
Green Level	4	3,152	745,671	3,152	100.00 %	0.42 %
Greenevers	3	567	745,671	567	100.00 %	0.08 %
Greensboro	6	299,035	745,670	299,035	100.00 %	40.10 %
Greenville	1	87,521	745,670	45,905	52.45 %	6.16 %
	3	87,521	745,671	41,616	47.55 %	5.58 %
Grifton (Lenoir)	3	147	745,671	147	100.00 %	0.02 %
Grifton (Pitt)	3	2,301	745,671	2,301	100.00 %	0.31 %
Grimesland	3	386	745,671	386	100.00 %	0.05 %
Grover	10	802	745,670	802	100.00 %	0.11 %
Halifax	1	170	745,670	170	100.00 %	0.02 %
Hamilton	1	306	745,670	306	100.00 %	0.04 %
Hamlet	14	6,025	745,671	6,025	100.00 %	0.81 %
Harmony	10	543	745,670	543	100.00 %	0.07 %
Harrells (Duplin)	3	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Harrells (Sampson)	7	160	745,671	160	100.00 %	0.02 %
Harrellsville	1	85	745,670	85	100.00 %	0.01 %
Harrisburg	9	18,967	745,670	18,967	100.00 %	2.54 %
Hassell	1	49	745,670	49	100.00 %	0.01 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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Havelock	3	16,621	745,671	16,621	100.00 %	2.23 %
Haw River	4	2,252	745,671	2,252	100.00 %	0.30 %
Hayesville	11	461	745,671	461	100.00 %	0.06 %
Hemby Bridge	9	1,614	745,670	1,614	100.00 %	0.22 %
Henderson	1	15,060	745,670	15,060	100.00 %	2.02 %
Hendersonville	11	15,137	745,671	15,137	100.00 %	2.03 %
Hertford	1	1,934	745,670	1,934	100.00 %	0.26 %
Hickory (Burke)	5	79	745,670	79	100.00 %	0.01 %
Hickory (Caldwell)	5	32	745,670	32	100.00 %	0.00 %
Hickory (Catawba)	10	43,379	745,670	43,379	100.00 %	5.82 %
High Point (Davidson)	8	6,646	745,671	6,646	100.00 %	0.89 %
High Point (Forsyth)	6	84	745,670	84	100.00 %	0.01 %
High Point (Guilford)	6	107,321	745,670	107,321	100.00 %	14.39 %
High Point (Randolph)	8	8	745,671	8	100.00 %	0.00 %
High Shoals	10	595	745,670	595	100.00 %	0.08 %
Highlands (Jackson)	11	12	745,671	12	100.00 %	0.00 %
Highlands (Macon)	11	1,060	745,671	1,060	100.00 %	0.14 %
Hildebran	5	1,679	745,670	1,679	100.00 %	0.23 %
Hillsborough	4	9,660	745,671	9,660	100.00 %	1.30 %
Hobgood	1	268	745,670	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Hoffman	14	418	745,671	418	100.00 %	0.06 %
Holden Beach	7	921	745,671	921	100.00 %	0.12 %
Holly Ridge	3	4,171	745,671	4,171	100.00 %	0.56 %
Holly Springs	2	41,239	745,670	1,675	4.06 %	0.22 %
	13	41,239	745,671	39,564	95.94 %	5.31 %
Hookerton	1	413	745,670	413	100.00 %	0.06 %
Hope Mills	14	17,808	745,671	17,808	100.00 %	2.39 %
Hot Springs	11	520	745,671	520	100.00 %	0.07 %
Hudson	5	3,780	745,670	3,780	100.00 %	0.51 %
Huntersville	12	61,376	745,671	61,376	100.00 %	8.23 %
Indian Beach	3	223	745,671	223	100.00 %	0.03 %
Indian Trail	9	39,997	745,670	39,997	100.00 %	5.36 %
Jackson	1	430	745,670	430	100.00 %	0.06 %
Jacksonville	3	72,723	745,671	72,723	100.00 %	9.75 %
Jamestown	6	3,668	745,670	3,668	100.00 %	0.49 %
Jamesville	1	424	745,670	424	100.00 %	0.06 %
Jefferson	5	1,622	745,670	1,622	100.00 %	0.22 %
Jonesville	5	2,308	745,670	2,308	100.00 %	0.31 %
Kannapolis (Cabarrus)	8	42,846	745,671	42,846	100.00 %	5.75 %
Kannapolis (Rowan)	8	10,268	745,671	10,268	100.00 %	1.38 %
Kelford	1	203	745,670	203	100.00 %	0.03 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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Kenansville	3	770	745,671	770	100.00 %	0.10 %
Kenly (Johnston)	7	1,293	745,671	1,293	100.00 %	0.17 %
Kenly (Wilson)	1	198	745,670	198	100.00 %	0.03 %
Kernersville (Forsyth)	6	25,947	745,670	25,947	100.00 %	3.48 %
Kernersville (Guilford)	6	502	745,670	502	100.00 %	0.07 %
Kill Devil Hills	3	7,656	745,671	7,656	100.00 %	1.03 %
King (Forsyth)	5	591	745,670	591	100.00 %	0.08 %
King (Stokes)	5	6,606	745,670	6,606	100.00 %	0.89 %
Kings Mountain (Cleveland)	10	10,032	745,670	10,032	100.00 %	1.35 %
Kings Mountain (Gaston)	10	1,110	745,670	1,110	100.00 %	0.15 %
Kingstown	10	656	745,670	656	100.00 %	0.09 %
Kinston	3	19,900	745,671	19,900	100.00 %	2.67 %
Kittrell	1	132	745,670	132	100.00 %	0.02 %
Kitty Hawk	3	3,689	745,671	3,689	100.00 %	0.49 %
Knightdale	2	19,435	745,670	19,435	100.00 %	2.61 %
Kure Beach	7	2,191	745,671	2,191	100.00 %	0.29 %
La Grange	3	2,595	745,671	2,595	100.00 %	0.35 %
Lake Lure	11	1,365	745,671	1,365	100.00 %	0.18 %
Lake Park	9	3,269	745,670	3,269	100.00 %	0.44 %
Lake Santeetlah	11	38	745,671	38	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lake Waccamaw	7	1,296	745,671	1,296	100.00 %	0.17 %
Landis	8	3,690	745,671	3,690	100.00 %	0.49 %
Lansing	5	126	745,670	126	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lasker	1	64	745,670	64	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lattimore	10	406	745,670	406	100.00 %	0.05 %
Laurel Park	11	2,250	745,671	2,250	100.00 %	0.30 %
Laurinburg	14	14,978	745,671	14,978	100.00 %	2.01 %
Lawndale	10	570	745,670	570	100.00 %	0.08 %
Leggett	1	37	745,670	37	100.00 %	0.00 %
Leland	7	22,908	745,671	22,908	100.00 %	3.07 %
Lenoir	5	18,352	745,670	18,352	100.00 %	2.46 %
Lewiston Woodville	1	426	745,670	426	100.00 %	0.06 %
Lewisville	5	13,381	745,670	13,381	100.00 %	1.79 %
Lexington	8	19,632	745,671	19,632	100.00 %	2.63 %
Liberty	8	2,655	745,671	2,655	100.00 %	0.36 %
Lilesville	14	395	745,671	395	100.00 %	0.05 %
Lillington	13	4,735	745,671	4,735	100.00 %	0.63 %
Lincolnton	10	11,091	745,670	11,091	100.00 %	1.49 %
Linden	14	136	745,671	136	100.00 %	0.02 %
Littleton	1	559	745,670	559	100.00 %	0.07 %
Locust (Cabarrus)	9	541	745,670	541	100.00 %	0.07 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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Locust (Stanly)	9	3,996	745,670	3,996	100.00 %	0.54 %
Long View (Burke)	5	735	745,670	735	100.00 %	0.10 %
Long View (Catawba)	10	4,353	745,670	4,353	100.00 %	0.58 %
Louisburg	1	3,064	745,670	3,064	100.00 %	0.41 %
Love Valley	10	154	745,670	154	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lowell	10	3,654	745,670	3,654	100.00 %	0.49 %
Lucama	1	1,036	745,670	1,036	100.00 %	0.14 %
Lumber Bridge	14	82	745,671	82	100.00 %	0.01 %
Lumberton	14	19,025	745,671	19,025	100.00 %	2.55 %
Macclesfield	1	413	745,670	413	100.00 %	0.06 %
Macon	1	110	745,670	110	100.00 %	0.01 %
Madison	5	2,129	745,670	2,129	100.00 %	0.29 %
Maggie Valley	11	1,687	745,671	1,687	100.00 %	0.23 %
Magnolia	3	831	745,671	831	100.00 %	0.11 %
Maiden (Catawba)	10	3,736	745,670	3,736	100.00 %	0.50 %
Maiden (Lincoln)	10	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Manteo	3	1,600	745,671	1,600	100.00 %	0.21 %
Marietta	14	111	745,671	111	100.00 %	0.01 %
Marion	11	7,717	745,671	7,717	100.00 %	1.03 %
Mars Hill	11	2,007	745,671	2,007	100.00 %	0.27 %
Marshall	11	777	745,671	777	100.00 %	0.10 %
Marshville	9	2,522	745,670	2,522	100.00 %	0.34 %
Marvin	9	6,358	745,670	6,358	100.00 %	0.85 %
Matthews	9	29,435	745,670	29,435	100.00 %	3.95 %
Maxton (Robeson)	14	1,902	745,671	1,902	100.00 %	0.26 %
Maxton (Scotland)	14	208	745,671	208	100.00 %	0.03 %
Mayodan	5	2,418	745,670	2,418	100.00 %	0.32 %
Maysville	3	818	745,671	818	100.00 %	0.11 %
McAdenville	10	890	745,670	890	100.00 %	0.12 %
McDonald	14	94	745,671	94	100.00 %	0.01 %
McFarlan	14	94	745,671	94	100.00 %	0.01 %
Mebane (Alamance)	4	14,626	745,671	14,626	100.00 %	1.96 %
Mebane (Orange)	4	3,171	745,671	3,171	100.00 %	0.43 %
Mesic	3	144	745,671	144	100.00 %	0.02 %
Micro	7	458	745,671	458	100.00 %	0.06 %
Middleburg	1	101	745,670	101	100.00 %	0.01 %
Middlesex	1	912	745,670	912	100.00 %	0.12 %
Midland (Cabarrus)	9	4,684	745,670	4,684	100.00 %	0.63 %
Midland (Mecklenburg)	9	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Midway	8	4,742	745,671	4,742	100.00 %	0.64 %
Mills River	11	7,078	745,671	7,078	100.00 %	0.95 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

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Milton	4	155	745,671	155	100.00 %	0.02 %
Mineral Springs	9	3,159	745,670	3,159	100.00 %	0.42 %
Minnesott Beach	3	530	745,671	530	100.00 %	0.07 %
Mint Hill (Mecklenburg)	9	26,444	745,670	26,444	100.00 %	3.55 %
Mint Hill (Union)	9	6	745,670	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Misenheimer	9	650	745,670	650	100.00 %	0.09 %
Mocksville	8	5,900	745,671	5,900	100.00 %	0.79 %
Momeyer	1	277	745,670	277	100.00 %	0.04 %
Monroe	9	34,562	745,670	34,562	100.00 %	4.64 %
Montreat	11	901	745,671	901	100.00 %	0.12 %
Mooresboro	10	293	745,670	293	100.00 %	0.04 %
Mooresville	8	50,193	745,671	50,193	100.00 %	6.73 %
Morehead City	3	9,556	745,671	9,556	100.00 %	1.28 %
Morganton	5	17,474	745,670	16,963	97.08 %	2.27 %
	10	17,474	745,670	511	2.92 %	0.07 %
Morrisville (Durham)	4	207	745,671	207	100.00 %	0.03 %
Morrisville (Wake)	13	29,423	745,671	29,423	100.00 %	3.95 %
Morven	14	329	745,671	329	100.00 %	0.04 %
Mount Airy	5	10,676	745,670	10,676	100.00 %	1.43 %
Mount Gilead	14	1,171	745,671	1,171	100.00 %	0.16 %
Mount Holly	10	17,703	745,670	17,703	100.00 %	2.37 %
Mount Olive (Duplin)	3	5	745,671	5	100.00 %	0.00 %
Mount Olive (Wayne)	7	4,193	745,671	4,193	100.00 %	0.56 %
Mount Pleasant	8	1,671	745,671	1,666	99.70 %	0.22 %
	9	1,671	745,670	5	0.30 %	0.00 %
Murfreesboro	1	2,619	745,670	2,619	100.00 %	0.35 %
Murphy	11	1,608	745,671	1,608	100.00 %	0.22 %
Nags Head	3	3,168	745,671	3,168	100.00 %	0.42 %
Nashville	1	5,632	745,670	5,632	100.00 %	0.76 %
Navassa	7	1,367	745,671	1,367	100.00 %	0.18 %
New Bern	3	31,291	745,671	31,291	100.00 %	4.20 %
New London	9	607	745,670	607	100.00 %	0.08 %
Newland	5	715	745,670	715	100.00 %	0.10 %
Newport	3	4,364	745,671	4,364	100.00 %	0.59 %
Newton	10	13,148	745,670	13,148	100.00 %	1.76 %
Newton Grove	7	585	745,671	585	100.00 %	0.08 %
Norlina	1	920	745,670	920	100.00 %	0.12 %
Norman	14	100	745,671	100	100.00 %	0.01 %
North Topsail Beach	3	1,005	745,671	1,005	100.00 %	0.13 %
North Wilkesboro	5	4,382	745,670	4,382	100.00 %	0.59 %
Northwest	7	703	745,671	703	100.00 %	0.09 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Norwood	9	2,367	745,670	2,367	100.00 %	0.32 %
Oak City	1	266	745,670	266	100.00 %	0.04 %
Oak Island	7	8,396	745,671	8,396	100.00 %	1.13 %
Oak Ridge	6	7,474	745,670	7,474	100.00 %	1.00 %
Oakboro	9	2,128	745,670	2,128	100.00 %	0.29 %
Ocean Isle Beach	7	867	745,671	867	100.00 %	0.12 %
Old Fort	11	811	745,671	811	100.00 %	0.11 %
Oriental	3	880	745,671	880	100.00 %	0.12 %
Orrum	14	59	745,671	59	100.00 %	0.01 %
Ossipee	4	536	745,671	536	100.00 %	0.07 %
Oxford	1	8,628	745,670	8,628	100.00 %	1.16 %
Pantego	3	164	745,671	164	100.00 %	0.02 %
Parkton	14	504	745,671	504	100.00 %	0.07 %
Parmelee	1	243	745,670	243	100.00 %	0.03 %
Patterson Springs	10	571	745,670	571	100.00 %	0.08 %
Peachland	14	390	745,671	390	100.00 %	0.05 %
Peletier	3	769	745,671	769	100.00 %	0.10 %
Pembroke	14	2,823	745,671	2,823	100.00 %	0.38 %
Pikeville	7	712	745,671	712	100.00 %	0.10 %
Pilot Mountain	5	1,440	745,670	1,440	100.00 %	0.19 %
Pine Knoll Shores	3	1,388	745,671	1,388	100.00 %	0.19 %
Pine Level	7	2,046	745,671	2,046	100.00 %	0.27 %
Pinebluff	14	1,473	745,671	1,473	100.00 %	0.20 %
Pinehurst	14	17,581	745,671	17,581	100.00 %	2.36 %
Pinetops	1	1,200	745,670	1,200	100.00 %	0.16 %
Pineville	12	10,602	745,671	10,602	100.00 %	1.42 %
Pink Hill	3	451	745,671	451	100.00 %	0.06 %
Pittsboro	13	4,537	745,671	4,537	100.00 %	0.61 %
Pleasant Garden	6	5,000	745,670	5,000	100.00 %	0.67 %
Plymouth	1	3,320	745,670	3,320	100.00 %	0.45 %
Polkton	14	2,250	745,671	2,250	100.00 %	0.30 %
Polkville	10	516	745,670	516	100.00 %	0.07 %
Pollocksville	3	268	745,671	268	100.00 %	0.04 %
Powellsville	1	189	745,670	189	100.00 %	0.03 %
Princeton	7	1,315	745,671	1,315	100.00 %	0.18 %
Princeville	1	1,254	745,670	1,254	100.00 %	0.17 %
Proctorville	14	121	745,671	121	100.00 %	0.02 %
Raeford	14	4,559	745,671	4,559	100.00 %	0.61 %
Raleigh (Durham)	4	1,559	745,671	1,559	100.00 %	0.21 %
Raleigh (Wake)	2	466,106	745,670	460,066	98.70 %	61.70 %
	13	466,106	745,671	6,040	1.30 %	0.81 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Ramseur	8	1,774	745,671	1,774	100.00 %	0.24 %
Randleman	8	4,595	745,671	4,595	100.00 %	0.62 %
Ranlo	10	4,511	745,670	4,511	100.00 %	0.60 %
Raynham	14	60	745,671	60	100.00 %	0.01 %
Red Cross	9	762	745,670	762	100.00 %	0.10 %
Red Oak	1	3,342	745,670	3,342	100.00 %	0.45 %
Red Springs (Hoke)	14	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Red Springs (Robeson)	14	3,087	745,671	3,087	100.00 %	0.41 %
Reidsville	4	14,583	745,671	14,583	100.00 %	1.96 %
Rennert	14	275	745,671	275	100.00 %	0.04 %
Rhodhiss (Burke)	5	639	745,670	639	100.00 %	0.09 %
Rhodhiss (Caldwell)	5	358	745,670	358	100.00 %	0.05 %
Rich Square	1	894	745,670	894	100.00 %	0.12 %
Richfield	9	582	745,670	582	100.00 %	0.08 %
Richlands	3	2,287	745,671	2,287	100.00 %	0.31 %
River Bend	3	2,902	745,671	2,902	100.00 %	0.39 %
Roanoke Rapids	1	15,229	745,670	15,229	100.00 %	2.04 %
Robbins	14	1,168	745,671	1,168	100.00 %	0.16 %
Robbinsville	11	597	745,671	597	100.00 %	0.08 %
Robersonville	1	1,269	745,670	1,269	100.00 %	0.17 %
Rockingham	14	9,243	745,671	9,243	100.00 %	1.24 %
Rockwell	8	2,302	745,671	2,302	100.00 %	0.31 %
Rocky Mount (Edgecombe)	1	15,414	745,670	15,414	100.00 %	2.07 %
Rocky Mount (Nash)	1	38,927	745,670	38,927	100.00 %	5.22 %
Rolesville	2	9,475	745,670	9,475	100.00 %	1.27 %
Ronda	5	438	745,670	438	100.00 %	0.06 %
Roper	1	485	745,670	485	100.00 %	0.07 %
Rose Hill	3	1,371	745,671	1,371	100.00 %	0.18 %
Roseboro	7	1,163	745,671	1,163	100.00 %	0.16 %
Rosman	11	701	745,671	701	100.00 %	0.09 %
Rowland	14	885	745,671	885	100.00 %	0.12 %
Roxboro	4	8,134	745,671	8,134	100.00 %	1.09 %
Roxobel	1	187	745,670	187	100.00 %	0.03 %
Rural Hall	5	3,351	745,670	3,351	100.00 %	0.45 %
Ruth	10	347	745,670	347	100.00 %	0.05 %
Rutherford College (Burke)	5	1,226	745,670	1,226	100.00 %	0.16 %
Rutherford College (Caldwell)	5	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Rutherfordton	10	3,640	745,670	3,640	100.00 %	0.49 %
Salemburg	7	457	745,671	457	100.00 %	0.06 %
Salisbury	8	35,540	745,671	35,540	100.00 %	4.77 %
Saluda (Henderson)	11	11	745,671	11	100.00 %	0.00 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

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Saluda (Polk)	11	620	745,671	620	100.00 %	0.08 %
Sandy Creek	7	248	745,671	248	100.00 %	0.03 %
Sandyfield	7	430	745,671	430	100.00 %	0.06 %
Sanford	13	30,261	745,671	30,261	100.00 %	4.06 %
Saratoga	1	353	745,670	353	100.00 %	0.05 %
Sawmills	5	5,020	745,670	5,020	100.00 %	0.67 %
Scotland Neck	1	1,640	745,670	1,640	100.00 %	0.22 %
Seaboard	1	542	745,670	542	100.00 %	0.07 %
Seagrove	8	235	745,671	235	100.00 %	0.03 %
Sedalia	6	676	745,670	676	100.00 %	0.09 %
Selma	7	6,317	745,671	6,317	100.00 %	0.85 %
Seven Devils (Avery)	5	38	745,670	38	100.00 %	0.01 %
Seven Devils (Watauga)	5	275	745,670	275	100.00 %	0.04 %
Seven Springs	7	55	745,671	55	100.00 %	0.01 %
Severn	1	191	745,670	191	100.00 %	0.03 %
Shallotte	7	4,185	745,671	4,185	100.00 %	0.56 %
Sharpsburg (Edgecombe)	1	215	745,670	215	100.00 %	0.03 %
Sharpsburg (Nash)	1	1,061	745,670	1,061	100.00 %	0.14 %
Sharpsburg (Wilson)	1	421	745,670	421	100.00 %	0.06 %
Shelby	10	21,918	745,670	21,918	100.00 %	2.94 %
Siler City	13	7,702	745,671	7,702	100.00 %	1.03 %
Simpson	3	390	745,671	390	100.00 %	0.05 %
Sims	1	275	745,670	275	100.00 %	0.04 %
Smithfield	7	11,292	745,671	11,292	100.00 %	1.51 %
Snow Hill	1	1,481	745,670	1,481	100.00 %	0.20 %
Southern Pines	14	15,545	745,671	15,545	100.00 %	2.08 %
Southern Shores	3	3,090	745,671	3,090	100.00 %	0.41 %
Southport	7	3,971	745,671	3,971	100.00 %	0.53 %
Sparta	5	1,834	745,670	1,834	100.00 %	0.25 %
Speed	1	63	745,670	63	100.00 %	0.01 %
Spencer	8	3,308	745,671	3,308	100.00 %	0.44 %
Spencer Mountain	10	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Spindale	10	4,225	745,670	4,225	100.00 %	0.57 %
Spring Hope	1	1,309	745,670	1,309	100.00 %	0.18 %
Spring Lake	14	11,660	745,671	11,660	100.00 %	1.56 %
Spruce Pine	11	2,194	745,671	2,194	100.00 %	0.29 %
St. Helena	7	417	745,671	417	100.00 %	0.06 %
St. James	7	6,529	745,671	6,529	100.00 %	0.88 %
St. Pauls	14	2,045	745,671	2,045	100.00 %	0.27 %
Staley	8	397	745,671	397	100.00 %	0.05 %
Stallings (Mecklenburg)	9	384	745,670	384	100.00 %	0.05 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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Stallings (Union)	9	15,728	745,670	15,728	100.00 %	2.11 %
Stanfield	9	1,585	745,670	1,585	100.00 %	0.21 %
Stanley	10	3,963	745,670	3,963	100.00 %	0.53 %
Stantonsburg	1	762	745,670	762	100.00 %	0.10 %
Star	14	806	745,671	806	100.00 %	0.11 %
Statesville	10	28,419	745,670	28,419	100.00 %	3.81 %
Stedman	14	1,277	745,671	1,277	100.00 %	0.17 %
Stem	1	960	745,670	960	100.00 %	0.13 %
Stokesdale	6	5,924	745,670	5,924	100.00 %	0.79 %
Stoneville	5	1,308	745,670	1,308	100.00 %	0.18 %
Stonewall	3	214	745,671	214	100.00 %	0.03 %
Stovall	1	324	745,670	324	100.00 %	0.04 %
Sugar Mountain	5	371	745,670	371	100.00 %	0.05 %
Summerfield	6	10,951	745,670	10,951	100.00 %	1.47 %
Sunset Beach	7	4,175	745,671	4,175	100.00 %	0.56 %
Surf City (Onslow)	3	334	745,671	334	100.00 %	0.04 %
Surf City (Pender)	3	3,533	745,671	3,533	100.00 %	0.47 %
Swansboro	3	3,744	745,671	3,744	100.00 %	0.50 %
Sweepsonville	4	2,445	745,671	2,445	100.00 %	0.33 %
Sylva	11	2,578	745,671	2,578	100.00 %	0.35 %
Tabor City	7	3,781	745,671	3,781	100.00 %	0.51 %
Tar Heel	14	90	745,671	90	100.00 %	0.01 %
Tarboro	1	10,721	745,670	10,721	100.00 %	1.44 %
Taylorsville	5	2,320	745,670	2,320	100.00 %	0.31 %
Taylortown	14	634	745,671	634	100.00 %	0.09 %
Teachey	3	448	745,671	448	100.00 %	0.06 %
Thomasville (Davidson)	8	26,662	745,671	26,662	100.00 %	3.58 %
Thomasville (Randolph)	8	521	745,671	521	100.00 %	0.07 %
Tobaccoville (Forsyth)	5	2,578	745,670	2,578	100.00 %	0.35 %
Tobaccoville (Stokes)	5	0	745,670	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Topsail Beach	3	461	745,671	461	100.00 %	0.06 %
Trent Woods	3	4,074	745,671	4,074	100.00 %	0.55 %
Trenton	3	238	745,671	238	100.00 %	0.03 %
Trinity	8	7,006	745,671	7,006	100.00 %	0.94 %
Troutman	8	3,698	745,671	807	21.82 %	0.11 %
	10	3,698	745,670	2,891	78.18 %	0.39 %
Troy	14	2,850	745,671	2,850	100.00 %	0.38 %
Tryon	11	1,562	745,671	1,562	100.00 %	0.21 %
Turkey	7	213	745,671	213	100.00 %	0.03 %
Unionville	9	6,643	745,670	6,643	100.00 %	0.89 %
Valdese	5	4,689	745,670	4,689	100.00 %	0.63 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

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Vanceboro	3	869	745,671	869	100.00 %	0.12 %
Vandemere	3	246	745,671	246	100.00 %	0.03 %
Varnamtown	7	525	745,671	525	100.00 %	0.07 %
Vass	14	952	745,671	952	100.00 %	0.13 %
Waco	10	310	745,670	310	100.00 %	0.04 %
Wade	14	638	745,671	638	100.00 %	0.09 %
Wadesboro	14	5,008	745,671	5,008	100.00 %	0.67 %
Wagram	14	615	745,671	615	100.00 %	0.08 %
Wake Forest (Franklin)	1	1,504	745,670	1,504	100.00 %	0.20 %
Wake Forest (Wake)	2	46,097	745,670	46,097	100.00 %	6.18 %
Walkertown	6	5,692	745,670	5,692	100.00 %	0.76 %
Wallace (Duplin)	3	3,413	745,671	3,413	100.00 %	0.46 %
Wallace (Pender)	7	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Wallburg	8	3,051	745,671	3,051	100.00 %	0.41 %
Walnut Cove	5	1,586	745,670	1,586	100.00 %	0.21 %
Walnut Creek	7	1,084	745,671	1,084	100.00 %	0.15 %
Walstonburg	1	193	745,670	193	100.00 %	0.03 %
Warrenton	1	851	745,670	851	100.00 %	0.11 %
Warsaw	3	2,733	745,671	2,733	100.00 %	0.37 %
Washington	3	9,875	745,671	9,875	100.00 %	1.32 %
Washington Park	3	392	745,671	392	100.00 %	0.05 %
Watha	7	181	745,671	181	100.00 %	0.02 %
Waxhaw	9	20,534	745,670	20,534	100.00 %	2.75 %
Waynesville	11	10,140	745,671	10,140	100.00 %	1.36 %
Weaverville	11	4,567	745,671	4,567	100.00 %	0.61 %
Webster	11	372	745,671	372	100.00 %	0.05 %
Weddington (Mecklenburg)	9	5	745,670	5	100.00 %	0.00 %
Weddington (Union)	9	13,176	745,670	13,176	100.00 %	1.77 %
Weldon	1	1,444	745,670	1,444	100.00 %	0.19 %
Wendell	2	9,793	745,670	9,793	100.00 %	1.31 %
Wentworth	4	2,662	745,671	921	34.60 %	0.12 %
	5	2,662	745,670	1,741	65.40 %	0.23 %
Wesley Chapel	9	8,681	745,670	8,681	100.00 %	1.16 %
West Jefferson	5	1,279	745,670	1,279	100.00 %	0.17 %
Whispering Pines	14	4,987	745,671	4,987	100.00 %	0.67 %
Whitakers (Edgecombe)	1	290	745,670	290	100.00 %	0.04 %
Whitakers (Nash)	1	337	745,670	337	100.00 %	0.05 %
White Lake	7	843	745,671	843	100.00 %	0.11 %
Whiteville	7	4,766	745,671	4,766	100.00 %	0.64 %
Whitsett	6	584	745,670	584	100.00 %	0.08 %
Wilkesboro	5	3,687	745,670	3,687	100.00 %	0.49 %

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Williamston	1	5,248	745,670	5,248	100.00 %	0.70 %
Wilmington	7	115,451	745,671	115,451	100.00 %	15.48 %
Wilson	1	47,851	745,670	47,851	100.00 %	6.42 %
Wilson's Mills	7	2,534	745,671	2,534	100.00 %	0.34 %
Windsor	1	3,582	745,670	3,582	100.00 %	0.48 %
Winfall	1	555	745,670	555	100.00 %	0.07 %
Wingate	9	4,055	745,670	4,055	100.00 %	0.54 %
Winston-Salem	5	249,545	745,670	111,539	44.70 %	14.96 %
	6	249,545	745,670	138,006	55.30 %	18.51 %
Winterville	3	10,462	745,671	10,462	100.00 %	1.40 %
Winton	1	629	745,670	629	100.00 %	0.08 %
Woodfin	11	7,936	745,671	7,936	100.00 %	1.06 %
Woodland	1	557	745,670	557	100.00 %	0.07 %
Wrightsville Beach	7	2,473	745,671	2,473	100.00 %	0.33 %
Yadkinville	5	2,995	745,670	2,995	100.00 %	0.40 %
Yanceyville	4	1,937	745,671	1,937	100.00 %	0.26 %
Youngsville	1	2,016	745,670	2,016	100.00 %	0.27 %
Zebulon (Johnston)	7	0	745,671	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Zebulon (Wake)	2	6,903	745,670	6,903	100.00 %	0.93 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

Number of municipalities split within counties: 20

Display: all municipalities

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
1	Ahoskie	745,670	4,891	4,891	0.66 %	100.00 %
	Askewville	745,670	184	184	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Aulander	745,670	763	763	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Bailey	745,670	568	568	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Bear Grass	745,670	89	89	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Bethel	745,670	1,373	1,373	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Black Creek	745,670	692	692	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Bunn	745,670	327	327	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Butner	745,670	8,397	8,397	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Castalia	745,670	264	264	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Cofield	745,670	267	267	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Colerain	745,670	217	217	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Como	745,670	67	67	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Conetoe	745,670	198	198	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Conway	745,670	752	752	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Creedmoor	745,670	4,866	4,866	0.65 %	100.00 %
	Creswell	745,670	207	207	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Dortches	745,670	1,082	1,082	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Edenton	745,670	4,460	4,460	0.60 %	100.00 %
	Elizabeth City (Pasquotank)	745,670	18,593	18,593	2.49 %	100.00 %
	Elm City (Nash)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Elm City (Wilson)	745,670	1,218	1,218	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Enfield	745,670	1,865	1,865	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Eureka	745,670	214	175	0.02 %	81.78 %
	Everetts	745,670	150	150	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Falkland	745,670	47	47	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Farmville	745,670	4,461	4,461	0.60 %	100.00 %
	Fountain	745,670	385	385	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Franklinton	745,670	2,456	2,456	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Garysburg	745,670	904	904	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Gaston	745,670	1,008	1,008	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Gatesville	745,670	267	267	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Goldsboro	745,670	33,657	6,282	0.84 %	18.66 %
	Greenville	745,670	87,521	45,905	6.16 %	52.45 %
	Halifax	745,670	170	170	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Hamilton	745,670	306	306	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Harrellsville	745,670	85	85	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Hassell	745,670	49	49	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Henderson	745,670	15,060	15,060	2.02 %	100.00 %
	Hertford	745,670	1,934	1,934	0.26 %	100.00 %
	Hobgood	745,670	268	268	0.04 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
1	Hookerton	745,670	413	413	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Jackson	745,670	430	430	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Jamesville	745,670	424	424	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Kelford	745,670	203	203	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Kenly (Wilson)	745,670	198	198	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Kittrell	745,670	132	132	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Lasker	745,670	64	64	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Leggett	745,670	37	37	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Lewiston Woodville	745,670	426	426	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Littleton	745,670	559	559	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Louisburg	745,670	3,064	3,064	0.41 %	100.00 %
	Lucama	745,670	1,036	1,036	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Macclesfield	745,670	413	413	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Macon	745,670	110	110	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Middleburg	745,670	101	101	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Middlesex	745,670	912	912	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Momeyer	745,670	277	277	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Murfreesboro	745,670	2,619	2,619	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Nashville	745,670	5,632	5,632	0.76 %	100.00 %
	Norlina	745,670	920	920	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Oak City	745,670	266	266	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Oxford	745,670	8,628	8,628	1.16 %	100.00 %
	Parmele	745,670	243	243	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Pinetops	745,670	1,200	1,200	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Plymouth	745,670	3,320	3,320	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Powellsville	745,670	189	189	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Princeville	745,670	1,254	1,254	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Red Oak	745,670	3,342	3,342	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Rich Square	745,670	894	894	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Roanoke Rapids	745,670	15,229	15,229	2.04 %	100.00 %
	Robersonville	745,670	1,269	1,269	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Rocky Mount (Edgecombe)	745,670	15,414	15,414	2.07 %	100.00 %
	Rocky Mount (Nash)	745,670	38,927	38,927	5.22 %	100.00 %
	Roper	745,670	485	485	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Roxobel	745,670	187	187	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Saratoga	745,670	353	353	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Scotland Neck	745,670	1,640	1,640	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Seaboard	745,670	542	542	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Severn	745,670	191	191	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Sharpsburg (Edgecombe)	745,670	215	215	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Sharpsburg (Nash)	745,670	1,061	1,061	0.14 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
1	Sharpsburg (Wilson)	745,670	421	421	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Sims	745,670	275	275	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Snow Hill	745,670	1,481	1,481	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Speed	745,670	63	63	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Spring Hope	745,670	1,309	1,309	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Stantonsburg	745,670	762	762	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Stem	745,670	960	960	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Stovall	745,670	324	324	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Tarboro	745,670	10,721	10,721	1.44 %	100.00 %
	Wake Forest (Franklin)	745,670	1,504	1,504	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Walstonburg	745,670	193	193	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Warrenton	745,670	851	851	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Weldon	745,670	1,444	1,444	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Whitakers (Edgecombe)	745,670	290	290	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Whitakers (Nash)	745,670	337	337	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Williamston	745,670	5,248	5,248	0.70 %	100.00 %
	Wilson	745,670	47,851	47,851	6.42 %	100.00 %
	Windsor	745,670	3,582	3,582	0.48 %	100.00 %
	Winfall	745,670	555	555	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Winton	745,670	629	629	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Woodland	745,670	557	557	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Youngsville	745,670	2,016	2,016	0.27 %	100.00 %
2	Cary (Wake)	745,670	171,012	6,689	0.90 %	3.91 %
	Clayton (Wake)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Durham (Wake)	745,670	269	269	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Fuquay-Varina (Wake)	745,670	34,152	1,373	0.18 %	4.02 %
	Garner	745,670	31,159	31,159	4.18 %	100.00 %
	Holly Springs	745,670	41,239	1,675	0.22 %	4.06 %
	Knightdale	745,670	19,435	19,435	2.61 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	745,670	466,106	460,066	61.70 %	98.70 %
	Rolesville	745,670	9,475	9,475	1.27 %	100.00 %
	Wake Forest (Wake)	745,670	46,097	46,097	6.18 %	100.00 %
	Wendell	745,670	9,793	9,793	1.31 %	100.00 %
	Zebulon (Wake)	745,670	6,903	6,903	0.93 %	100.00 %
3	Alliance	745,671	733	733	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Arapahoe	745,671	416	416	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Atlantic Beach	745,671	1,364	1,364	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Aurora	745,671	455	455	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Ayden	745,671	4,977	4,977	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Bath	745,671	245	245	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Bayboro	745,671	1,161	1,161	0.16 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
3	Beaufort	745,671	4,464	4,464	0.60 %	100.00 %
	Belhaven	745,671	1,410	1,410	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Beulaville	745,671	1,116	1,116	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Bogue	745,671	695	695	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Bridgeton	745,671	349	349	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Calypso	745,671	327	327	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Cape Carteret	745,671	2,224	2,224	0.30 %	100.00 %
	Cedar Point	745,671	1,764	1,764	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Chocowinity	745,671	722	722	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Columbia	745,671	610	610	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Cove City	745,671	378	378	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Dover	745,671	349	349	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Duck	745,671	742	742	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Elizabeth City (Camden)	745,671	38	38	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Emerald Isle	745,671	3,847	3,847	0.52 %	100.00 %
	Faison (Duplin)	745,671	784	784	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Grantsboro	745,671	692	692	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Greenevers	745,671	567	567	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Greenville	745,671	87,521	41,616	5.58 %	47.55 %
	Grifton (Lenoir)	745,671	147	147	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Grifton (Pitt)	745,671	2,301	2,301	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Grimesland	745,671	386	386	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Harrells (Duplin)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Havelock	745,671	16,621	16,621	2.23 %	100.00 %
	Holly Ridge	745,671	4,171	4,171	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Indian Beach	745,671	223	223	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Jacksonville	745,671	72,723	72,723	9.75 %	100.00 %
	Kenansville	745,671	770	770	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Kill Devil Hills	745,671	7,656	7,656	1.03 %	100.00 %
	Kinston	745,671	19,900	19,900	2.67 %	100.00 %
	Kitty Hawk	745,671	3,689	3,689	0.49 %	100.00 %
	La Grange	745,671	2,595	2,595	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Magnolia	745,671	831	831	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Manteo	745,671	1,600	1,600	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Maysville	745,671	818	818	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Mesic	745,671	144	144	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Minnesott Beach	745,671	530	530	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Morehead City	745,671	9,556	9,556	1.28 %	100.00 %
	Mount Olive (Duplin)	745,671	5	5	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Nags Head	745,671	3,168	3,168	0.42 %	100.00 %
	New Bern	745,671	31,291	31,291	4.20 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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3	Newport	745,671	4,364	4,364	0.59 %	100.00 %
	North Topsail Beach	745,671	1,005	1,005	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Oriental	745,671	880	880	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Pantego	745,671	164	164	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Peletier	745,671	769	769	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Pine Knoll Shores	745,671	1,388	1,388	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Pink Hill	745,671	451	451	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Pollocksville	745,671	268	268	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Richlands	745,671	2,287	2,287	0.31 %	100.00 %
	River Bend	745,671	2,902	2,902	0.39 %	100.00 %
	Rose Hill	745,671	1,371	1,371	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Simpson	745,671	390	390	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Southern Shores	745,671	3,090	3,090	0.41 %	100.00 %
	Stonewall	745,671	214	214	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Surf City (Onslow)	745,671	334	334	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Surf City (Pender)	745,671	3,533	3,533	0.47 %	100.00 %
	Swansboro	745,671	3,744	3,744	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Teachey	745,671	448	448	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Topsail Beach	745,671	461	461	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Trent Woods	745,671	4,074	4,074	0.55 %	100.00 %
	Trenton	745,671	238	238	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Vanceboro	745,671	869	869	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Vandemere	745,671	246	246	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Wallace (Duplin)	745,671	3,413	3,413	0.46 %	100.00 %
	Warsaw	745,671	2,733	2,733	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Washington	745,671	9,875	9,875	1.32 %	100.00 %
	Washington Park	745,671	392	392	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Winterville	745,671	10,462	10,462	1.40 %	100.00 %
4	Alamance	745,671	988	988	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Burlington (Alamance)	745,671	55,481	55,481	7.44 %	100.00 %
	Carrboro	745,671	21,295	21,295	2.86 %	100.00 %
	Chapel Hill (Durham)	745,671	2,906	2,906	0.39 %	100.00 %
	Chapel Hill (Orange)	745,671	59,054	59,054	7.92 %	100.00 %
	Durham (Durham)	745,671	283,093	281,539	37.76 %	99.45 %
	Durham (Orange)	745,671	144	144	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Eden	745,671	15,421	3,158	0.42 %	20.48 %
	Elon	745,671	11,336	11,336	1.52 %	100.00 %
	Gibsonville (Alamance)	745,671	4,278	4,278	0.57 %	100.00 %
	Graham	745,671	17,157	17,157	2.30 %	100.00 %
	Green Level	745,671	3,152	3,152	0.42 %	100.00 %
	Haw River	745,671	2,252	2,252	0.30 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
4	Hillsborough	745,671	9,660	9,660	1.30 %	100.00 %
	Mebane (Alamance)	745,671	14,626	14,626	1.96 %	100.00 %
	Mebane (Orange)	745,671	3,171	3,171	0.43 %	100.00 %
	Milton	745,671	155	155	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Morrisville (Durham)	745,671	207	207	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Ossipee	745,671	536	536	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Durham)	745,671	1,559	1,559	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Reidsville	745,671	14,583	14,583	1.96 %	100.00 %
	Roxboro	745,671	8,134	8,134	1.09 %	100.00 %
	Swepsonville	745,671	2,445	2,445	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Wentworth	745,671	2,662	921	0.12 %	34.60 %
	Yanceyville	745,671	1,937	1,937	0.26 %	100.00 %
5	Banner Elk	745,670	1,049	1,049	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Beech Mountain (Avery)	745,670	62	62	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Beech Mountain (Watauga)	745,670	613	613	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Bethania	745,670	344	344	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Blowing Rock (Caldwell)	745,670	91	91	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Blowing Rock (Watauga)	745,670	1,285	1,285	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Boone	745,670	19,092	19,092	2.56 %	100.00 %
	Boonville	745,670	1,185	1,185	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Cajah's Mountain	745,670	2,722	2,722	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Cedar Rock	745,670	301	301	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Clemmons	745,670	21,163	21,163	2.84 %	100.00 %
	Connelly Springs	745,670	1,529	1,529	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Crossnore	745,670	143	143	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Danbury	745,670	189	189	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Dobson	745,670	1,462	1,462	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Drexel	745,670	1,760	1,760	0.24 %	100.00 %
	East Bend	745,670	634	634	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Eden	745,670	15,421	12,263	1.64 %	79.52 %
	Elk Park	745,670	542	542	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Elkin (Surry)	745,670	4,049	4,049	0.54 %	100.00 %
	Elkin (Wilkes)	745,670	73	73	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Gamewell	745,670	3,702	3,702	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Glen Alpine	745,670	1,529	1,152	0.15 %	75.34 %
	Grandfather Village	745,670	95	95	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Granite Falls	745,670	4,965	4,965	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Burke)	745,670	79	79	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Caldwell)	745,670	32	32	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Hildebran	745,670	1,679	1,679	0.23 %	100.00 %
	Hudson	745,670	3,780	3,780	0.51 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
5	Jefferson	745,670	1,622	1,622	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Jonesville	745,670	2,308	2,308	0.31 %	100.00 %
	King (Forsyth)	745,670	591	591	0.08 %	100.00 %
	King (Stokes)	745,670	6,606	6,606	0.89 %	100.00 %
	Lansing	745,670	126	126	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Lenoir	745,670	18,352	18,352	2.46 %	100.00 %
	Lewisville	745,670	13,381	13,381	1.79 %	100.00 %
	Long View (Burke)	745,670	735	735	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Madison	745,670	2,129	2,129	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Mayodan	745,670	2,418	2,418	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Morganton	745,670	17,474	16,963	2.27 %	97.08 %
	Mount Airy	745,670	10,676	10,676	1.43 %	100.00 %
	Newland	745,670	715	715	0.10 %	100.00 %
	North Wilkesboro	745,670	4,382	4,382	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Pilot Mountain	745,670	1,440	1,440	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Rhodhiss (Burke)	745,670	639	639	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Rhodhiss (Caldwell)	745,670	358	358	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Ronda	745,670	438	438	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Rural Hall	745,670	3,351	3,351	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford College (Burke)	745,670	1,226	1,226	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford College (Caldwell)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Sawmills	745,670	5,020	5,020	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Seven Devils (Avery)	745,670	38	38	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Seven Devils (Watauga)	745,670	275	275	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Sparta	745,670	1,834	1,834	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Stoneville	745,670	1,308	1,308	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Sugar Mountain	745,670	371	371	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Taylorsville	745,670	2,320	2,320	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Tobaccoville (Forsyth)	745,670	2,578	2,578	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Tobaccoville (Stokes)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Valdese	745,670	4,689	4,689	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Walnut Cove	745,670	1,586	1,586	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Wentworth	745,670	2,662	1,741	0.23 %	65.40 %
	West Jefferson	745,670	1,279	1,279	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Wilkesboro	745,670	3,687	3,687	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Winston-Salem	745,670	249,545	111,539	14.96 %	44.70 %
	Yadkinville	745,670	2,995	2,995	0.40 %	100.00 %
6	Archdale (Guilford)	745,670	380	380	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Burlington (Guilford)	745,670	1,822	1,822	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Gibsonville (Guilford)	745,670	4,642	4,642	0.62 %	100.00 %
	Greensboro	745,670	299,035	299,035	40.10 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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6	High Point (Forsyth)	745,670	84	84	0.01 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Guilford)	745,670	107,321	107,321	14.39 %	100.00 %
	Jamestown	745,670	3,668	3,668	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Kernersville (Forsyth)	745,670	25,947	25,947	3.48 %	100.00 %
	Kernersville (Guilford)	745,670	502	502	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Oak Ridge	745,670	7,474	7,474	1.00 %	100.00 %
	Pleasant Garden	745,670	5,000	5,000	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Sedalia	745,670	676	676	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Stokesdale	745,670	5,924	5,924	0.79 %	100.00 %
	Summerfield	745,670	10,951	10,951	1.47 %	100.00 %
	Walkertown	745,670	5,692	5,692	0.76 %	100.00 %
	Whitsett	745,670	584	584	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Winston-Salem	745,670	249,545	138,006	18.51 %	55.30 %
7	Archer Lodge	745,671	4,797	4,797	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Atkinson	745,671	296	296	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Autryville	745,671	167	167	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Bald Head Island	745,671	268	268	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Belville	745,671	2,406	2,406	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Benson (Johnston)	745,671	3,967	3,967	0.53 %	100.00 %
	Boardman	745,671	166	166	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Boiling Spring Lakes	745,671	5,943	5,943	0.80 %	100.00 %
	Bolivia	745,671	149	149	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Bolton	745,671	519	519	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Brunswick	745,671	973	973	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Burgaw	745,671	3,088	3,088	0.41 %	100.00 %
	Calabash	745,671	2,011	2,011	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Carolina Beach	745,671	6,564	6,564	0.88 %	100.00 %
	Carolina Shores	745,671	4,588	4,588	0.62 %	100.00 %
	Caswell Beach	745,671	395	395	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Cerro Gordo	745,671	131	131	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Chadbourn	745,671	1,574	1,574	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Clarkton	745,671	614	614	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Clayton (Johnston)	745,671	26,307	4,268	0.57 %	16.22 %
	Clinton	745,671	8,383	8,383	1.12 %	100.00 %
	East Arcadia	745,671	418	418	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Elizabethtown	745,671	3,296	1,481	0.20 %	44.93 %
	Eureka	745,671	214	39	0.01 %	18.22 %
	Fair Bluff	745,671	709	709	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Faison (Sampson)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Falcon (Sampson)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Four Oaks	745,671	2,158	2,158	0.29 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
7	Fremont	745,671	1,196	1,196	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Garland	745,671	595	595	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Goldsboro	745,671	33,657	27,375	3.67 %	81.34 %
	Harrells (Sampson)	745,671	160	160	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Holden Beach	745,671	921	921	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Kenly (Johnston)	745,671	1,293	1,293	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Kure Beach	745,671	2,191	2,191	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Lake Waccamaw	745,671	1,296	1,296	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Leland	745,671	22,908	22,908	3.07 %	100.00 %
	Micro	745,671	458	458	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Mount Olive (Wayne)	745,671	4,193	4,193	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Navassa	745,671	1,367	1,367	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Newton Grove	745,671	585	585	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Northwest	745,671	703	703	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Oak Island	745,671	8,396	8,396	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Ocean Isle Beach	745,671	867	867	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Pikeville	745,671	712	712	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Pine Level	745,671	2,046	2,046	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Princeton	745,671	1,315	1,315	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Roseboro	745,671	1,163	1,163	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Salemburg	745,671	457	457	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Sandy Creek	745,671	248	248	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Sandyfield	745,671	430	430	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Selma	745,671	6,317	6,317	0.85 %	100.00 %
	Seven Springs	745,671	55	55	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Shallotte	745,671	4,185	4,185	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Smithfield	745,671	11,292	11,292	1.51 %	100.00 %
	Southport	745,671	3,971	3,971	0.53 %	100.00 %
	St. Helena	745,671	417	417	0.06 %	100.00 %
	St. James	745,671	6,529	6,529	0.88 %	100.00 %
	Sunset Beach	745,671	4,175	4,175	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Tabor City	745,671	3,781	3,781	0.51 %	100.00 %
	Turkey	745,671	213	213	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Varnamtown	745,671	525	525	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Wallace (Pender)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Walnut Creek	745,671	1,084	1,084	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Watha	745,671	181	181	0.02 %	100.00 %
	White Lake	745,671	843	843	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Whiteville	745,671	4,766	4,766	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Wilmington	745,671	115,451	115,451	15.48 %	100.00 %
	Wilson's Mills	745,671	2,534	2,534	0.34 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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7	Wrightsville Beach	745,671	2,473	2,473	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Zebulon (Johnston)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
8	Archdale (Randolph)	745,671	11,527	11,527	1.55 %	100.00 %
	Asheboro	745,671	27,156	27,156	3.64 %	100.00 %
	Bermuda Run	745,671	3,120	3,120	0.42 %	100.00 %
	China Grove	745,671	4,434	4,434	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Cleveland	745,671	846	846	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Concord	745,671	105,240	80,520	10.80 %	76.51 %
	Cooleemee	745,671	940	940	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Davidson (Iredell)	745,671	378	378	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Denton	745,671	1,494	1,494	0.20 %	100.00 %
	East Spencer	745,671	1,567	1,567	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Faith	745,671	819	819	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Franklinville	745,671	1,197	1,197	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Granite Quarry	745,671	2,984	2,984	0.40 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Davidson)	745,671	6,646	6,646	0.89 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Randolph)	745,671	8	8	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Kannapolis (Cabarrus)	745,671	42,846	42,846	5.75 %	100.00 %
	Kannapolis (Rowan)	745,671	10,268	10,268	1.38 %	100.00 %
	Landis	745,671	3,690	3,690	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Lexington	745,671	19,632	19,632	2.63 %	100.00 %
	Liberty	745,671	2,655	2,655	0.36 %	100.00 %
	Midway	745,671	4,742	4,742	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Mocksville	745,671	5,900	5,900	0.79 %	100.00 %
	Mooresville	745,671	50,193	50,193	6.73 %	100.00 %
	Mount Pleasant	745,671	1,671	1,666	0.22 %	99.70 %
	Ramseur	745,671	1,774	1,774	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Randleman	745,671	4,595	4,595	0.62 %	100.00 %
	Rockwell	745,671	2,302	2,302	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Salisbury	745,671	35,540	35,540	4.77 %	100.00 %
	Seagrove	745,671	235	235	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Spencer	745,671	3,308	3,308	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Staley	745,671	397	397	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Thomasville (Davidson)	745,671	26,662	26,662	3.58 %	100.00 %
	Thomasville (Randolph)	745,671	521	521	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Trinity	745,671	7,006	7,006	0.94 %	100.00 %
	Troutman	745,671	3,698	807	0.11 %	21.82 %
	Wallburg	745,671	3,051	3,051	0.41 %	100.00 %
9	Albemarle	745,670	16,432	16,432	2.20 %	100.00 %
	Badin	745,670	2,024	2,024	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Charlotte	745,670	874,579	297,095	39.84 %	33.97 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
9	Concord	745,670	105,240	24,720	3.32 %	23.49 %
	Fairview	745,670	3,456	3,456	0.46 %	100.00 %
	Harrisburg	745,670	18,967	18,967	2.54 %	100.00 %
	Hemby Bridge	745,670	1,614	1,614	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Indian Trail	745,670	39,997	39,997	5.36 %	100.00 %
	Lake Park	745,670	3,269	3,269	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Locust (Cabarrus)	745,670	541	541	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Locust (Stanly)	745,670	3,996	3,996	0.54 %	100.00 %
	Marshville	745,670	2,522	2,522	0.34 %	100.00 %
	Marvin	745,670	6,358	6,358	0.85 %	100.00 %
	Matthews	745,670	29,435	29,435	3.95 %	100.00 %
	Midland (Cabarrus)	745,670	4,684	4,684	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Midland (Mecklenburg)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Mineral Springs	745,670	3,159	3,159	0.42 %	100.00 %
	Mint Hill (Mecklenburg)	745,670	26,444	26,444	3.55 %	100.00 %
	Mint Hill (Union)	745,670	6	6	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Misenheimer	745,670	650	650	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Monroe	745,670	34,562	34,562	4.64 %	100.00 %
	Mount Pleasant	745,670	1,671	5	0.00 %	0.30 %
	New London	745,670	607	607	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Norwood	745,670	2,367	2,367	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Oakboro	745,670	2,128	2,128	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Red Cross	745,670	762	762	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Richfield	745,670	582	582	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Stallings (Mecklenburg)	745,670	384	384	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Stallings (Union)	745,670	15,728	15,728	2.11 %	100.00 %
	Stanfield	745,670	1,585	1,585	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Unionville	745,670	6,643	6,643	0.89 %	100.00 %
	Waxhaw	745,670	20,534	20,534	2.75 %	100.00 %
	Weddington (Mecklenburg)	745,670	5	5	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Weddington (Union)	745,670	13,176	13,176	1.77 %	100.00 %
	Wesley Chapel	745,670	8,681	8,681	1.16 %	100.00 %
	Wingate	745,670	4,055	4,055	0.54 %	100.00 %
10	Belmont	745,670	15,010	15,010	2.01 %	100.00 %
	Belwood	745,670	857	857	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Bessemer City	745,670	5,428	5,428	0.73 %	100.00 %
	Boiling Springs	745,670	4,615	4,615	0.62 %	100.00 %
	Bostic	745,670	355	355	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Brookford	745,670	442	442	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Casar	745,670	305	305	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Catawba	745,670	702	702	0.09 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
10	Cherryville	745,670	6,078	6,078	0.82 %	100.00 %
	Claremont	745,670	1,692	1,692	0.23 %	100.00 %
	Conover	745,670	8,421	8,421	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Cramerton	745,670	5,296	5,296	0.71 %	100.00 %
	Dallas	745,670	5,927	5,927	0.79 %	100.00 %
	Dellview	745,670	6	6	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Earl	745,670	198	198	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Ellenboro	745,670	723	723	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Fallston	745,670	627	627	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Forest City	745,670	7,377	7,377	0.99 %	100.00 %
	Gastonia	745,670	80,411	80,411	10.78 %	100.00 %
	Glen Alpine	745,670	1,529	377	0.05 %	24.66 %
	Grover	745,670	802	802	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Harmony	745,670	543	543	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Catawba)	745,670	43,379	43,379	5.82 %	100.00 %
	High Shoals	745,670	595	595	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Kings Mountain (Cleveland)	745,670	10,032	10,032	1.35 %	100.00 %
	Kings Mountain (Gaston)	745,670	1,110	1,110	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Kingstown	745,670	656	656	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Lattimore	745,670	406	406	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Lawndale	745,670	570	570	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Lincolnton	745,670	11,091	11,091	1.49 %	100.00 %
	Long View (Catawba)	745,670	4,353	4,353	0.58 %	100.00 %
	Love Valley	745,670	154	154	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Lowell	745,670	3,654	3,654	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Maiden (Catawba)	745,670	3,736	3,736	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Maiden (Lincoln)	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	McAdenville	745,670	890	890	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Moorestown	745,670	293	293	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Morganton	745,670	17,474	511	0.07 %	2.92 %
	Mount Holly	745,670	17,703	17,703	2.37 %	100.00 %
	Newton	745,670	13,148	13,148	1.76 %	100.00 %
	Patterson Springs	745,670	571	571	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Polkville	745,670	516	516	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Ranlo	745,670	4,511	4,511	0.60 %	100.00 %
	Ruth	745,670	347	347	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Rutherfordton	745,670	3,640	3,640	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Shelby	745,670	21,918	21,918	2.94 %	100.00 %
	Spencer Mountain	745,670	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Spindale	745,670	4,225	4,225	0.57 %	100.00 %
	Stanley	745,670	3,963	3,963	0.53 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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10	Statesville	745,670	28,419	28,419	3.81 %	100.00 %
	Troutman	745,670	3,698	2,891	0.39 %	78.18 %
	Waco	745,670	310	310	0.04 %	100.00 %
11	Andrews	745,671	1,667	1,667	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Asheville	745,671	94,589	94,589	12.69 %	100.00 %
	Bakersville	745,671	450	450	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Biltmore Forest	745,671	1,409	1,409	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Black Mountain	745,671	8,426	8,426	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Brevard	745,671	7,744	7,744	1.04 %	100.00 %
	Bryson City	745,671	1,558	1,558	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Burnsville	745,671	1,614	1,614	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Canton	745,671	4,422	4,422	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Chimney Rock Village	745,671	140	140	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Clyde	745,671	1,368	1,368	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Columbus	745,671	1,060	1,060	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Dillsboro	745,671	213	213	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Flat Rock	745,671	3,486	3,486	0.47 %	100.00 %
	Fletcher	745,671	7,987	7,987	1.07 %	100.00 %
	Fontana Dam	745,671	13	13	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Forest Hills	745,671	303	303	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Franklin	745,671	4,175	4,175	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Hayesville	745,671	461	461	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Hendersonville	745,671	15,137	15,137	2.03 %	100.00 %
	Highlands (Jackson)	745,671	12	12	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Highlands (Macon)	745,671	1,060	1,060	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Hot Springs	745,671	520	520	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Lake Lure	745,671	1,365	1,365	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Lake Santeetlah	745,671	38	38	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Laurel Park	745,671	2,250	2,250	0.30 %	100.00 %
	Maggie Valley	745,671	1,687	1,687	0.23 %	100.00 %
	Marion	745,671	7,717	7,717	1.03 %	100.00 %
	Mars Hill	745,671	2,007	2,007	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Marshall	745,671	777	777	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Mills River	745,671	7,078	7,078	0.95 %	100.00 %
	Montreat	745,671	901	901	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Murphy	745,671	1,608	1,608	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Old Fort	745,671	811	811	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Robbinsville	745,671	597	597	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Rosman	745,671	701	701	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Saluda (Henderson)	745,671	11	11	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Saluda (Polk)	745,671	620	620	0.08 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

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11	Spruce Pine	745,671	2,194	2,194	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Sylva	745,671	2,578	2,578	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Tryon	745,671	1,562	1,562	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Waynesville	745,671	10,140	10,140	1.36 %	100.00 %
	Weaverville	745,671	4,567	4,567	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Webster	745,671	372	372	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Woodfin	745,671	7,936	7,936	1.06 %	100.00 %
12	Charlotte	745,671	874,579	577,484	77.44 %	66.03 %
	Cornelius	745,671	31,412	31,412	4.21 %	100.00 %
	Davidson (Mecklenburg)	745,671	14,728	14,728	1.98 %	100.00 %
	Huntersville	745,671	61,376	61,376	8.23 %	100.00 %
	Pineville	745,671	10,602	10,602	1.42 %	100.00 %
13	Angier (Harnett)	745,671	4,709	4,709	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Angier (Wake)	745,671	556	556	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Apex	745,671	58,780	58,780	7.88 %	100.00 %
	Benson (Harnett)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Broadway (Harnett)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Broadway (Lee)	745,671	1,267	1,267	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Cary (Chatham)	745,671	3,709	3,709	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Cary (Wake)	745,671	171,012	164,323	22.04 %	96.09 %
	Clayton (Johnston)	745,671	26,307	22,039	2.96 %	83.78 %
	Coats	745,671	2,155	2,155	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Dunn	745,671	8,446	8,446	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Durham (Durham)	745,671	283,093	1,554	0.21 %	0.55 %
	Durham (Wake)	745,671	269	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Erwin	745,671	4,542	4,542	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Fuquay-Varina (Harnett)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Fuquay-Varina (Wake)	745,671	34,152	32,779	4.40 %	95.98 %
	Goldston	745,671	234	234	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Holly Springs	745,671	41,239	39,564	5.31 %	95.94 %
	Lillington	745,671	4,735	4,735	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Morrisville (Wake)	745,671	29,423	29,423	3.95 %	100.00 %
	Pittsboro	745,671	4,537	4,537	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	745,671	466,106	6,040	0.81 %	1.30 %
	Sanford	745,671	30,261	30,261	4.06 %	100.00 %
	Siler City	745,671	7,702	7,702	1.03 %	100.00 %
14	Aberdeen	745,671	8,516	8,516	1.14 %	100.00 %
	Ansonville	745,671	440	440	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Biscoe	745,671	1,848	1,848	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Bladenboro	745,671	1,648	1,648	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Cameron	745,671	244	244	0.03 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

[G20-DMbC] - Generated 10/25/2021

Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

Page 14 of 16

Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
14	Candor (Montgomery)	745,671	813	813	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Candor (Moore)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Carthage	745,671	2,775	2,775	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Dobbins Heights	745,671	687	687	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Dublin	745,671	267	267	0.04 %	100.00 %
	East Laurinburg	745,671	234	234	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Eastover	745,671	3,656	3,656	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Elizabethtown	745,671	3,296	1,815	0.24 %	55.07 %
	Ellerbe	745,671	864	864	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Fairmont	745,671	2,191	2,191	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Falcon (Cumberland)	745,671	324	324	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Fayetteville	745,671	208,501	208,501	27.96 %	100.00 %
	Foxfire	745,671	1,288	1,288	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Gibson	745,671	449	449	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Godwin	745,671	128	128	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Hamlet	745,671	6,025	6,025	0.81 %	100.00 %
	Hoffman	745,671	418	418	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Hope Mills	745,671	17,808	17,808	2.39 %	100.00 %
	Laurinburg	745,671	14,978	14,978	2.01 %	100.00 %
	Lilesville	745,671	395	395	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Linden	745,671	136	136	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Lumber Bridge	745,671	82	82	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Lumberton	745,671	19,025	19,025	2.55 %	100.00 %
	Marietta	745,671	111	111	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Maxton (Robeson)	745,671	1,902	1,902	0.26 %	100.00 %
	Maxton (Scotland)	745,671	208	208	0.03 %	100.00 %
	McDonald	745,671	94	94	0.01 %	100.00 %
	McFarlan	745,671	94	94	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Morven	745,671	329	329	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Mount Gilead	745,671	1,171	1,171	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Norman	745,671	100	100	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Orrum	745,671	59	59	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Parkton	745,671	504	504	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Peachland	745,671	390	390	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Pembroke	745,671	2,823	2,823	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Pinebluff	745,671	1,473	1,473	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Pinehurst	745,671	17,581	17,581	2.36 %	100.00 %
	Polkton	745,671	2,250	2,250	0.30 %	100.00 %
	Proctorville	745,671	121	121	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Raeford	745,671	4,559	4,559	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Raynham	745,671	60	60	0.01 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

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Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

Page 15 of 16

Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
14	Red Springs (Hoke)	745,671	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Red Springs (Robeson)	745,671	3,087	3,087	0.41 %	100.00 %
	Rennert	745,671	275	275	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Robbins	745,671	1,168	1,168	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Rockingham	745,671	9,243	9,243	1.24 %	100.00 %
	Rowland	745,671	885	885	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Southern Pines	745,671	15,545	15,545	2.08 %	100.00 %
	Spring Lake	745,671	11,660	11,660	1.56 %	100.00 %
	St. Pauls	745,671	2,045	2,045	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Star	745,671	806	806	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Stedman	745,671	1,277	1,277	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Tar Heel	745,671	90	90	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Taylortown	745,671	634	634	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Troy	745,671	2,850	2,850	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Vass	745,671	952	952	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Wade	745,671	638	638	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Wadesboro	745,671	5,008	5,008	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Wagram	745,671	615	615	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Whispering Pines	745,671	4,987	4,987	0.67 %	100.00 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
1	Bertie	12	0
	Chowan	6	0
	Edgecombe	21	0
	Franklin	18	0
	Gates	6	0
	Granville	15	0
	Greene	10	0
	Halifax	23	0
	Hertford	13	0
	Martin	13	0
	Nash	24	0
	Northampton	13	0
	Pasquotank	9	0
	Perquimans	7	0
	Pitt	20	1
	Vance	12	0
	Warren	14	0
	Washington	6	0
	Wayne	3	1
	Wilson	24	0
2	Wake	143	1
3	Beaufort	21	0
	Camden	3	0
	Carteret	28	0
	Craven	21	0
	Currituck	11	0
	Dare	16	0
	Duplin	19	0
	Hyde	7	0
	Jones	7	0
	Lenoir	22	0
	Onslow	24	0
	Pamlico	10	0
	Pender	6	1
	Pitt	19	1
	Tyrrell	6	0
4	Alamance	37	0
	Caswell	9	0
	Durham	56	1
	Orange	41	0
	Person	11	0
	Rockingham	6	1

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
5	Alexander	10	0
	Alleghany	4	0
	Ashe	17	0
	Avery	19	0
	Burke	26	1
	Caldwell	20	0
	Forsyth	42	1
	Rockingham	8	1
	Stokes	18	0
	Surry	24	0
	Watauga	20	0
	Wilkes	27	0
	Yadkin	12	0
6	Forsyth	58	1
	Guilford	165	0
7	Bladen	8	1
	Brunswick	25	0
	Columbus	26	0
	Johnston	23	1
	New Hanover	43	0
	Pender	13	1
	Sampson	23	0
	Wayne	24	1
8	Cabarrus	28	1
	Davidson	43	0
	Davie	14	0
	Iredell	8	1
	Randolph	22	0
	Rowan	41	0
9	Cabarrus	11	1
	Mecklenburg	80	1
	Stanly	22	0
	Union	52	0
10	Burke	6	1
	Catawba	40	0
	Cleveland	21	0
	Gaston	46	0
	Iredell	20	1
	Lincoln	23	0
	Rutherford	15	1

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

## District Plan: CST-8

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
11	Buncombe	79	0
	Cherokee	16	0
	Clay	9	0
	Graham	4	0
	Haywood	29	0
	Henderson	34	0
	Jackson	13	0
	Macon	15	0
	Madison	12	0
	McDowell	17	0
	Mitchell	9	0
	Polk	7	0
	Rutherford	1	1
	Swain	5	0
	Transylvania	15	0
	Yancey	11	0
12	Mecklenburg	114	1
13	Chatham	18	0
	Durham	0	1
	Harnett	13	0
	Johnston	12	1
	Lee	10	0
	Wake	60	1
14	Anson	9	0
	Bladen	8	1
	Cumberland	76	0
	Hoke	15	0
	Montgomery	14	0
	Moore	26	0
	Richmond	16	0
	Robeson	39	0
	Scotland	7	0
<b>Total:</b>		<b>2,652</b>	<b>14</b>

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

## District Plan: CST-8

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Alamance	37	0
Alexander	10	0
Alleghany	4	0
Anson	9	0
Ashe	17	0
Avery	19	0
Beaufort	21	0
Bertie	12	0
Bladen	16	1
Brunswick	25	0
Buncombe	79	0
Burke	32	1
Cabarrus	39	1
Caldwell	20	0
Camden	3	0
Carteret	28	0
Caswell	9	0
Catawba	40	0
Chatham	18	0
Cherokee	16	0
Chowan	6	0
Clay	9	0
Cleveland	21	0
Columbus	26	0
Craven	21	0
Cumberland	76	0
Currituck	11	0
Dare	16	0
Davidson	43	0
Davie	14	0
Duplin	19	0
Durham	56	1
Edgecombe	21	0
Forsyth	100	1
Franklin	18	0
Gaston	46	0
Gates	6	0
Graham	4	0
Granville	15	0
Greene	10	0
Guilford	165	0
Halifax	23	0
Harnett	13	0

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Based on TIGER 2020 VTDs

[G20-VTD-SbC] - Generated 10/25/2021

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

## District Plan: CST-8

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Haywood	29	0
Henderson	34	0
Hertford	13	0
Hoke	15	0
Hyde	7	0
Iredell	28	1
Jackson	13	0
Johnston	35	1
Jones	7	0
Lee	10	0
Lenoir	22	0
Lincoln	23	0
Macon	15	0
Madison	12	0
Martin	13	0
McDowell	17	0
Mecklenburg	194	1
Mitchell	9	0
Montgomery	14	0
Moore	26	0
Nash	24	0
New Hanover	43	0
Northampton	13	0
Onslow	24	0
Orange	41	0
Pamlico	10	0
Pasquotank	9	0
Pender	19	1
Perquimans	7	0
Person	11	0
Pitt	39	1
Polk	7	0
Randolph	22	0
Richmond	16	0
Robeson	39	0
Rockingham	14	1
Rowan	41	0
Rutherford	16	1
Sampson	23	0
Scotland	7	0
Stanly	22	0
Stokes	18	0
Surry	24	0

District plan definition file: 'CST-8.csv', modified 10/25/2021 9:57 AM

Based on TIGER 2020 VTDs

[G20-VTD-SbC] - Generated 10/25/2021

## Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

### District Plan: CST-8

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Swain	5	0
Transylvania	15	0
Tyrrell	6	0
Union	52	0
Vance	12	0
Wake	203	1
Warren	14	0
Washington	6	0
Watauga	20	0
Wayne	27	1
Wilkes	27	0
Wilson	24	0
Yadkin	12	0
Yancey	11	0
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>2,652</b>	<b>14</b>

# Split VTD Detail Report

## District Plan: CST-8

County	VTD	District	Total VTD Population	VTD Pop in District	Percent of VTD Pop in District
Bladen	P10	7	939	805	85.73 %
		14	939	134	14.27 %
Burke	051	5	4,802	1,404	29.24 %
		10	4,802	3,398	70.76 %
Cabarrus	09-00	8	3,896	156	4.00 %
		9	3,896	3,740	96.00 %
Durham	35.3	4	12,272	10,612	86.47 %
		13	12,272	1,660	13.53 %
Forsyth	206	5	2,823	619	21.93 %
		6	2,823	2,204	78.07 %
Iredell	BA	8	7,790	6,901	88.59 %
		10	7,790	889	11.41 %
Johnston	PR09	7	8,227	1,638	19.91 %
		13	8,227	6,589	80.09 %
Mecklenburg	060	9	2,998	760	25.35 %
		12	2,998	2,238	74.65 %
Pender	LT18	3	6,377	4,184	65.61 %
		7	6,377	2,193	34.39 %
Pitt	1512A	1	9,256	86	0.93 %
		3	9,256	9,170	99.07 %
Rockingham	RC	4	6,600	3,068	46.48 %
		5	6,600	3,532	53.52 %
Rutherford	16A	10	3,603	2,412	66.94 %
		11	3,603	1,191	33.06 %
Wake	12-05	2	12,886	9,160	71.08 %
		13	12,886	3,726	28.92 %
Wayne	002	1	5,146	2,588	50.29 %
		7	5,146	2,558	49.71 %
Total:				87,615	

Number of split VTDs: 14

## Incumbent-District Report

**District Plan: CST-8**

**Residence Set: Congress - 9/22/2021**

Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District	District in this Plan
Adams	Alma	Democratic	12	12
Bishop	Dan	Republican	9	9
Budd	Ted	Republican	13	8
Butterfield	GK	Democratic	1	1
Cawthorn	Madison	Republican	11	11
Foxx	Virginia	Republican	5	5
Hudson	Richard	Republican	8	8
Manning	Kathy	Democratic	6	6
McHenry	Patrick	Republican	10	10
Murphy	Greg	Republican	3	3
Price	David	Democratic	4	4
Ross	Deborah	Democratic	2	2
Rouzer	David	Republican	7	7

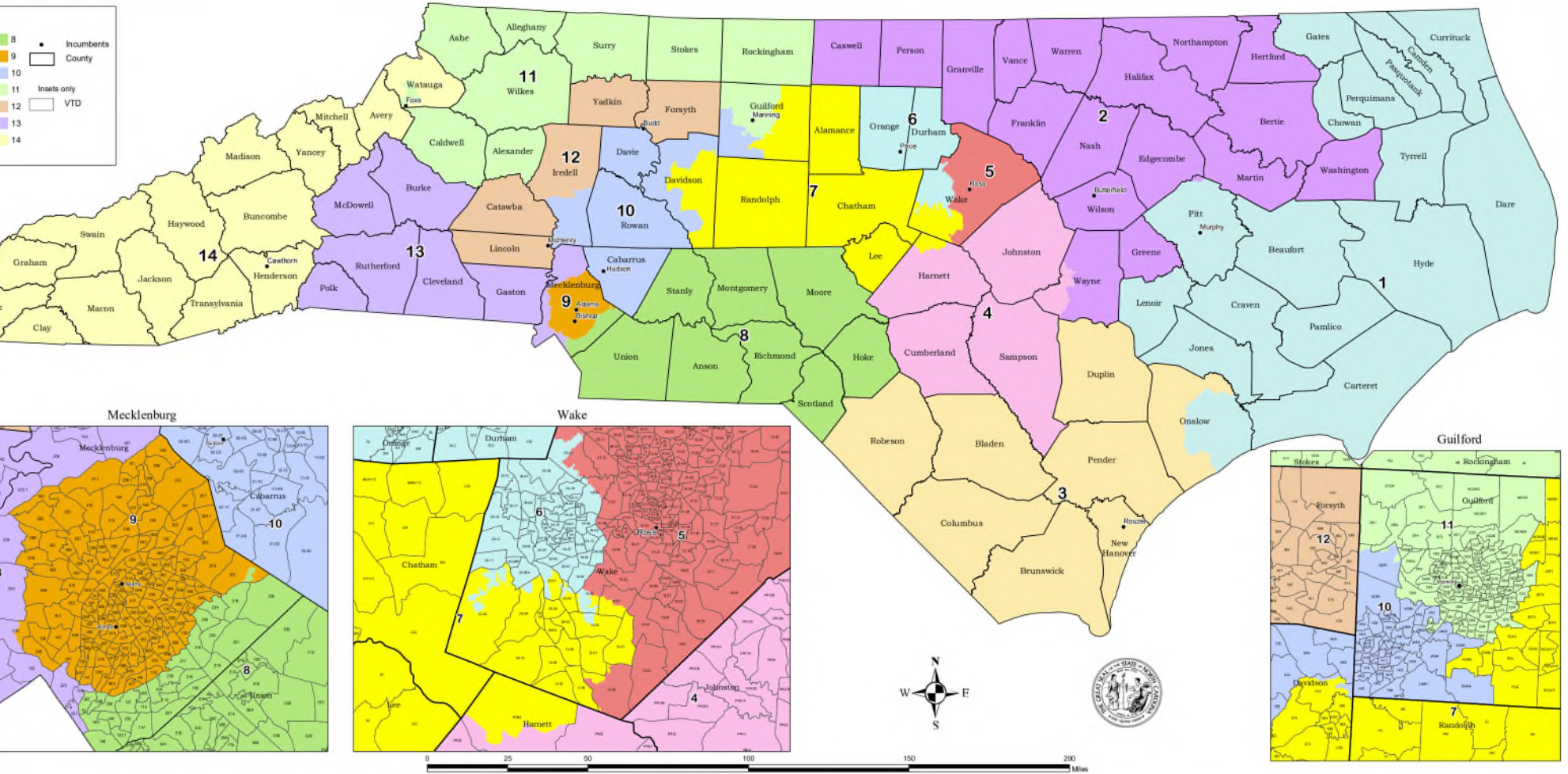
## District-Incumbent Report

**District Plan: CST-8**

**Residence Set: Congress - 9/22/2021**

District in this Plan	Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District
1	Butterfield	GK	Democratic	1
2	Ross	Deborah	Democratic	2
3	Murphy	Greg	Republican	3
4	Price	David	Democratic	4
5	Foxx	Virginia	Republican	5
6	Manning	Kathy	Democratic	6
7	Rouzer	David	Republican	7
8	Budd	Ted	Republican	13
	Hudson	Richard	Republican	8
9	Bishop	Dan	Republican	9
10	McHenry	Patrick	Republican	10
11	Cawthorn	Madison	Republican	11
12	Adams	Alma	Democratic	12
13				
14				

## S.L. 2021-174 Congress



**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 20, 2021 7:10 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 5:30 PM (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Add meeting to calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**SENATE**  
**NOTICE OF JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING**  
**AND**  
**BILL SPONSOR NOTICE**

The **Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections** will meet at the following time:

<b>DAY</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>TIME</b>	<b>ROOM</b>
Tuesday	October 26, 2021	5:30 PM	Virtual Public Hearing

Representative Destin Hall will be presiding.

Sign-up link will be available on [ncleg.gov](https://ncleg.gov)

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

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<b>DAY</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>TIME</b>	<b>ROOM</b>
Tuesday	October 26, 2021	3:00 PM	NCGA

Representative Destin Hall will be presiding.

Public comment hearing on the Senate and House Legislative Maps.

Remote sites at East Carolina University and at Central Piedmont Community College will be available.

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

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Senator Ralph Hise will be presiding.

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Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
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Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

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**AND**  
**BILL SPONSOR NOTICE**

The **Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections** will meet at the following time:

<b>DAY</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>TIME</b>	<b>ROOM</b>
Monday	October 25, 2021	3:00 PM	NCGA

Senator Ralph Hise will be presiding.

Public comment hearing on Congressional Maps.

Remote sites at UNC Wilmington and at Caldwell Community College will be available.

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
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**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

You are hereby notified that the **House Committee on Redistricting** will meet **JOINTLY** as follows:

**DAY & DATE:** Monday, October 25, 2021  
**TIME:** 3:00 PM  
**LOCATION:** NCGA  
**PRESIDING:** Representative Destin Hall, Chair  
**COMMENTS:** Public comment hearing on Congressional Maps.

Remote sites at UNC Wilmington and at Caldwell Community College will be available.

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

For questions, please contact Chandra C. Reed (Committee Assistant) at [chandra.reed@ncleg.gov](mailto:chandra.reed@ncleg.gov).

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**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM (Joint)  
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**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

You are hereby notified that the **House Committee on Redistricting** will meet **JOINTLY** as follows:

**DAY & DATE:** Tuesday, October 26, 2021  
**TIME:** 3:00 PM  
**LOCATION:** NCGA  
**PRESIDING:** Representative Destin Hall, Chair  
**COMMENTS:** Public comment hearing on Senate and House Legislative Maps.

Remote sites at East Carolina University and at Central Piedmont Community College will be available.

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

For questions, please contact Chandra C. Reed (Committee Assistant) at [chandra.reed@ncleg.gov](mailto:chandra.reed@ncleg.gov).

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**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

You are hereby notified that the **House Committee on Redistricting** will meet **JOINTLY** as follows:

**DAY & DATE:** Monday, October 25, 2021  
**TIME:** 5:30 PM  
**LOCATION:** Virtual Public Hearing  
**PRESIDING:** Representative Destin Hall, Chair  
**COMMENTS:** Sign-up link will be available on ncleg.gov

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

For questions, please contact Chandra C. Reed (Committee Assistant) at [chandra.reed@ncleg.gov](mailto:chandra.reed@ncleg.gov).

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 10:55 AM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Add meeting to calendar.ics

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

You are hereby notified that the **House Committee on Redistricting** will meet **JOINTLY** as follows:

**DAY & DATE:** Tuesday, October 26, 2021  
**TIME:** 3:00 PM  
**LOCATION:** NCGA  
**PRESIDING:** Representative Destin Hall, Chair  
**COMMENTS:** Public comment hearing on Senate and House Legislative Maps.

Remote sites at East Carolina University and at Central Piedmont Community College will be available.

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

For questions, please contact Chandra C. Reed (Committee Assistant) at [chandra.reed@ncleg.gov](mailto:chandra.reed@ncleg.gov).

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 3:55 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Monday, October 25, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**Updated #1: Addresses and Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

**SENATE**  
**NOTICE OF JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING**  
**AND**  
**BILL SPONSOR NOTICE**

The **Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections** will meet at the following time:

<b>DAY</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>TIME</b>	<b>ROOM</b>
Monday	October 25, 2021	3:00 PM	Auditorium LB

Senator Ralph Hise will be presiding.

Public comment hearing on Congressional Maps.

Remote sites at UNC Wilmington and at Caldwell Community College will be available.

UNC Wilmington Address:

Lumina Theater, 615 Hamilton Drive, Wilmington, NC 28403

Caldwell Community College Address:

Broyhill Center, 1913 Hickory Blvd, Lenoir, NC 28645

Link for speaker sign-up: <https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/59>

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:00 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**Updated #1: Addresses and Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

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Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
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Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:01 PM  
**Subject:** [External] <NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Monday, October 25, 2021 at 5:30 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**Updated #1: Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

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**AND**  
**BILL SPONSOR NOTICE**

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Speaker sign-up link: <https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/61>

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:06 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 5:30 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**Updated #1: Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

**SENATE**  
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**BILL SPONSOR NOTICE**

The **Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections** will meet at the following time:

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Speaker sign-up link: <https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/62>

Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
Senator Ralph Hise, Co-Chair  
Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:06 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> Senate Redistricting and Elections Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 5:30 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

Principal Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

**Updated #1: Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

**SENATE**  
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Senator Warren Daniel, Co-Chair  
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Senator Paul Newton, Co-Chair

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:10 PM  
**Subject:** [External] <NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Monday, October 25, 2021 at 5:30 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #1: Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

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Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:11 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Monday, October 25, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #1: Addresses and Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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**COMMENTS:** Public comment hearing on Congressional Maps.

Remote sites at UNC Wilmington and at Caldwell Community College will be available.

Each participant will be asked to select a location where they will be speaking.

**Raleigh:** Auditorium, Legislative Building, 16 W Jones Street, Raleigh, NC 27601  
<https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/59>

**UNC-Wilmington:** Lumina Theater, 615 Hamilton Drive, Wilmington, NC 28403  
<https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/61>

**Caldwell County:** Broyhill Center, 1913 Hickory Blvd, Lenoir, NC 28645  
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Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

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– Ex. 6075 –

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:15 PM  
**Subject:** [External] <NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #1: Addresses and Speaker Sign-up Link Added**

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 4:20 PM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 5:30 PM - UPDATED #1 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #1**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 5:10 PM  
**Subject:** [External] <NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Monday, October 25, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #2 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #2: CORRECTED LINK**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #2: UPDATED ROOM**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

You are hereby notified that the **House Committee on Redistricting** will meet **JOINTLY** as follows:

**DAY & DATE:** Tuesday, October 26, 2021  
**TIME:** 5:30 PM  
**LOCATION:** 643 LOB  
**PRESIDING:** Representative Destin Hall, Chair  
**COMMENTS:** Speaker Sign-up link: <https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/62>

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

For questions, please contact Chandra C. Reed (Committee Assistant) at [chandra.reed@ncleg.gov](mailto:chandra.reed@ncleg.gov).

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**From:** Email Subscriptions <EmailSubscriptions@ncleg.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2021 5:16 PM  
**Subject:** [External] <NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #2 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #2: CORRECTED LINK**

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<https://www.ncleg.gov/requesttospeak/62>

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Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**Sent:** Friday, October 22, 2021 11:30 AM  
**Subject:** [External]<NCGA> House Redistricting Meeting Notice for Tuesday, October 26, 2021 at 3:00 PM - UPDATED #3 (Joint)  
**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #3**

**NORTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING NOTICE  
AND  
BILL SPONSOR NOTIFICATION  
2021-2022 SESSION**

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**Pitt County:** Auditorium, East Carolina Heart Institute, ECU Health Science Campus, 115 Heart Drive, Greenville, NC 27834

**Mecklenburg County:** Harris Conference Center, 3216 CPCC Harris Campus Dr, Charlotte 28208

Respectfully,

Representative Destin Hall, Chair

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– Ex. 6085 –

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**Katelin Kaiser**

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**Attachments:** Update meeting on calendar.ics

**Updated #2: UPDATED ROOM**

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**OPINION: DAILY JOURNAL**

# **Redistricting, gerrymandering, and legislating from the bench**

---

Andy Taylor  
in Daily Journal

October 17, 2019  
1:00AM

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I have written about gerrymandering in these pages before, but the recent Superior Court ruling that the state’s legislative districts constitute an unconstitutional partisan gerrymander makes me want to do it again.

This is a prime example of judicial overreach and regrettable encroachment of quantitative social science into legal decision making. I don’t think there’s any doubt the state legislative map in question was a gerrymander in the technical sense of the word — that is, the maps were drawn by legislators intent on maximizing their party’s representation in the General Assembly. But how on earth did the court see it as violation of the N.C. Constitution?

I’m not going to take on the arguments about whether the plaintiffs enjoyed legal standing or gerrymandering is justiciable. Let me focus on the court’s proposition that the map in question violates three important elements of the state’s constitution: Its “equal protection,” “free elections,” and “free speech” and related “free assembly” provisions.

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1448**

First: How does a partisan gerrymandering treat voters unequally? Everyone gets one vote. All voters in the jurisdiction get the same ballot. Of course, outcomes are always unequal, some voters will select winners, others losers regardless of the district's composition.

In fact, if voting rights are so sacred and should be weighted equally, the U.S. Supreme Court needs to reverse its 2016 ruling in *Evenwel v. Abbot*. In this case it upheld legislative districts should be the same size by total population, not number of eligible voters. This is how you “dilute” votes.

Next, all the things that seem to impinge on “free elections” as generally understood have nothing to do with gerrymandering. These include registration and voter ID requirements, interminable lines at the polls, a limited choice of candidates, and little or distorted information about the contest.

Finally, the free speech and assembly arguments are just as contorted. Any restrictions on political speech and organization — such as campaign finance rules, municipal ordinances concerning protesting, etc. — are also unrelated to map-drawing. People are of course members of political minorities all the time, just ask the Libertarians. Don't like it? Make your party more appealing or switch allegiances.

To demonstrate how these are not free, fair, or equal elections, the court used a favorite phrase of the anti-gerrymander crowd; that politicians are choosing voters rather than the other way around. I hate to be snarky, but that is what districting is. Legislators don't choose the candidates, either. The state's filing rules are very relaxed, and we also have primary elections for party nominees. A “sweetheart” gerrymander, one in which all incumbents regardless of party are safe and happy, is a clearer sign legislators as a class are “selecting their own voters”. As “double-bunking” — districts pitting incumbent against incumbent — and many preemptive retirements demonstrated, this was not the case with the map under consideration.

Predictably, the court fell back on a fictitious right to choose representatives in competitive elections to bring about proportional outcomes — or where the shares of a party's seats in a legislature and total vote are roughly the same. But it showed tremendous ignorance of how to produce such a system. The concepts of competition and proportionality are different and often inversely correlated.

Take for example a 100-seat legislature in a state evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans. We could plausibly create 100 50-50 seats and all would be highly competitive. But a small swing toward one party might give us something close to a 100-0 legislature, in which the governing party only got, say, 53% of the vote. We can ensure total proportionately with 50 100% Democratic districts and 50 100% Republican districts. Now that's a partisan gerrymander. By the way, does Massachusetts have free congressional elections in which Republicans regularly get about 35% of the statewide vote but no seats?

Why do the maps get blamed for the kinds of outcomes the court believes are harmful? Why don't parties just nominate candidates appealing to a district's voters? In the 1960s and 1970s, both Democrats and Republicans could win in just about any kind of place. The court's allies say partisan gerrymanders cause polarization. If so, why is the U.S. Senate so polarized? In fact, homogenous districts in heterogeneous states can force the parties to run a diverse slate of candidates and therefore reach out to many different political interests.

The legislature's motive, maligned by the court, is irrelevant as well. The district maps were legislation. Give me an example of a vote on important matters of public policy —including those affecting voting and other constitutional rights — where lawmakers aren't driven by partisan considerations.

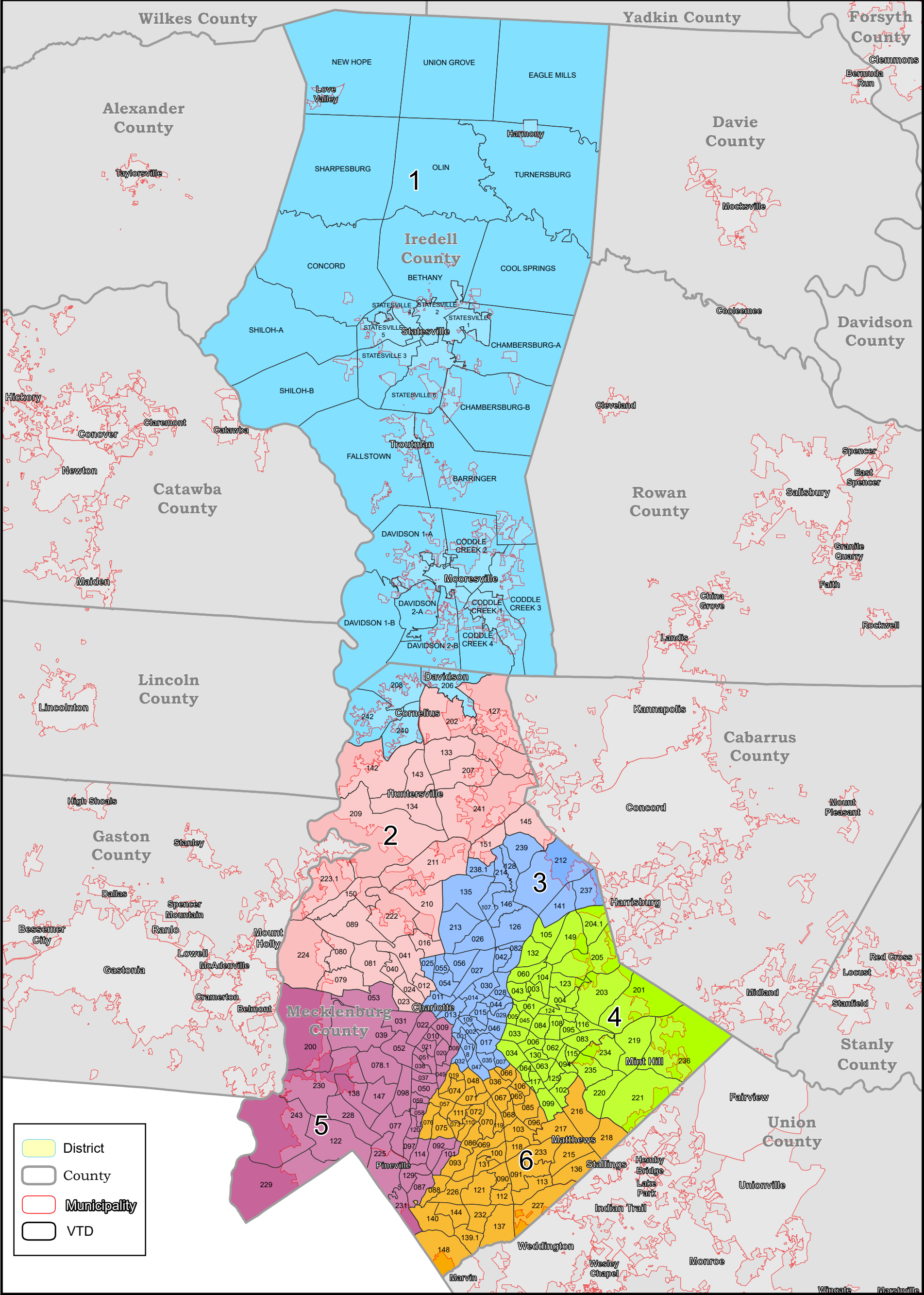
I find partisan gerrymanders distasteful. But the court has taken a legitimate technical definition of the practice built on solid social science and forced it into law. That is legislating from the bench. There is now a similar case against North Carolina's congressional districts. Get ready for more.

*Andy Taylor is a professor of political science at the School of International and Public Affairs at N.C. State University. He does not speak for the university.*

categories: **Civil Society, History, North Carolina, Opinion, Politics & Elections**

tags: **Evenwel v. Abbot, gerrymandering, n.c. constitution, N.C. General Assembly**

SCH-2



## Joint Meeting of Committees

August 12, 2021

House Committee on Redistricting  
Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections

Offered by:  
Representative Reives

Pass: \_\_\_\_\_

Fail: \_\_\_\_\_

### Amendment to Proposed Criteria

#### Proposed Criteria #10

**Community Consideration.** So long as a plan complies with the foregoing criteria, local knowledge of the character of communities and connections between communities may be considered in the formation of legislative and congressional districts.

#### Amendment to Proposed Criteria #10

~~**Community Consideration.** So long as a plan complies with the foregoing criteria, local knowledge of the character of communities and connections between communities may be considered in the formation of legislative and congressional districts.~~ **Community of Interest Consideration.** The Committees shall make reasonable efforts to preserve communities of interest in the construction of Congressional, House and Senate districts. For purposes of this criteria, communities of interest are geographically contiguous areas of cohesive populations of people that share common social, cultural, historical, and economic interests that should be included within a single district for purposes of their effective, fair, and equitable representation. A community of interest does not include a community based on political affiliation or relationships with a political party, elected official, or candidate for office. Public and private institutions of higher education that offer a postsecondary degree, as defined in G.S. 116-15(a2)(1), and have a residential campus, including off-site housing near the campus, constitute communities of interest.

Geographic integrity of any city, town, local neighborhood or local community of interest shall be respected in a manner that minimizes their division to the extent possible without violating the requirements of any of the higher priority preceding criteria.

Offered by: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1459**

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION

COUNTY OF WAKE

NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF  
CONSERVATION VOTERS, INC., *et al.*,  
*Plaintiffs*

and

COMMON CAUSE,  
*Plaintiff-Intervenor,*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his official  
capacity as Chair of the House Standing Committee on  
Redistricting, *et al.*  
*Defendants.*

Case No. 21 CVS 015426

REBECCA HARPER, *et al.*,  
*Plaintiffs*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his official  
capacity as Chair of the House Standing Committee on  
Redistricting, *et al.*  
*Defendants.*

Case No. 21 CVS 500085

**N.C. R. EVID. 1006 SUMMARY<sup>1</sup> OF  
NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY MAP-DRAWING SEQUENCES**

<sup>1</sup> Rule 1006 of the North Carolina Rules of Evidence states: “The contents of voluminous writings, recordings, or photographs which cannot conveniently be examined in court may be presented in the form of a chart, summary, or calculation. The originals, or duplicates, shall be made available for examination or copying, or both, by other parties at a reasonable time and place. The court may order that they be produced in court.” N.C.G.S. § 8C-1, Rule 1006.

**Figure 1**



PX1540: “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 1:50:29 (excerpt)

**Figure 2**



PX1543: “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 1:44:47 (excerpt)

**Figure 3**



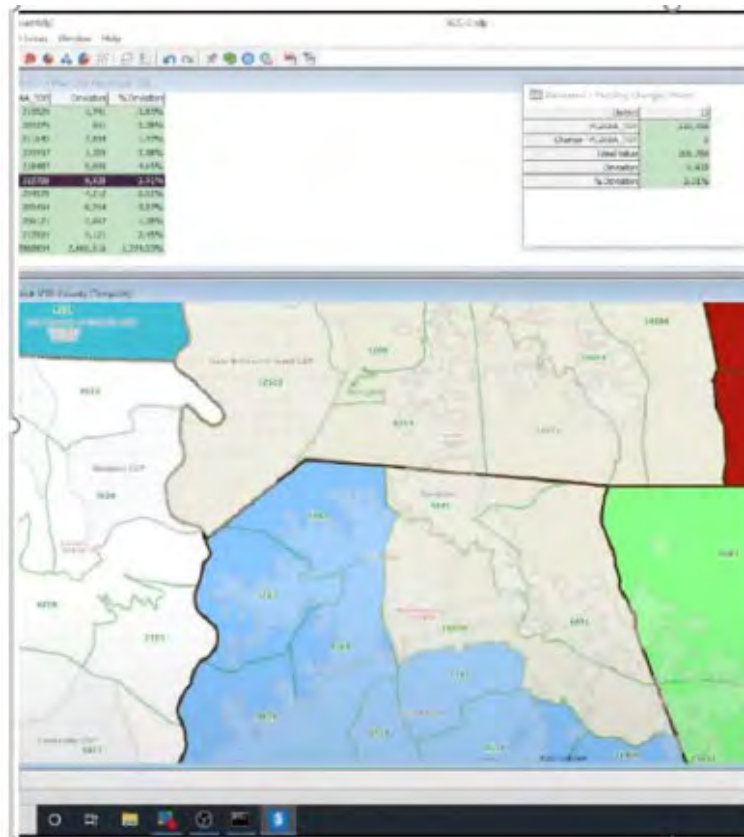
PX1539: “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 5:35:18 (excerpt)

**Figure 4**

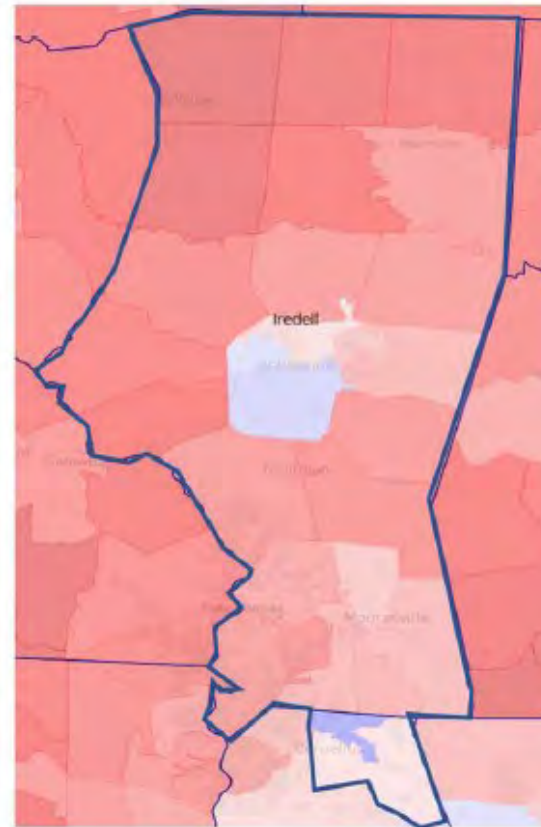


PX1543: “2021-10-11 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 5:05:22 (excerpt)

### Figure 5

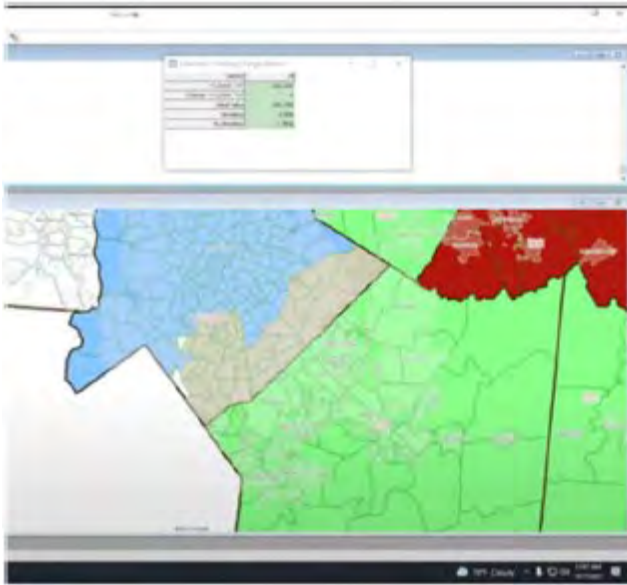


PX1551: “2021-10-07 Map  
Drawing Station 04 (544)” at  
timestamp 2:30:09 (excerpt)

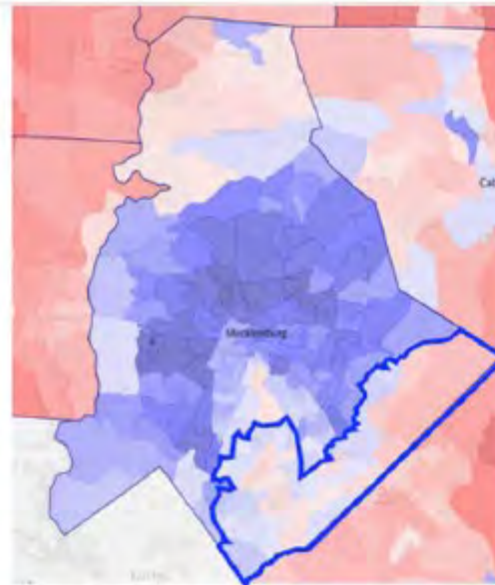


PX1592 Daye DRA Re-Draw  
with election composite data  
shading

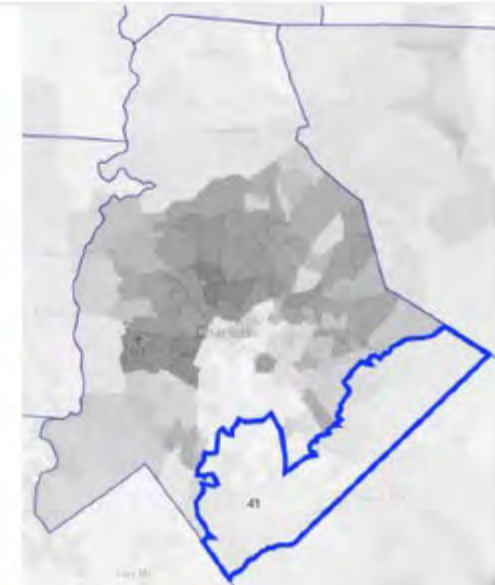
**Figure 6**



PX1550 “2021-10-07 Map  
Drawing Station 04 (544)” at  
timestamp 2:39:30 (excerpt)

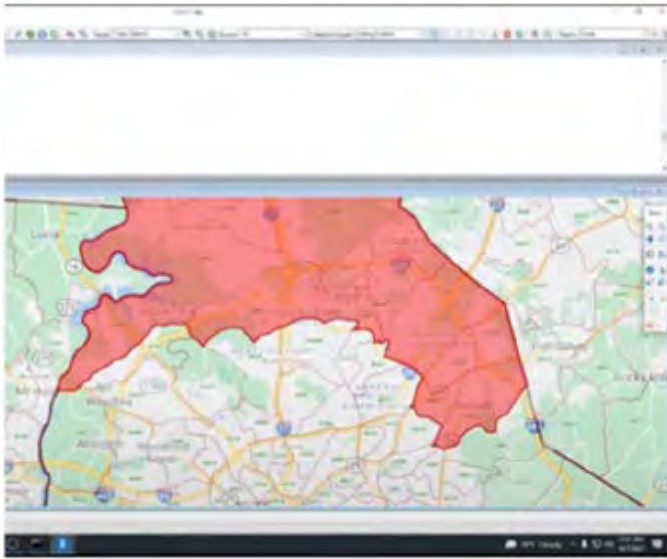


PX1594 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with election  
composite data shading

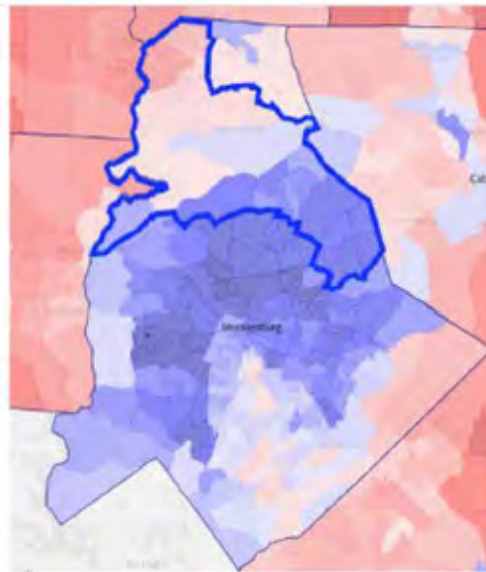


PX1595 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with BVAP data  
shading

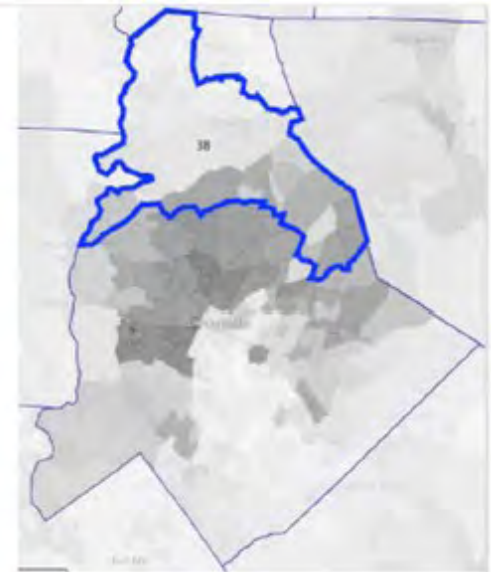
**Figure 7**



PX1549 “2021-10-07 Map  
Drawing Station 04 (544)” at  
timestamp 2:52:48 (excerpt)

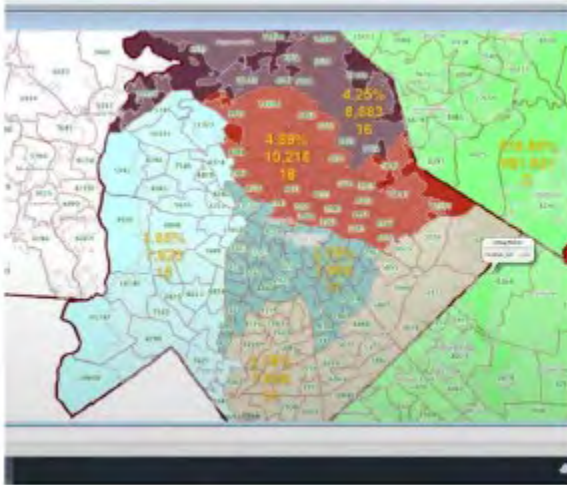


PX1595 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with election  
composite data shading

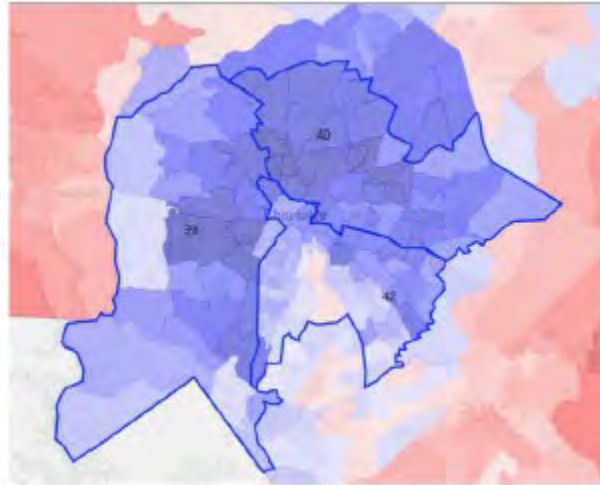


PX1596 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with BVAP data  
shading

**Figure 8**



PX1548 “2021-10-07 Map  
Drawing Station 04 (544)” at  
timestamp 3:09:35 (excerpt)

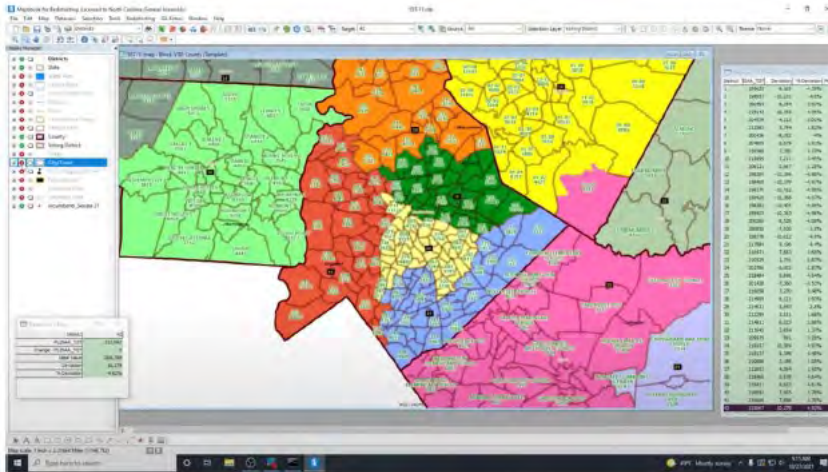


PX1598 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with election  
composite data shading

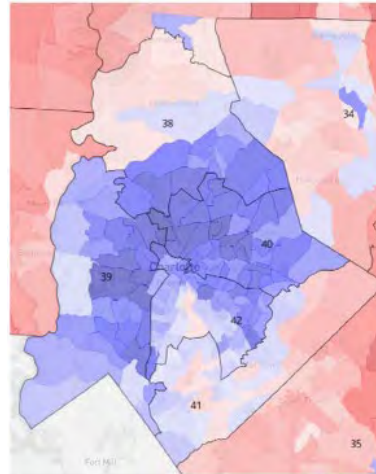


PX1599 Daye DRA Re-  
Draw with BVAP data  
shading

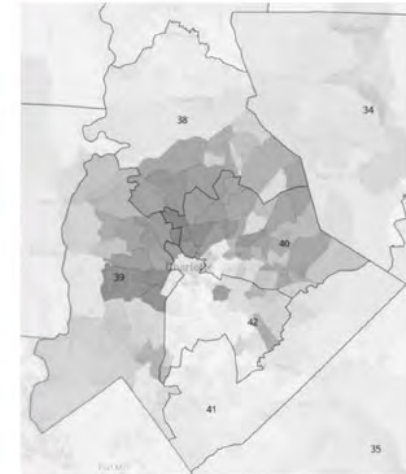
**Figure 9**



PX1553 “2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 54:40 (excerpt)

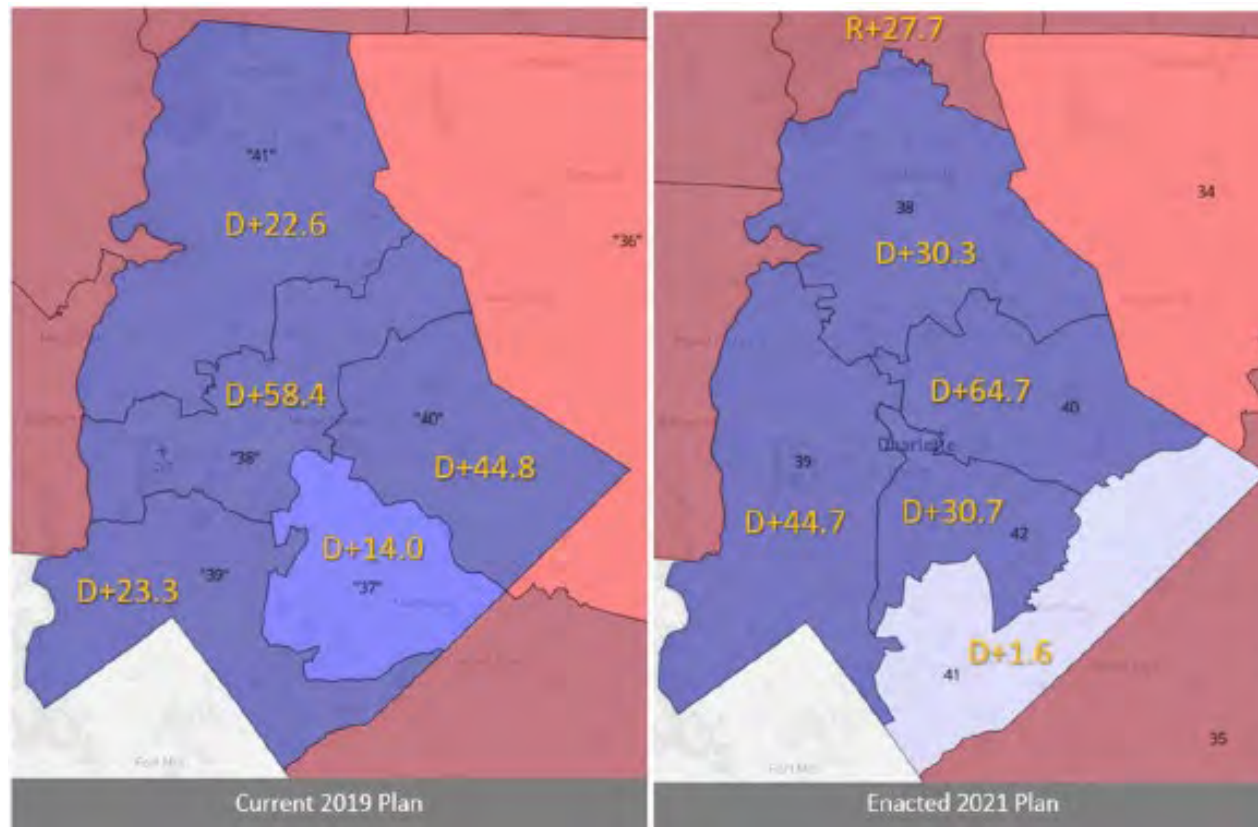


PX1599 Daye DRA Re-Draw with election composite data shading



PX1600 Daye DRA Re-Draw with BVAP data shading

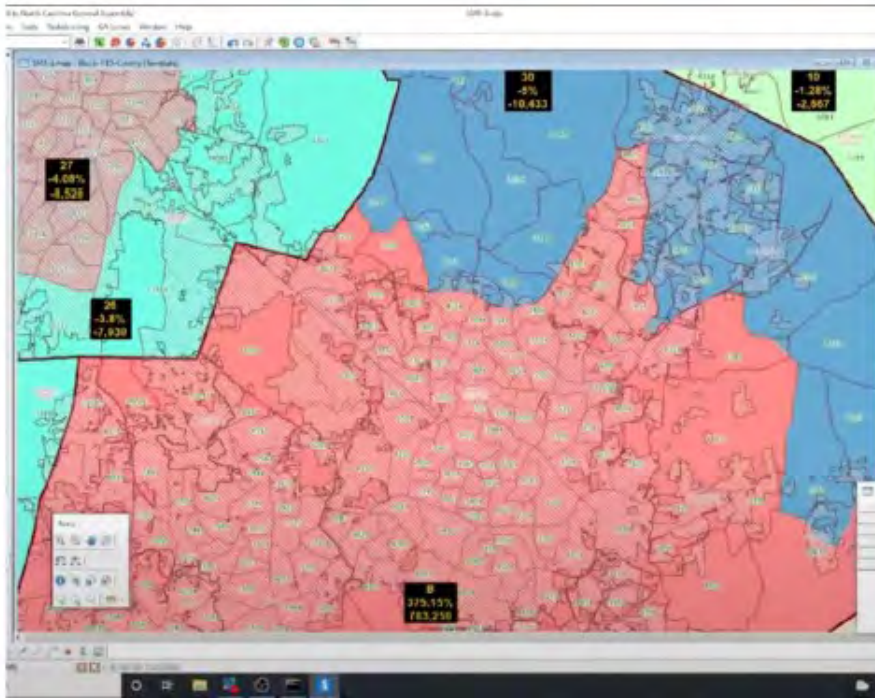
**Figure 10**



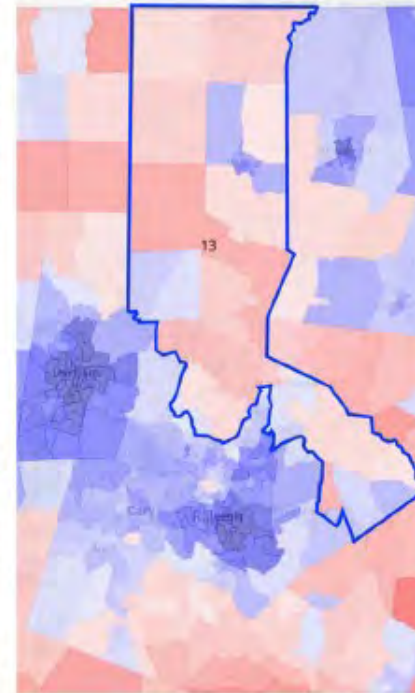
PX1601 Daye DRA Re-Draw of 2019  
Enacted Senate Plan (excerpt) with  
partisan lean

PX1602 Daye DRA Re-Draw of 2021  
Enacted Senate Plan (excerpt) with  
partisan lean

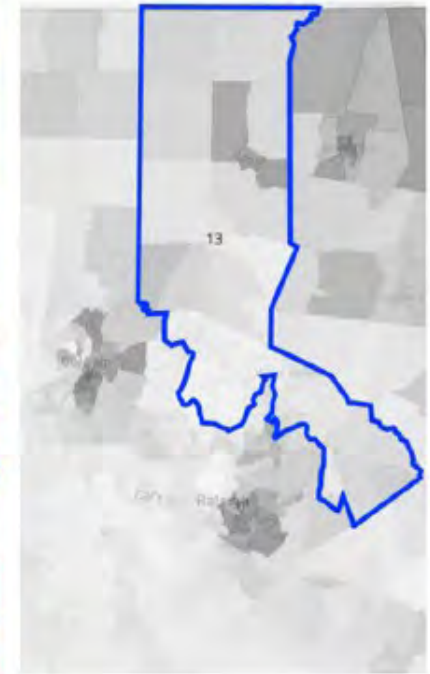
**Figure 11**



PX1534 “2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 6:13:18 (excerpt)

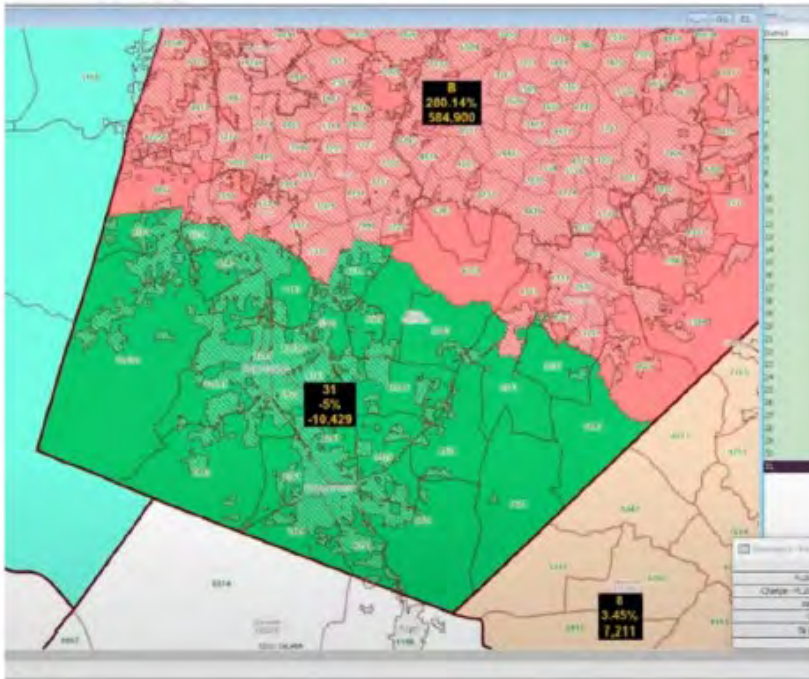


PX1603 Daye DRA Re-Draw with election composite data shading

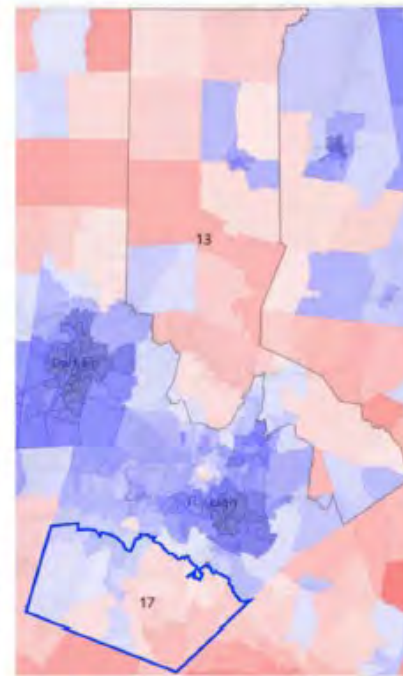


PX1604 Daye DRA Re-Draw with BVAP data shading

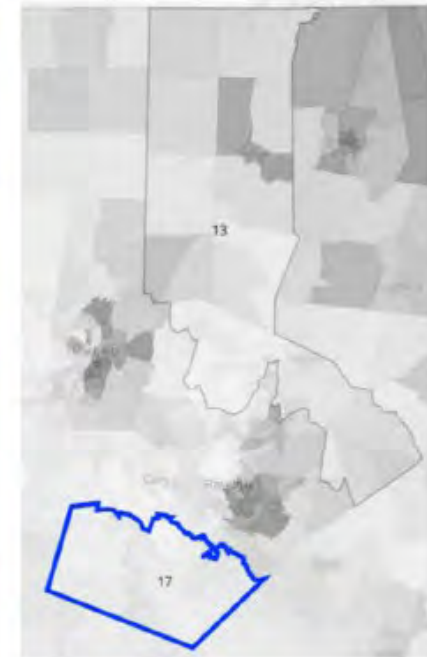
**Figure 12**



PX1533 “2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 6:20:54 (excerpt)

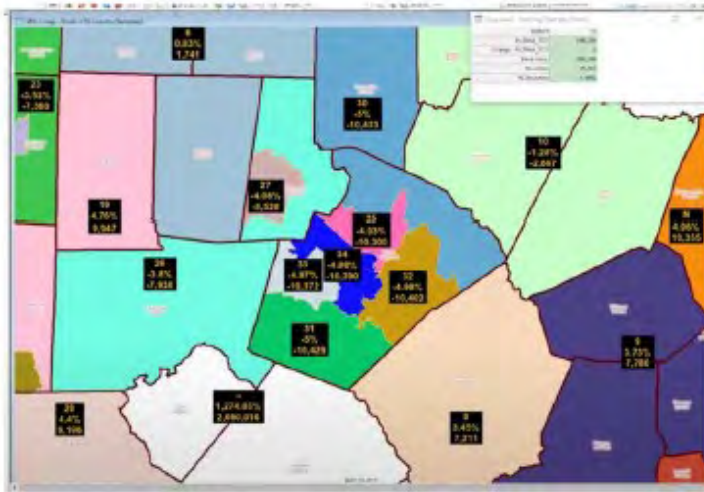


PX1605 Daye DRA Re-Draw with election composite data shading

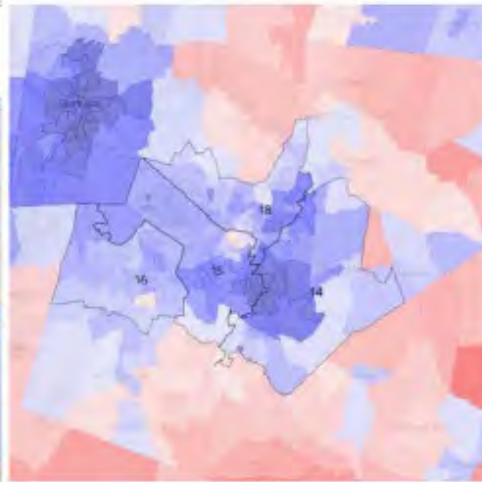


PX1606 Daye DRA Re-Draw with BVAP data shading

**Figure 13**



PX1532 “2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 7:02:27 (excerpt)

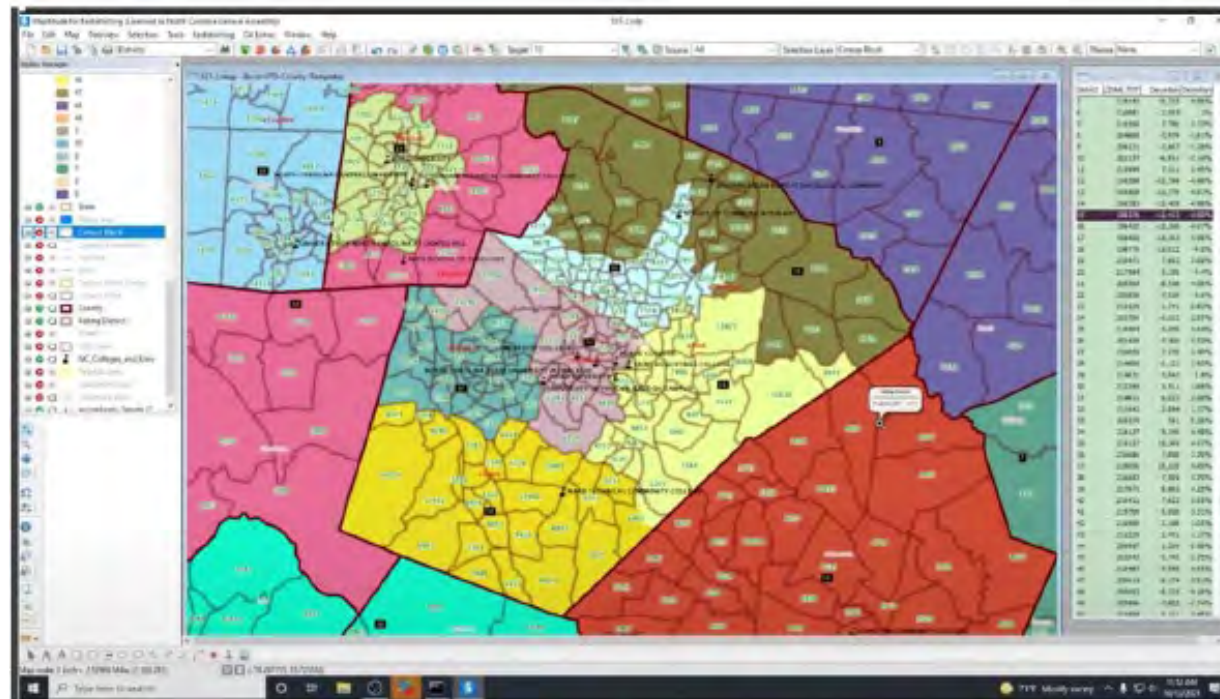


PX1607 Daye DRA Re-Draw with election composite data shading



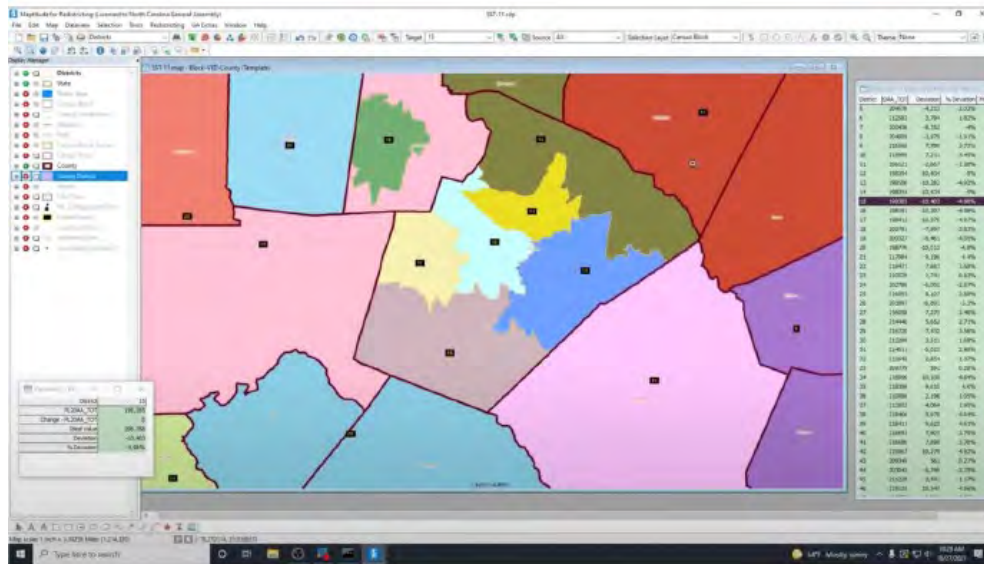
PX1608 Daye DRA Re-Draw with BVAP data shading

Figure 14

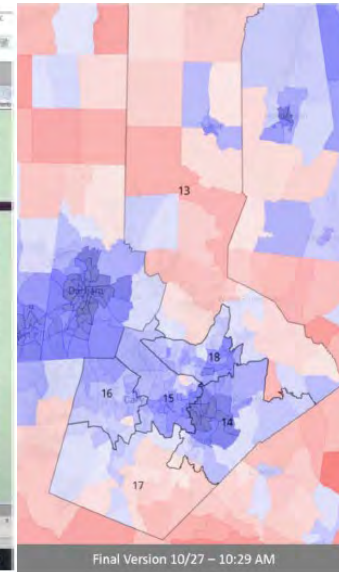


PX1538 “2021-10-1[3] Map Drawing Station 04 (544)”  
at timestamp 3:33:16 (excerpt)

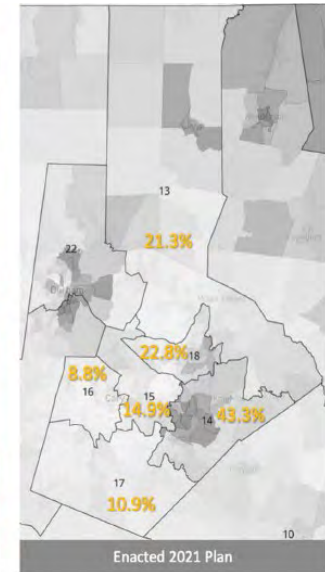
Figure 15



PX1536 “2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 2:09:01 (excerpt)

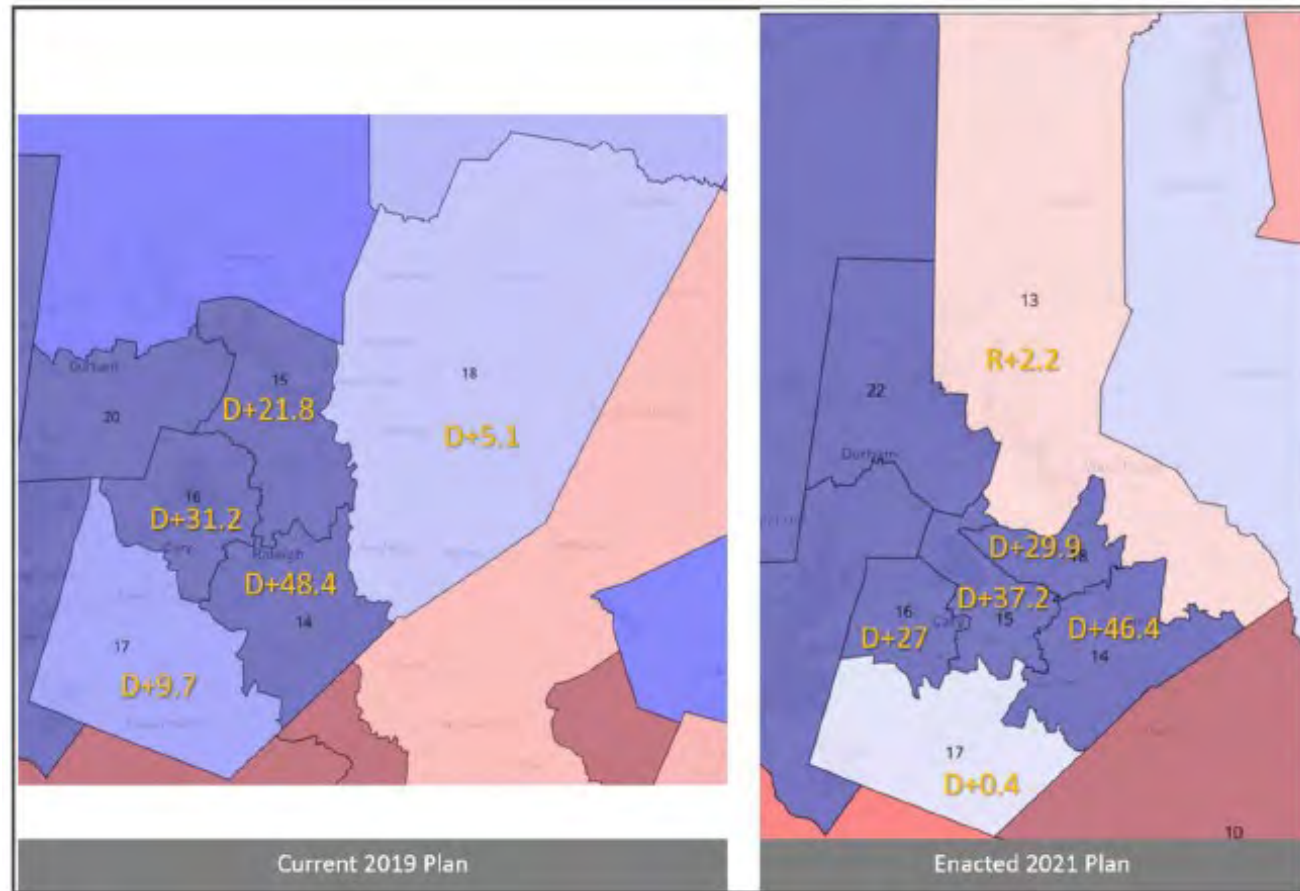


PX1609 Daye DRA Re-Draw with election composite data shading



PX1610 Daye DRA Re-Draw with BVAP data shading

**Figure 16**



PX1611 Daye DRA Re-Draw of 2019  
Enacted Senate Plan (excerpt) with  
partisan lean

PX1612 Daye DRA Re-Draw of 2021  
Enacted Senate Plan (excerpt) with  
partisan lean

**Figure 17**



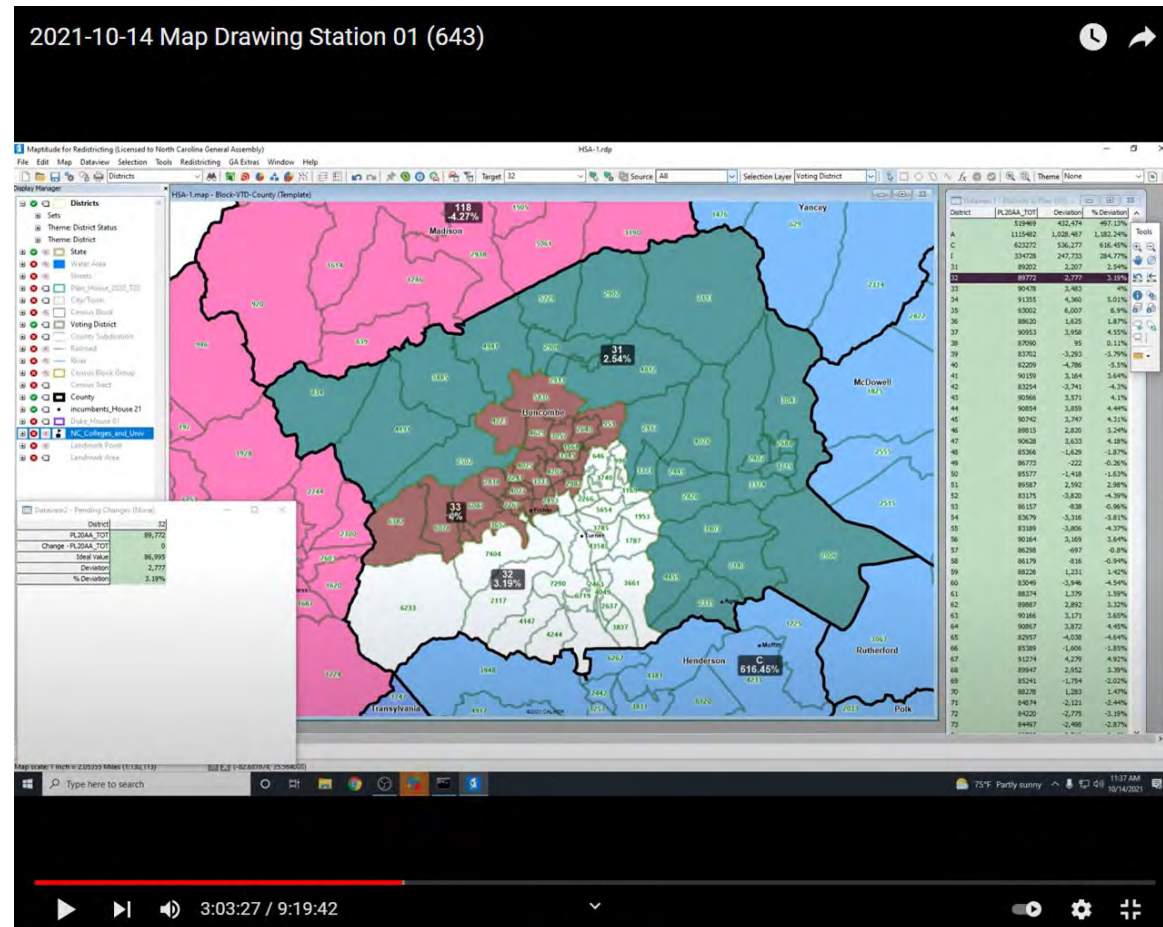
PX1559: “2021-10-14 Map Drawing (House)” at timestamp 2:18:43 (excerpt)

**Figure 18**



PX1558: “2021-10-14 Map Drawing (House)” at timestamp 2:20:50 (excerpt)

Figure 19



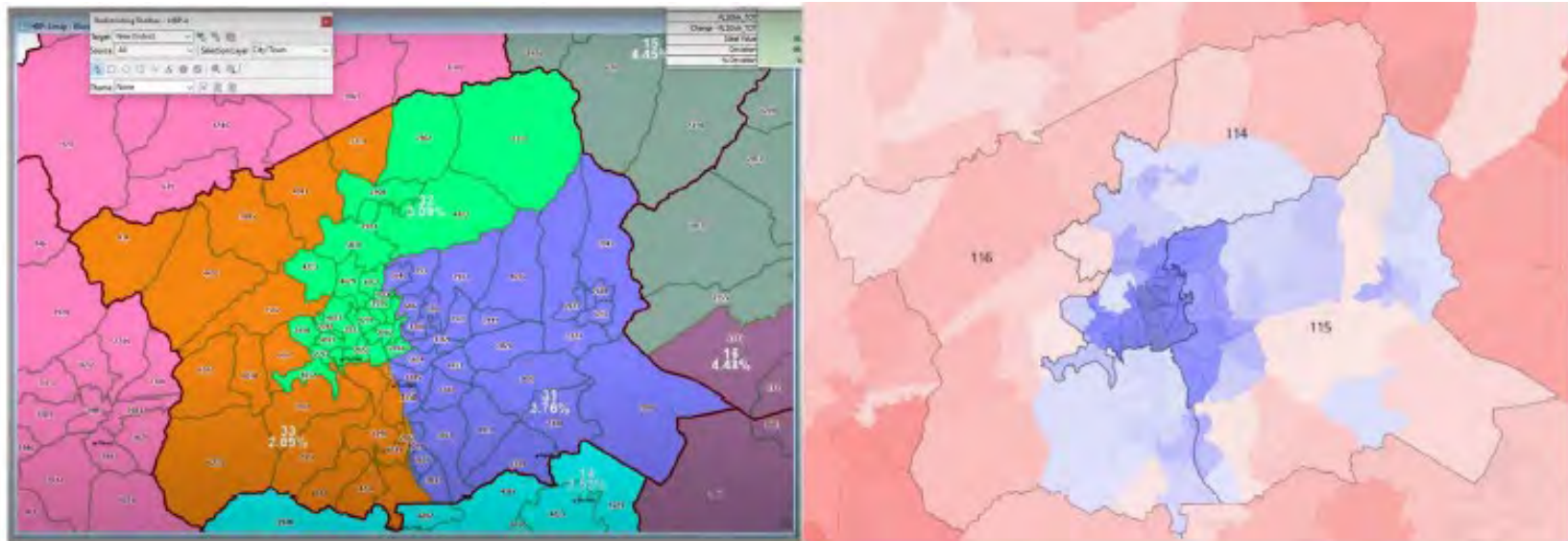
PX1557: “2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 01 (643)” at timestamp 3:03:27.

**Figure 20**



PX1556: “2021-10-18 Redistricting Map Drawing (House)” at timestamp 8:10:59 (excerpt)

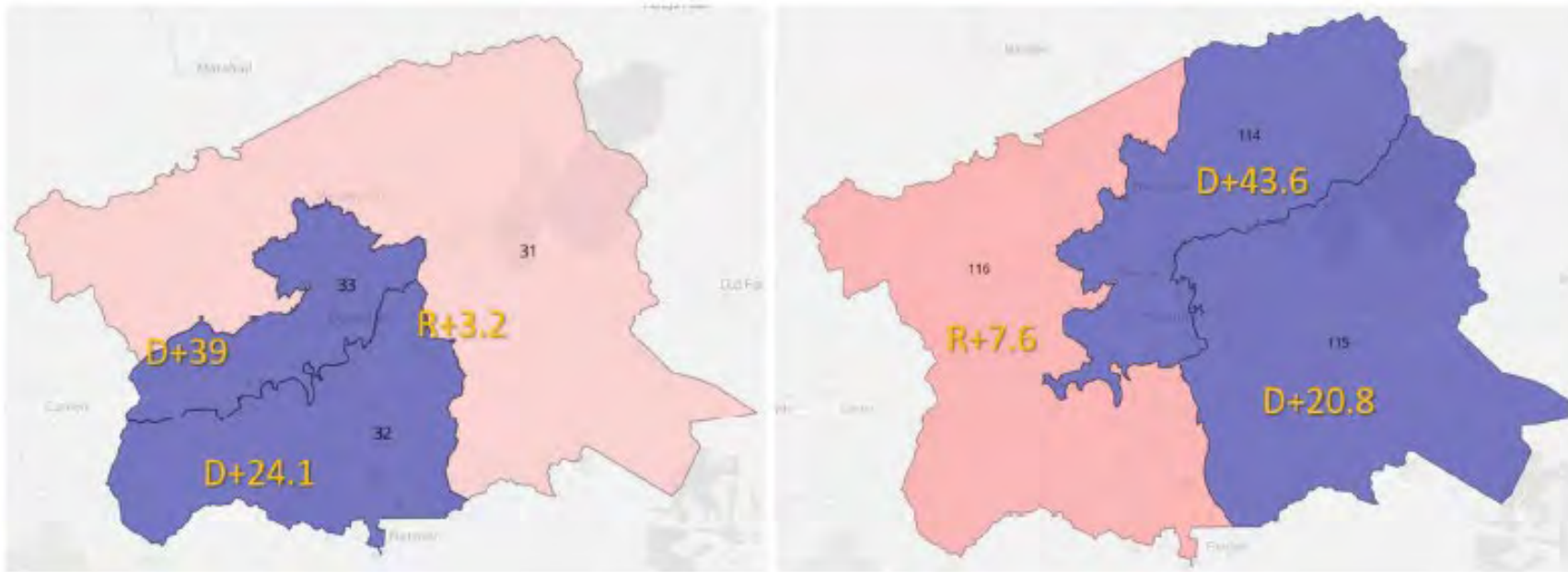
**Figure 21**



PX1555 “2021-10-18 Map Drawing Station 03  
(544)” at timestamp 8:11:00 (excerpt)

PX1614 Daye DRA Re-Draw with  
election composite data shading

**Figure 22**



PX1615 Daye DRA Re-Draw of  
10/14/2021 draft Buncombe House  
Cluster districts with partisan lean

PX1616 Daye DRA Re-Draw of 2021  
Enacted House Plan (excerpt) with  
partisan lean

<p>GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA 2021 LEGISLATIVE SESSION, HOUSE FLOOR VOTE ON HOUSE BILL 976 NOVEMBER 2, 2021</p> <p>Transcribed by:</p> <p>Denise Myers Byrd, CSR 8340, RPR Discovery Court Reporters and Legal Videographers, LLC 4208 Six Forks Road Suite 1000 Raleigh, North Carolina 27609 (919) 424-8242 denise@discoverydepo.com</p>	<p>1 volition that did not include the use of 2 political data, the first time that has ever 3 happened on our own volition. 4 Further, we received a great amount of 5 public input on the maps which has resulted in a 6 North Carolina House map that reflects weeks of 7 public comment, both in person and online. 8 The committee has been open since 9 October 6th, Monday through Friday, from 10 9:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. Despite that, I was 11 disappointed to see very few of my Democratic 12 colleagues participate the way that they did in 13 2019. For those of you who were here, you'll 14 remember that in many of the groupings that we 15 drew, you had Democrats and Republicans standing 16 there at the computer screen drawing. The room 17 remained open for weeks this time around. 18 I was also disappointed that not a 19 single Democratic member put forth a map to be 20 considered by the public, despite the fact that 21 some of our colleagues in the -- some of the 22 Senate Democrats putting forth several proposals 23 for public comment in their chamber. 24 Upon further reflection of the entire 25 redistricting process, the rural areas in</p> <p>3</p>
<p>1 (Transcription from audio recording 2 started at 37:33.) 3 SPEAKER MOORE: Let's move to 4 House Bill 976. The clerk will read. 5 THE CLERK: Representative Destin Hall, 6 House Bill 976, a bill to be entitled An Act to 7 Realign North Carolina House of Representative 8 Districts Following the Return of the 2020 9 Federal Decennial Census, General Assembly of 10 North Carolina enacts. 11 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman from 12 Caldwell, Representative Hall, is recognized to 13 debate the bill. 14 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you, 15 Mr. Speaker. 16 Members, we've embarked on the most 17 transparent redistricting process in 18 North Carolina history. Every part of this 19 map-making process was done in public and was 20 recorded and archived for anyone who would like 21 to go see how the maps were drawn. 22 Not only was it the most transparent 23 process in the history of this state, but for 24 the first time in North Carolina history, the 25 legislature adopted a process on our own</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 North Carolina have lost an immense amount of 2 population in the last decade which has resulted 3 in wholesale change to some districts in some 4 areas, but many of the groupings didn't change 5 or they remain similar to the previous decade. 6 And given that there was so much litigation with 7 respect to those maps, I took advantage of many 8 of the court cases that we had over the course 9 of the decade that had previously dictated to 10 the General Assembly how to draw these maps. 11 That may not be -- it's not applicable in all 12 cases, however, but where applicable, I made 13 every effort to keep current districts intact, 14 and I will, of course, encourage a negative vote 15 on any amendment that doesn't seek to do that. 16 I am going to begin my presentation of 17 the proposed map by going through the criteria 18 that the House Redistricting Committee adopted 19 and how the proposed map that you see before you 20 complies with that criteria. 21 The first criteria was keeping counties 22 whole. Within this map, where counties could be 23 kept whole, they are. We kept every county 24 whole that we could, for example, Chatham 25 county, Lee county, and Polk county.</p>

<p>1 We tried not to split VTDs. In 2011,  2 when this process was performed by a consultant,  3 and again, not out in the open, you saw hundreds  4 of VTD splits across this map. In my proposal,  5 there are only seven total VTD splits across the  6 entire state of North Carolina. Again, formerly  7 there were hundreds. There are seven total VTD  8 splits in this map.</p> <p>9 We honored municipal boundaries. I  10 made every effort to keep municipalities whole  11 throughout the draw. The report that you'll see  12 says that there are 82 municipality splits, but  13 the bulk of the splits that you see in the  14 report either have no population or  15 extraordinarily small populations.</p> <p>16 Contiguity, every district in this map,  17 of course, is contiguous.</p> <p>18 We considered incumbency, and in this  19 map, the bear minimum of members were  20 double-bunked.</p> <p>21 We looked at compactness. Despite not  22 being drawn by a computer algorithm, this map  23 contains the compactness of the current map that  24 we are currently sitting here under today,  25 despite not having that advantage of a computer</p> <p>5</p>	<p>1 before you today has resulted in what I believe  2 to be an impressive map that splits very few  3 precincts, keeps municipalities whole, and  4 creates compact districts.</p> <p>5 Members, I hope that you will support  6 this map, and I hope that you will all  7 acknowledge the truly historic nature of the  8 process that we have seen this time around, the  9 unprecedented transparency, and the  10 unprecedented decision to not use political data  11 in drawing these maps, and I hope you will vote  12 yes on this map.</p> <p>13 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does  14 the gentleman from Chatham, Representative  15 Reives, rise?</p> <p>16 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you,  17 Mr. Speaker. Ask to debate the bill.</p> <p>18 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the  19 floor.</p> <p>20 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you. And  21 I appreciate the work that's gone in.  22 Obviously, any time we have to create a bill  23 such as this, I would probably have a little bit  24 of pushback in the sense that one of the things  25 in not a talent I would say that I have, but one</p> <p>7</p>
<p>1 algorithm and despite essentially drawing the  2 thing by hand, so to speak, in that committee  3 room, live, where everyone could see.</p> <p>4 We did not consider race, and I did not  5 consider race in drawing -- I did not consider  6 racial data in drawing this map.</p> <p>7 We did not consider political data, and  8 I did not consider political data in drawing  9 this map.</p> <p>10 The other important thing to remember  11 in this map is the way that this thing used to  12 be done is through both parties, some consultant  13 would be hired on the outside and they would  14 draw a map and they'd bring it in and that would  15 be voted on, but this time around, we undertook  16 a different process, a transparent process, and  17 that process included a room being open and any  18 member who wanted to going and drawing districts  19 within that room, and that's what I did. I went  20 in there with -- armed with essentially just the  21 criteria that we had and tried to draw districts  22 as best I could that fit that criteria.</p> <p>23 And given that I didn't have a  24 computer-based algorithm or consultants using  25 that algorithm, the final product that you see</p> <p>6</p>	<p>1 of the abilities that I've been able to hold  2 onto since I've gotten here is I've gotten an  3 uncanny ability to count. And because of that  4 ability to count, I know there are certain  5 realities about the drawing of maps and the  6 presenting of maps and things of that sort.</p> <p>7 I know that a lot of my colleagues  8 recognize the reality of putting forth 51 maps  9 and where that might go because, obviously, we  10 can't pass a set of maps by ourselves. So I  11 would just say to the chairman's comments, it  12 was not a lack of interest, at all, that nobody  13 was drawing maps but trying to be realistic  14 about the process and trying to be efficient  15 about a process to what we've done.</p> <p>16 Secondly, for those who saw -- I mean,  17 I know at least I and a couple others did put  18 maps into certain areas. There are certain  19 groupings that are going to be what they are  20 going to be. There are certain groupings that  21 there are some discussions about and decisions  22 to be made, and so that would take me to where  23 we are on this bill.</p> <p>24 And I will be asking that you consider  25 voting no on this for several reasons. And</p> <p>8</p>

<p>1 again, this is not about people, personalities,  2 districts or anything of that sort, but this has  3 been something that I've discussed since we've  4 gotten here when it comes down to redistricting.  5 I do wish we can move closer and closer to an  6 impartial process, closer and closer to a  7 situation where none of us are doing anything  8 that influences these maps or anything of that  9 sort, but that's not where we are right now.  10 So I would go with the criteria that we  11 have. Even though we've split fewer  12 municipalities than 2011, we still could have  13 split fewer municipalities than we did, and I've  14 drawn some amendments and drawn some maps that  15 show those opportunities. And even though we  16 split fewer VTDs this time than 2011, we could  17 have split even fewer VTDs according to what we  18 wanted to do.  19 We definitely had an opportunity to  20 draw more compact districts. For those of you  21 who were on the redistricting committee or kept  22 up with the meeting last night, you saw those  23 opportunities. There were plenty of places  24 where the districts could be even more compact  25 than what is being presented to us today, and if</p> <p align="right">9</p>	<p>1 know. But again, we had opportunities not to do  2 it in that way because one of the things we're  3 going to need to do when these maps are done, we  4 can vote on any bill and we can pass any bill,  5 and, frankly, we understand, as the majority  6 caucus, you can pass any bill you want at any  7 point in time, but ultimately, with something  8 this expansive, with this kind of effect, this  9 is the next ten years of this state that we're  10 dealing with. Ultimately, we should want,  11 desire, seek the approval of the people that we  12 serve, not in the sense of making sure that  13 their party gets to stay in any particular area,  14 but in the sense of them feeling like that they  15 had a fair shot, good maps, good representation  16 all around.  17 Because this isn't just about who stays  18 in power over the next ten years. This is about  19 so many issues that touch so many of us. This  20 is about the segregation of our society at this  21 point. The farther we move districts into these  22 type of hobbles and the more that we set up our  23 walls and the more that we set up in our  24 particular areas, the more we're separating each  25 other out, that doesn't do, really.</p> <p align="right">11</p>
<p>1 compactness is something that we care about, we  2 have that opportunity to be more compact.  3 We talked a lot last night about trying  4 to make as few changes as possible, and that  5 really isn't the goal of the criteria we set.  6 The goal of the criteria we set was to try to  7 draw a map that fit the criteria. And because,  8 if you remember from the redraws that we've had  9 to do, those have been court-ordered redraws,  10 but they're still using maps that at some point  11 in time by some court were deemed to be bad  12 maps, and so then we're using the skeletons of  13 those maps to create new.  14 And really, a lot of these times what  15 we needed to do is to start from scratch, create  16 new districts out of these new groupings. We've  17 grown exponentially since 2010 census and the  18 2011 maps, and this was an opportunity to show  19 that we've had that growth.  20 You look at counties like Pitt,  21 Buncombe, Cumberland. Again, if we're saying  22 we're just going to make a few changes, those  23 were areas we made a lot of changes. Buncombe  24 looks nothing like it looked even in the last  25 redraw. Why that is, I can't tell you. I don't</p> <p align="right">10</p>	<p>1 What you actually want is to try to  2 figure out ways, which maps give you a unique  3 opportunity to do it, to try to get more people  4 that have local commonalities but maybe don't  5 spend the time together and maybe aren't around  6 each other for different issues.  7 I don't think we are served better when  8 politics gets infused in every moment of our  9 life. And we don't want people thinking that  10 these maps bake that in, so that's another  11 missed opportunity that we have.  12 We've already had people -- and even  13 though we didn't use any partisan data looking  14 at this map, obviously, groups have looked at  15 this, they've looked at the map that we're  16 presenting, and we're already getting told from  17 people throughout the country that, again,  18 ranking us compared to other states -- and there  19 are other red states, there are other blue  20 states, there are other purple states. So this  21 isn't about picking on any particular group or  22 anything of that sort, but ranking us even to  23 similarly situated states that we seem to be  24 going back down the path of partisan  25 gerrymandering. So when we see that and we have</p> <p align="right">12</p>

<p>1 that analysis, we've got an opportunity to</p> <p>2 correct it, so let's correct it.</p> <p>3 We have a fundamental difference in our</p> <p>4 belief in how we're interpreting what the law</p> <p>5 says we should be doing right now, and there is</p> <p>6 some up in the air, but one of the things that</p> <p>7 we feel is clear, for instance, looking at the</p> <p>8 Stephenson decision, is how we handle race. I</p> <p>9 do not believe, and I think a lot of people</p> <p>10 who -- or at least on this side of the aisle</p> <p>11 don't believe that any of the decisions said</p> <p>12 that you can't contemplate race. Because the</p> <p>13 reality is at this point in time and in this</p> <p>14 stage in our history, race is there. That</p> <p>15 doesn't mean I'm racist, you're racist, voters</p> <p>16 are racist, but it means that race is a factor</p> <p>17 that we've got to consider in order to make more</p> <p>18 fair districts.</p> <p>19 So if we don't look at race at all,</p> <p>20 then the risk we run is falling afoul of the</p> <p>21 Stephenson decision where the Stephenson</p> <p>22 decision says that we've got to make districts</p> <p>23 that comply with the Voting Rights Act. By not</p> <p>24 taking race into account at all, then how do we</p> <p>25 know we've complied? We're only going to know</p> <p>13</p>	<p>1 saying is use this history and use this time to</p> <p>2 show that the most important aspect of bringing</p> <p>3 our communities back together, to getting people</p> <p>4 to have faith in their governments again, are</p> <p>5 the people in this chamber and that chamber over</p> <p>6 there. And it's just that simple.</p> <p>7 And if we do things that continue to</p> <p>8 encourage separating into camps, then that's how</p> <p>9 our communities will go. If we do things like</p> <p>10 we've done some already this session and like we</p> <p>11 can still continue to do this session and we can</p> <p>12 continue to do in the short session, if we do</p> <p>13 things to show people that none of these letters</p> <p>14 matter, none of these background issues matter,</p> <p>15 then we've got an opportunity to help move our</p> <p>16 communities forward. And if we move our</p> <p>17 communities forward, we move our state forward.</p> <p>18 If we move our state forward, then we start</p> <p>19 moving other states forward.</p> <p>20 But a lot of this stuff that a lot of</p> <p>21 us complain about -- and I'm telling you I hear</p> <p>22 from my side, your side, everybody. There's</p> <p>23 parts of this political process we're just sick</p> <p>24 of, and maps are a way that we encourage a lot</p> <p>25 of the badness in our political process.</p> <p>15</p>
<p>1 whether we complied if there's litigation. I'd</p> <p>2 rather we know without litigation to know that</p> <p>3 we've had some sort of compliance with the</p> <p>4 Voting Rights Act because, again, that is a</p> <p>5 federal mandate.</p> <p>6 So again, to me, these can't be about</p> <p>7 partisanship, I don't think I've ever talked</p> <p>8 about these being about partisanship, and we can</p> <p>9 go back through history and who's done what and</p> <p>10 all that type of thing. Every single day we</p> <p>11 wake up, we've got a chance to be a new us.</p> <p>12 Every single day we walk into this chamber,</p> <p>13 we've got a chance to be something different</p> <p>14 than what we were before.</p> <p>15 I just don't care about the history in</p> <p>16 that sense because history can be used to excuse</p> <p>17 any bad act we want to justify, but history can</p> <p>18 also be used to teach us how to be better, and</p> <p>19 that is the way to use history just like we're</p> <p>20 talking about with race.</p> <p>21 The courts don't want us using race</p> <p>22 impermissibly. We don't want to use our history</p> <p>23 in the wrong way. Don't use our history to</p> <p>24 figure out ways to get around things. And I'm</p> <p>25 not saying we have in this case, but what I'm</p> <p>14</p>	<p>1 So I'm asking that you vote no just to</p> <p>2 attempt to be corrective. This is not casting</p> <p>3 aspersions. I cannot imagine being in</p> <p>4 Chairman Hall's position where last year he was,</p> <p>5 like me, getting to kind of sit back and not</p> <p>6 even have to pay attention to this process and</p> <p>7 then all of a sudden you're dead in the middle</p> <p>8 and have to draw it and then he's going to hear</p> <p>9 somebody like me get up and say that something</p> <p>10 he spent four weeks on that I'm not happy with.</p> <p>11 But I'm comfortable, as much as I appreciate</p> <p>12 chairman Hall, if the roles were reversed, he</p> <p>13 would feel very comfortable telling me that my</p> <p>14 four weeks of work he wasn't happy with.</p> <p>15 But that's how we get better, and I</p> <p>16 know that he takes it in that sense. All I'm</p> <p>17 trying to do is to get us better. And these</p> <p>18 maps are a big deal to people outside of this</p> <p>19 chamber, big deal. And when we were listening,</p> <p>20 when we were going around and we were listening</p> <p>21 at these tours, this wasn't just Democrats</p> <p>22 talking, it's Republicans talking too. They're</p> <p>23 just tired. They don't want us governing from</p> <p>24 the edges. They want us governing from a</p> <p>25 different place in a different way, and a way to</p> <p>16</p>

<p>1 do this starts with these maps.</p> <p>2 So I ask that you consider voting no on</p> <p>3 this, let's try to keep tweaking this until we</p> <p>4 get this in a better place and go forward with</p> <p>5 that, and thank you.</p> <p>6 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>7 the lady from Buncombe, Representative Fisher,</p> <p>8 rise?</p> <p>9 REPRESENTATIVE FISHER: To debate the</p> <p>10 bill, Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>11 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor.</p> <p>12 REPRESENTATIVE FISHER: Thank you.</p> <p>13 Colleagues, I rise to debate the bill</p> <p>14 because it appears that the maps specifically</p> <p>15 for Buncombe are similar to the illegal maps</p> <p>16 that were from the last decade of our history</p> <p>17 here. And they differ significantly from the</p> <p>18 current maps of Buncombe -- the current map of</p> <p>19 Buncombe, and the numbering of the districts,</p> <p>20 even, it's down to that where the numbers have</p> <p>21 changed.</p> <p>22 This map has implications not only for</p> <p>23 the House, but because of Buncombe county's</p> <p>24 special circumstance of having had districts</p> <p>25 legislated for them in a past session, it has</p> <p style="text-align: right;">17</p>	<p>1 nonpartisan redistricting commission approach to</p> <p>2 this process.</p> <p>3 So short of that, I will be a no vote</p> <p>4 on HB 976, and I encourage us to go back to the</p> <p>5 drawing board, think about what it might look</p> <p>6 like if our constituents had a real role to play</p> <p>7 in this instead of being cajoled and coddled</p> <p>8 into thinking that, yes, they have a big part to</p> <p>9 play in public hearings and before, during and</p> <p>10 after drawing. It's not true, and I am looking</p> <p>11 for a truer process. So I'll be a no vote.</p> <p>12 Thank you.</p> <p>13 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>14 the lady from Guilford, Representative Harrison,</p> <p>15 rise?</p> <p>16 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: To debate the</p> <p>17 bill.</p> <p>18 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor.</p> <p>19 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: Thank you,</p> <p>20 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>21 Ladies and gentlemen of the House, I'll</p> <p>22 echo Representative Reives' thanks to Chair Hall</p> <p>23 and others who have put so much time in this,</p> <p>24 and especially the staff who put so much time</p> <p>25 into this because it has been an enormous amount</p> <p style="text-align: right;">19</p>
<p>1 the further effect of double-bunking and</p> <p>2 complicating the county commission districting</p> <p>3 process.</p> <p>4 We had -- at least I attended two</p> <p>5 public hearings, one before the drawing of the</p> <p>6 maps and one after, and it was interesting to me</p> <p>7 to note that at the first public hearing, people</p> <p>8 asked consistently that there be another hearing</p> <p>9 once the maps were drawn. And I know that it</p> <p>10 was made to appear that we had a public hearing</p> <p>11 after the maps were drawn, but they were</p> <p>12 commenting on the map that is no longer in front</p> <p>13 of us.</p> <p>14 People are not stupid. They know when</p> <p>15 they're being included and they know when</p> <p>16 they're not. So in a sense, we have ignored our</p> <p>17 constituents again. And the bottom line is I am</p> <p>18 reminded every single day that our constituents</p> <p>19 believe that politicians have no business</p> <p>20 drawing political lines and that they</p> <p>21 prefer -- our constituents prefer, and this is</p> <p>22 bipartisan. We proved that by introducing our</p> <p>23 own bill in the House a few sessions ago where</p> <p>24 it got bipartisan support. It failed to go</p> <p>25 further, but we have proof that they prefer a</p> <p style="text-align: right;">18</p>	<p>1 of time investment.</p> <p>2 So early on, we heard a lot of interest</p> <p>3 in the public -- from the public about how the</p> <p>4 public process would play out. We heard that on</p> <p>5 the very first day when we had public comments,</p> <p>6 and we received a letter -- all the committee</p> <p>7 members received a letter requesting a fairer</p> <p>8 and more transparent public process. Several of</p> <p>9 us on the committee offered that fairer and more</p> <p>10 transparent process, but that did not go</p> <p>11 anywhere. And some of the points that were made</p> <p>12 were making sure -- we were facing a COVID</p> <p>13 situation, that there was accessibility for</p> <p>14 those virtually for those who had difficulty</p> <p>15 traveling; better audio and visual quality,</p> <p>16 those were not available; they were not</p> <p>17 livestreamed. There were other points about</p> <p>18 making sure that any data that was used in</p> <p>19 drawing the maps was disclosed and a process for</p> <p>20 that and any third parties involved in the</p> <p>21 redistricting. We thought we had a good</p> <p>22 process, and hopefully at some point we'll adopt</p> <p>23 this for future map drawing, but those were not</p> <p>24 followed.</p> <p>25 Instead, we had, if I recall correctly,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">20</p>

<p>1 13 public hearings prior to map drawing and then 2 four post map drawing. If y'all remember, those 3 of you who were here in 2011, there were over 60 4 scattered across the state with significant 5 opportunity for folks to participate virtually 6 and from remote locations which was really 7 important as we faced the COVID.</p> <p>8 But the feedback I got -- now, I 9 appreciate that Chair Hall continues to say that 10 this is the most transparent process ever, but 11 the bar is really, really low. And the feedback 12 we kept getting from the public was that it was 13 difficult to find the information they needed on 14 the website, they couldn't navigate it, they 15 felt like we were giving last minute notice, the 16 maps went out on Friday and the public hearing 17 was on Monday and Tuesday and folks hadn't 18 really had a chance to analyze it. And I don't 19 believe the maps were ever interactive on the 20 legislative -- so you couldn't go in and figure 21 out your precinct or your community of interest.</p> <p>22 And also, just that it was very 23 difficult to watch the map drawing, that the 24 audio wasn't great, that the video wasn't great 25 either. So I think there's a way -- and I don't</p> <p>21</p>	<p>1 priorities. We got a bunch of criteria that 2 we're considering, but when you have a conflict 3 between compactness and a municipality split or 4 a VTD split, what prevails, and it was never 5 clear to me how we were taking into account 6 communities of interest. And I'm not really 7 sure that the public right now could actually 8 tell from our maps that are on the website how 9 their communities of interest are impacted. We 10 heard a lot of public comments about communities 11 of interest.</p> <p>12 And I will just repeat -- I don't want 13 to repeat. I will just echo the comments that 14 there was a better way to do this, and I don't 15 think this is it, and I don't think these maps 16 are fair, and I'm going to be voting no. Thank 17 you.</p> <p>18 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 19 the lady from Wilson, Representative 20 Cooper-Suggs, rise?</p> <p>21 REPRESENTATIVE COOPER-SUGGS: To debate 22 the bill, Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>23 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor.</p> <p>24 REPRESENTATIVE COOPER-SUGGS: My 25 colleagues, I rise today because I think we've</p> <p>23</p>
<p>1 mean this necessarily as a huge criticism. I 2 just think if we can think about this going 3 forward that there could have been a better way 4 to actually -- for the public to understand what 5 was going on because they didn't feel like they 6 did. And I was just -- I didn't read all 4,000 7 comments that had been filed. I've been trying 8 to get through and get a sense of what the 9 biggest complaints were, but that was probably 10 the biggest complaint was the public 11 participation.</p> <p>12 And the second biggest complaint was 13 that they didn't think the maps were fair at 14 all, and I heard that a ton and repeated 15 references to the Princeton Gerrymandering 16 Project giving our map an F and the Senate and 17 the congressional maps, which I guess we'll be 18 voting on tomorrow, Fs.</p> <p>19 And I do agree with the points that 20 have been made prior to me, that there's a 21 better way to do this, a fairer way to do this 22 in a way that reflects our values and our 23 priorities. It was never clear to me with the 24 criteria, and we asked about this repeatedly, 25 what is the hierarchy here, what are the</p> <p>22</p>	<p>1 missed an opportunity to make these maps better 2 and more fair for our constituents. When I say 3 more fair, I mean creating districts that are 4 competitive and that reflect their communities. 5 When we split communities in thirds or pack 6 together counties that span half the state, 7 we're not giving the people of North Carolina 8 what they deserve.</p> <p>9 If people feel like they have had a 10 fair opportunity to participate in their 11 elections, they have more trust in government 12 and more trust in elected officials. Is that 13 not what our goal should be?</p> <p>14 In the last decade, we've seen what 15 happens when redistricting goes wrong: lots of 16 lawsuits, lots of anger, and lots of distrust. 17 We've had electoral maps repeatedly thrown out 18 by the courts for the state house, the state 19 senate, congress, and even local commissions.</p> <p>20 All of this conflict has a price: 21 Taxpayers paid millions of dollars last decade 22 to pay for legal fees and court costs during the 23 redistricting cases. Some parts of our state 24 had to hold new elections because candidates no 25 longer lived in the district that they were</p> <p>24</p>

<p>1 elected to.</p> <p>2 In addition to the financial cost,</p> <p>3 there is a cost as voters lose faith -- yes, I</p> <p>4 said faith -- in democracy and lose faith in</p> <p>5 this body, the General Assembly. It is</p> <p>6 impossible to put a price tag on losing</p> <p>7 something so inherent to our foundations as a</p> <p>8 country, but it is a much bigger cost than just</p> <p>9 dollars and cents.</p> <p>10 The single best way we could afford all</p> <p>11 of this is to agree on a compromise that gets a</p> <p>12 majority of votes from both caucuses. With</p> <p>13 almost all Democratic amendments getting</p> <p>14 defeated last night in the committee, the bill</p> <p>15 we have before us is a missed opportunity to</p> <p>16 instill faith in this body in our democracy.</p> <p>17 I want to thank everyone who worked so</p> <p>18 hard on those maps, even though I strongly</p> <p>19 disagree with all of them. If we end up back at</p> <p>20 the drawing board to draw new districts, I hope</p> <p>21 that we will seek to reach a consensus that</p> <p>22 better serves all of the people of</p> <p>23 North Carolina rather than just a few. I ask</p> <p>24 each of you, let's go back to the drawing board.</p> <p>25 I ask you to vote no on this bill. Thank you,</p> <p align="right">25</p>	<p>1 saw four to six people in there all the time</p> <p>2 every day, they were staff.</p> <p>3 The process -- I went to a lot -- a lot</p> <p>4 of the public hearings, and the comments that I</p> <p>5 heard -- and I think that what I kept trying to</p> <p>6 remind myself of every one I went to, I read</p> <p>7 some of the ones entered on the public input. I</p> <p>8 read probably, as Representative Harrison said,</p> <p>9 about 4,000, I read through some of those, I</p> <p>10 skimmed through them, and they were very well</p> <p>11 thought out, a lot of time and thought put into</p> <p>12 what their comments were.</p> <p>13 I heard from a lot of people that once</p> <p>14 in ten years we do this in North Carolina,</p> <p>15 right? I heard that, right? Representative</p> <p>16 Carney, is that right? Yeah. Well, when do we</p> <p>17 get to have our say?</p> <p>18 So I said talk to your individual</p> <p>19 elected officials in your districts. Call them</p> <p>20 up, tell them what you think these maps going</p> <p>21 forward should look like.</p> <p>22 You can also -- and I directed them to</p> <p>23 our website, to go in and make comments.</p> <p>24 We had our first initial committee</p> <p>25 meetings of the full redistricting committee in</p> <p align="right">27</p>
<p>1 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>2 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>3 the lady from Mecklenburg, Representative</p> <p>4 Carney, rise?</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY: To speak on the</p> <p>6 bill.</p> <p>7 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor.</p> <p>8 REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY: One minute.</p> <p>9 Thank you. I had to get fired up here,</p> <p>10 my batteries.</p> <p>11 I rise to speak on this bill, and I</p> <p>12 might say some things that you might not think</p> <p>13 that I would be saying, but I have been on this</p> <p>14 committee, and I'm going to start out saying</p> <p>15 like everybody else is saying, we do appreciate</p> <p>16 all the work that has gone into -- from the</p> <p>17 chairman who has been in that room, that people</p> <p>18 at home if they knew it was on the audio they</p> <p>19 could -- they could -- on the livestream in</p> <p>20 there, they could see it. They could watch</p> <p>21 people coming in, but people most of the time,</p> <p>22 as I think the chairman pointed out, the screen</p> <p>23 was set so that if you looked at that screen you</p> <p>24 just saw the center of the room, a few screens</p> <p>25 set up and you'd see one or two people, but you</p> <p align="right">26</p>	<p>1 September. We couldn't really do anything, we</p> <p>2 were told, until the census came out. We could</p> <p>3 have maybe in the beginning had some teaching to</p> <p>4 the community, inform the community on how the</p> <p>5 process would work when we actually got into our</p> <p>6 work and we could have brought more people on at</p> <p>7 that point of being a part of the process.</p> <p>8 So we had throughout -- you know, the</p> <p>9 most number, and maybe I'm wrong here so don't</p> <p>10 quote me. The highest number of attendees was</p> <p>11 like 110 at a couple of the public hearings.</p> <p>12 Some had 25 people that spoke. Of the 110</p> <p>13 that -- when there was a large number there,</p> <p>14 maybe 50 spoke. So not a lot of people got to</p> <p>15 come and put their personal input into their</p> <p>16 maps. They're not our maps. What we've</p> <p>17 spent -- and the chairman has spent a ton of</p> <p>18 time drawing his map that is before us today,</p> <p>19 they're not our maps. They belong to the people</p> <p>20 out here. And as someone said earlier, they're</p> <p>21 smart. They're probably smarter than some of</p> <p>22 us. When we get up here we think we're smart.</p> <p>23 But some of the comments were -- and</p> <p>24 you've heard it over and over, but it bears</p> <p>25 repeating so that we're listening, we're</p> <p align="right">28</p>

<p>1 listening. Fortunately, we're livestream now.  2 And I hope that a lot of people put it out there  3 to your constituents to watch today the debate  4 in the House on redistricting. So people wanted  5 the livestreaming for them at the hearings.  6 That was said at every hearing I attended and  7 the notes that I got from others. They called  8 it an autocratic practice. I thought wow.  9 Transparency. So how do you define  10 transparency? I asked a few people how do you  11 define transparency, and they said that so that  12 every segment of the population that votes in  13 the state can have access to what you all are  14 doing. And particularly we heard why don't you  15 have interpreters here for the people of  16 Hispanic communities, Asian communities. We  17 heard at one of the public hearings, why don't  18 you have translators here.  19 And so we have -- we had an opportunity  20 to reach a lot of people in North Carolina.  21 This is a big, big move that we're making.  22 I heard another statement. I just  23 jotted a few down so that I could share with you  24 since we didn't have 120 people attending every  25 public hearing in the state. We had -- from the</p> <p align="right">29</p>	<p>1 your job, that's what you're supposed to do, so  2 you should be doing it -- should be doing it  3 well. And if you got elected and you're in the  4 minority, that's your job, that's our job, and  5 that's why I took this redistricting seriously,  6 to listen. It was about -- it's about all  7 that -- when you're in the minority that you can  8 do is listen and be the voice of those people  9 that came out.  10 And the times of the day for some of  11 these public hearings, 3:00 on a Wednesday, and  12 I thank the speaker for changing the session  13 that day. Because it was in Mecklenburg, and we  14 had a voting session that day, and I couldn't  15 even go to my public hearing in my county unless  16 I missed a voting session. So the speaker  17 worked with us, so I thanked him for that, and I  18 thank him again, but there are a lot of people  19 that could not get there. They work in the  20 middle of the day. And we all -- and a lot of  21 us here work, a lot of us involved in this work  22 and couldn't be there on Saturdays or Sundays.  23 So there was opportunity missed, but there were  24 opportunities, I will say, for the public input.  25 Did we have enough? Nobody's ever going to have</p> <p align="right">31</p>
<p>1 committee, we would have four to five. At one I  2 think we had eight. So I'm sharing with you  3 that this should be an informative, not  4 performative experience for us.  5 And this other person said Don't let  6 your fear stop your support of democracy," where  7 he had expounded upon the fear of legislators  8 losing their seats. So "Don't let your fear  9 stop your support of democracy."  10 Another one I heard was "Maps should  11 promote democracy." I heard that numerous  12 times. And then it should -- it  13 violates -- they said, you know, gerrymandering,  14 I heard from a lot of people, has been going on  15 for a long, long time historically. True, I  16 think a lot of us would say that, both sides of  17 the aisle. So this person said it violates  18 equal protection in the constitution,  19 gerrymandering does.  20 So I thought about all of that through  21 this whole process. And again, we need to --  22 some people pat yourselves on the back, and  23 those that have been involved, both sides of the  24 aisle closely to the process, yeah, but you got  25 elected, and if you got in the majority, that's</p> <p align="right">30</p>	<p>1 enough of anything.  2 But through all of that, I go back  3 to -- and I'll say it again, somebody has  4 already mentioned it, but I think it needs --  5 worth saying again, and that is an independent  6 redistricting commission. I did my homework. I  7 said yesterday in the committee, just an FYI to  8 committee members, that there were, since I came  9 here in 2003, sworn in, 39 in the Senate and the  10 House between the two, 39 independent  11 redistricting commission bills. None went  12 anywhere. Notice 2003 to 2021, Democrats in  13 charge and Republicans in charge through my term  14 here. No -- no bills got heard and went  15 anywhere.  16 So I even broke it down a little  17 further than that. So starting in -- well, from  18 2003 to 2009, there were -- during the Democrat  19 time in office, majority, there was one  20 bipartisan independent redistricting commission  21 bill filed and there were four Republican during  22 the Democratic leadership. And then from  23 2009 -- well, 2010 to today, or 2021, there have  24 been numerous bipartisan bills, but there have  25 been seven Democratic bills filed and eight</p> <p align="right">32</p>

<p>1        Republicans, five during the time that the</p> <p>2        Republicans, here in this chamber, have been in</p> <p>3        the majority, and they've gone nowhere.</p> <p>4                So I'm saying to you -- and some of the</p> <p>5        members that sponsored the bills and cosponsored</p> <p>6        them are still serving on both sides of the</p> <p>7        aisle. Why can't we do that? Why can't we let</p> <p>8        go of it and bring in -- that's been studied and</p> <p>9        looked at and recommended for several years in</p> <p>10       the state. What are we -- as that one person</p> <p>11       that came to the public hearing, what are we</p> <p>12       afraid of. We cannot fear it. If we do, we're</p> <p>13       going to lose democracy. You don't want that in</p> <p>14       the majority. We don't want that in the</p> <p>15       minority.</p> <p>16                So I'm asking you today to think about</p> <p>17       what we're about to do, and this is to the</p> <p>18       citizens of this state, for the next ten years.</p> <p>19       Demographics are going to change, but these maps</p> <p>20       are going to be with us, so what you're getting</p> <p>21       today, they may not be the same by the end of</p> <p>22       this ten-year term of new redistricting.</p> <p>23                I'm grateful to have had the</p> <p>24       opportunity -- I'm not believing I'm saying this</p> <p>25       on the floor -- that I served on this committee.</p> <p align="right">33</p>	<p>1                And one final quote from someone at one</p> <p>2       of the hearings said that the problem with these</p> <p>3       maps going forward are that most -- most of the</p> <p>4       elections from this map, as in the past, are</p> <p>5       going to be won in primaries. Think about it.</p> <p>6       I ask you to vote no.</p> <p>7                SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>8       the gentleman from Durham, Representative</p> <p>9       Hawkins, rise?</p> <p>10               REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: To debate the</p> <p>11       bill.</p> <p>12               SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>13       floor.</p> <p>14               REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: I want to</p> <p>15       thank the chairman for the time and effort and</p> <p>16       for the amazing words of my colleagues, and so</p> <p>17       I'll try not to repeat too much, but I fear that</p> <p>18       you're picking up on the themes that all of us</p> <p>19       are really concerned about. And I think we're</p> <p>20       all, you know, familiar with these words: To be</p> <p>21       rather than to seem. And so what defines</p> <p>22       North Carolina as a state, its people, and the</p> <p>23       culture that we try to promote here, and</p> <p>24       nothing -- nothing more exemplifies that than</p> <p>25       what we do here in Raleigh, specifically on the</p> <p align="right">35</p>
<p>1        I've learned a lot. I came to this not knowing</p> <p>2       that much of all the acronyms, digging deep</p> <p>3       down, but I learned a lot from it. I still have</p> <p>4       a lot to learn. I'm sorry that the entire body</p> <p>5       has not had the opportunity to have a deep dive</p> <p>6       into redistricting and understanding it. Maybe</p> <p>7       you have on your own, and if you have I applaud</p> <p>8       you. So I'm thankful for serving on this</p> <p>9       committee. I'm grateful for the chairman and</p> <p>10       the work that he's done, and I will say that two</p> <p>11       weeks of -- and I think it was ten days in 643,</p> <p>12       there was a live camera and the public could see</p> <p>13       live people in there, not sure what they were</p> <p>14       doing, but some drawing maps, but that's the</p> <p>15       public's perception.</p> <p>16                I've never talked this long on the</p> <p>17       floor, but it's really a passion with me, and I</p> <p>18       do want everybody to realize how important this</p> <p>19       vote is today and can you go back home and say</p> <p>20       to everyone in your district, not just the ones</p> <p>21       of your party persuasion, but everyone in your</p> <p>22       district, this is a very fair map for our</p> <p>23       district. It gives everybody equal</p> <p>24       representation. It gives everybody a voice at</p> <p>25       the table.</p> <p align="right">34</p>	<p>1        issue of redistricting.</p> <p>2                And so as I get started, one of the</p> <p>3       things that I want to make sure that people</p> <p>4       understand and what they have to realize,</p> <p>5       especially because we have cameras here, is that</p> <p>6       people are watching what we do. It's the people</p> <p>7       who go to work every single day who work for</p> <p>8       wages that are not a living wage, who try to put</p> <p>9       food on their family's table, and who trust us</p> <p>10       to make the decisions that will impact their</p> <p>11       lives.</p> <p>12                We have young people who have seen the</p> <p>13       world change in front of their eyes because of a</p> <p>14       pandemic, social unrest, and all sorts of</p> <p>15       political changes and want to know that they</p> <p>16       have 120 people, at least in this house, that</p> <p>17       have their best interest at heart. And so we</p> <p>18       want them to have faith -- as one of my</p> <p>19       colleagues said, we want them to have faith in</p> <p>20       this process. We want them to know that we're</p> <p>21       the people that they should look up to and that</p> <p>22       we are going to do what we say we're going to</p> <p>23       do, that we have to make sure that we're</p> <p>24       educating and we're informing so they see us as</p> <p>25       people that they can trust, and so that's why</p> <p align="right">36</p>

<p>1 I'll focus on just a few of the criteria.</p> <p>2 And so based on the criteria that we</p> <p>3 adopted, one of those is that we were going to</p> <p>4 try and split the fewest VTDs. And the chairman</p> <p>5 is absolutely correct, that we -- compared to</p> <p>6 previous maps, we absolutely did that. Out of</p> <p>7 the six or seven that we had that were proposed</p> <p>8 in these maps, I guess I don't know whether I</p> <p>9 should be proud to say or reluctant to say that</p> <p>10 half of those are in Durham county. Three of</p> <p>11 those are in Durham county. And I know we have</p> <p>12 other options to choose in ways that we could</p> <p>13 ensure that we don't split VTDs.</p> <p>14 And let me give you sort of a zoom out</p> <p>15 on what that sort of leads to next. When you</p> <p>16 start to split VTDs, you start to split into</p> <p>17 communities. And one of the things that we sort</p> <p>18 of held dear in this process is compactness and</p> <p>19 the fact that we wanted to ensure that</p> <p>20 communities of interest remained whole.</p> <p>21 I'll use my county as an example, and</p> <p>22 I'll go on to others, but in Durham county, for</p> <p>23 example, if you're in northern Durham, you do</p> <p>24 things in northern Durham, on that side of town.</p> <p>25 On the east side of town, that borders RTP. You</p> <p>37</p>	<p>1 they being drawn for interests that are not my</p> <p>2 own? Are they being drawn to favor one party</p> <p>3 over the other?</p> <p>4 And we also saw this play out -- and</p> <p>5 one of the rules that we were trying to adhere</p> <p>6 to was the fewest changes, but in many ways we</p> <p>7 found that in the example of Pitt county, in a</p> <p>8 district that should have been rarely changed,</p> <p>9 with small changes, that we had many changes</p> <p>10 that resulted in a much, much different</p> <p>11 district.</p> <p>12 One of the practices that results --</p> <p>13 that results in all of these things is that</p> <p>14 people believe that gerrymandering is a hateful</p> <p>15 practice, is a bad practice that only benefits</p> <p>16 one group over the other, and what it does, and</p> <p>17 they are tired of it, is that it promotes</p> <p>18 extremes.</p> <p>19 Durham, no doubt, everyone knows this,</p> <p>20 is a pretty Democratic town, but let me tell</p> <p>21 you, when I get in front of those people and I</p> <p>22 talk about the fact that I have conversations</p> <p>23 across the aisle on common things with my</p> <p>24 colleagues, they clap every single time. It</p> <p>25 doesn't matter what sort of bill I'm working on</p> <p>39</p>
<p>1 have eastern -- you have east Durham, all the</p> <p>2 shops that are connected to the downtown area,</p> <p>3 you have Brier Creek, which is just across the</p> <p>4 boarder, and people do things on those sides of</p> <p>5 town.</p> <p>6 When they start to think about who</p> <p>7 they're going to vote for, they assume that they</p> <p>8 will be voting for the same person that their</p> <p>9 neighbor is voting for. That's only logical</p> <p>10 sense. And the reason that's important is</p> <p>11 because they'll talk about the schools that</p> <p>12 their kids go to, they'll talk about the way</p> <p>13 that those schools are zoned, the school funding</p> <p>14 that those areas receive, the bus rides, the</p> <p>15 roads that may be damaged, right, the things</p> <p>16 that they want to see improved in their</p> <p>17 community. They want to have commonality in the</p> <p>18 boundaries that they have so that they then can</p> <p>19 go to one person and get those problems solved.</p> <p>20 And as we see sort of across this map</p> <p>21 and the way that we have drawn some of our</p> <p>22 districts that have violated the community of</p> <p>23 interest criteria, it really does go to</p> <p>24 everything that you heard from my colleagues.</p> <p>25 They wonder why -- why is this that way? Are</p> <p>38</p>	<p>1 individually. It doesn't matter what type of</p> <p>2 thing I think is important, but when I tell them</p> <p>3 that we're putting the people of North Carolina</p> <p>4 ahead of our own political interest and we're</p> <p>5 working together, applause rings out. And if we</p> <p>6 don't get a chance to follow this criteria in</p> <p>7 the way that we said we were, right, being</p> <p>8 rather than to seem, it hurts their ability to</p> <p>9 trust what we're doing here and it makes them</p> <p>10 tune out to the process.</p> <p>11 Now, the one thing I know about all of</p> <p>12 you is that because you serve, you care about</p> <p>13 your communities. You want more people to</p> <p>14 participate in democracy. And so if that's the</p> <p>15 case, I'm going to kindly sort of have to ask</p> <p>16 you to vote no on this because one thing that I</p> <p>17 know for sure is that North Carolina has had a</p> <p>18 history lately of not just doing this once a</p> <p>19 decade. Now, I know that the chairman wants to</p> <p>20 do this once this decade, I'm pretty sure of</p> <p>21 that, and I want to join him in that effort, but</p> <p>22 it does seem like we're going down the road of</p> <p>23 seeing each other again on the redistricting</p> <p>24 committee, and I don't want that to happen. I</p> <p>25 don't want that to happen at all.</p> <p>40</p>

<p>1 And so one of the things that I have</p> <p>2 proposed, and I said it quite a few times in our</p> <p>3 committee, is that there's nothing wrong with</p> <p>4 slowing this process down, pushing our primary</p> <p>5 back, and making sure that we get this done</p> <p>6 right the first time, get this done right the</p> <p>7 first time. I'm a child that has a May</p> <p>8 birthday. I grew up in North Carolina having</p> <p>9 May primaries. I could always look forward to</p> <p>10 that, and this move to March doesn't benefit us</p> <p>11 in any way outside of the presidential years.</p> <p>12 And so us moving our primary back, taking our</p> <p>13 time, ensuring that we have all the interest and</p> <p>14 the input from the people of North Carolina is</p> <p>15 not a bad thing. I think each of your</p> <p>16 constituents would really appreciate that.</p> <p>17 And so that's what I'm asking and</p> <p>18 proposing as I vote no and for you to consider</p> <p>19 joining me in voting no. Because to me, nothing</p> <p>20 is more important than good government. Nothing</p> <p>21 is more important than good government, and</p> <p>22 that's what people want. They want to make sure</p> <p>23 that they understand that we're working</p> <p>24 together, that we're building together, and that</p> <p>25 there are things that they can look at down the</p> <p align="right">41</p>	<p>1 Representative Hall. You've done an amazing</p> <p>2 amount of work, it's taken a long time. I was</p> <p>3 not on redistricting but watched with great</p> <p>4 interest many times when it was being</p> <p>5 livestreamed, and I have two very respectful and</p> <p>6 pretty simple questions.</p> <p>7 And so watching the livestream and</p> <p>8 seeing you drawing the maps and getting up from</p> <p>9 the drawing and going with maps and coming</p> <p>10 out -- going out of the room, coming back into</p> <p>11 the room with a map, setting down, redrawing or</p> <p>12 continuing drawing -- two questions:</p> <p>13 When you left the rooms, was there any</p> <p>14 materials that you referred to or consulted with</p> <p>15 to make changes when you came back into the room</p> <p>16 to keep drawing the maps? Was there any</p> <p>17 demographic material, other materials you would</p> <p>18 use to make changes?</p> <p>19 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: No.</p> <p>20 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: Thank you.</p> <p>21 One follow-up.</p> <p>22 SPEAKER MOORE: Does the gentleman</p> <p>23 yield?</p> <p>24 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I yield.</p> <p>25 SPEAKER MOORE: He yields.</p> <p align="right">43</p>
<p>1 road and say we did this as North Carolinians.</p> <p>2 And so if you believe that, if you</p> <p>3 believe in a better North Carolina, if you</p> <p>4 believe in making sure that we uphold democracy</p> <p>5 and that we adhere to democracy, that you'll</p> <p>6 vote no for this bill and join us in helping to</p> <p>7 make this a better process.</p> <p>8 So I want to thank, again, the chairman</p> <p>9 and all of the staff, all of my colleagues who</p> <p>10 spent time drawing these maps, and I know this</p> <p>11 process is far from over, but I want to thank</p> <p>12 everyone for all of their hard work and</p> <p>13 hopefully we can build this together later.</p> <p>14 Thank you.</p> <p>15 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>16 the lady from Durham, Representative Morey,</p> <p>17 rise?</p> <p>18 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: Thank you,</p> <p>19 Mr. Speaker. To ask the bill sponsor a</p> <p>20 question.</p> <p>21 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Hall,</p> <p>22 does the gentleman yield?</p> <p>23 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I yield.</p> <p>24 SPEAKER MOORE: He yields.</p> <p>25 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: Thank you,</p> <p align="right">42</p>	<p>1 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: And similarly,</p> <p>2 were there any consultants, experts, individuals</p> <p>3 you would consult with when you would be drawing</p> <p>4 the map, leaving the room, coming back and</p> <p>5 sitting down to continue your work?</p> <p>6 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: There were no</p> <p>7 outside consultants that I used at all in any</p> <p>8 way in the drawing of this map.</p> <p>9 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: Thank you. I</p> <p>10 appreciate it.</p> <p>11 May I speak on the bill.</p> <p>12 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor</p> <p>13 to debate the bill.</p> <p>14 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: And my questions</p> <p>15 to the chairman were not meant to be critical at</p> <p>16 all. I think it just reflects our human nature.</p> <p>17 We're sitting here as a body basically</p> <p>18 on two teams: 69 on that side, 51 on this side.</p> <p>19 We're getting ready to go decide how we're going</p> <p>20 to play the new sport, who's going to play what</p> <p>21 positions, who's going to draw the lines on the</p> <p>22 field or what kind of field it's going to be.</p> <p>23 You got 69; we got 51. Why do we even go out on</p> <p>24 the court?</p> <p>25 But we are very interested, but I think</p> <p align="right">44</p>

<p>1 that goes also to the rhetorical question I</p> <p>2 think the chairman said why didn't we come out</p> <p>3 and draw the maps. We know the outcome. It's</p> <p>4 69 to 51 most likely. And if it were the</p> <p>5 opposite, and we're 69 on this side and 51, it's</p> <p>6 the same deal, but I think it goes exactly to</p> <p>7 what Representative Carney said. I couldn't go</p> <p>8 in and offer a map because, fundamentally, I</p> <p>9 represent people who have told me and I have</p> <p>10 told them it's an independent redistricting</p> <p>11 commission that should take charge. And so I</p> <p>12 can't in good faith in good conscience be a</p> <p>13 politician and go in and sit at a terminal and</p> <p>14 draw a map that I want that will reflect my</p> <p>15 political belief and my political philosophies.</p> <p>16 You can't do that. It's hypocritical. It won't</p> <p>17 happen. It's not human nature.</p> <p>18 And so I think that's why you're</p> <p>19 hearing from our side of the aisle. Yes, we're</p> <p>20 in the minority, yes, these maps will be passed,</p> <p>21 but there's a better way to do it. It is</p> <p>22 totally a political process. Even though we say</p> <p>23 we're not using political data, it's all about</p> <p>24 politics, but it shouldn't be. It should be</p> <p>25 about the representation of the people of this</p> <p align="right">45</p>	<p>1 and the majority leader about was we could do</p> <p>2 the second reading and then we can take the</p> <p>3 amendments on third, that way we can go into a</p> <p>4 recess until we get those amendments.</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Thanks,</p> <p>6 Mr. Speaker. I would like to debate the bill.</p> <p>7 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>8 floor.</p> <p>9 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Thank you,</p> <p>10 Members. I'll be brief.</p> <p>11 I've had the opportunity to serve in</p> <p>12 this body for -- this is my sixth term, going</p> <p>13 through redistricting, obviously, for the second</p> <p>14 time, and I'm really concerned about what I've</p> <p>15 seen as it relates to my district.</p> <p>16 I am the only one of me in this body.</p> <p>17 I represent approximately 50 plus thousand</p> <p>18 Lumbees in Robeson county, of course, some in</p> <p>19 Scotland county and some over in Hoke county.</p> <p>20 Since the '70s, we've had a Lumbee serving in</p> <p>21 this body. And Representative Morey just</p> <p>22 mentioned representation. That's very</p> <p>23 important, and it's very important to my people,</p> <p>24 the Lumbee people in Robeson county and the</p> <p>25 other citizens in that county. But my district</p> <p align="right">47</p>
<p>1 state, at least one third who aren't even a</p> <p>2 member of either political party and where are</p> <p>3 they.</p> <p>4 So I hope we do introduce good</p> <p>5 legislation and it takes us out of the politics</p> <p>6 and the drawings and gives an even playing field</p> <p>7 not to us but to the people we represent. Thank</p> <p>8 you.</p> <p>9 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>10 the gentleman from Robeson, Representative</p> <p>11 Graham, rise?</p> <p>12 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Inquiry,</p> <p>13 Mr. Chair.</p> <p>14 SPEAKER MOORE: For me or the bill</p> <p>15 sponsor? The gentleman is recognized.</p> <p>16 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Will we be</p> <p>17 taking in any amendments this afternoon?</p> <p>18 SPEAKER MOORE: We are. I think the</p> <p>19 amendments are still -- I understand that maybe</p> <p>20 you had an amendment or someone else. The</p> <p>21 chair's not in possession of any amendments at</p> <p>22 this time. There's also an amendment that will</p> <p>23 simply try to do -- that will renumber the</p> <p>24 matters, and we haven't received those.</p> <p>25 So what I talked to the minority leader</p> <p align="right">46</p>	<p>1 has always been primarily and without question a</p> <p>2 majority American Indian district, and I'm</p> <p>3 really concerned about what I'm seeing on the</p> <p>4 map that I've been presented today.</p> <p>5 And I've been watching over the last</p> <p>6 few days. I will be submitting an amendment,</p> <p>7 but I want to appeal to this committee and to</p> <p>8 the chair, let's not undermine the opportunity</p> <p>9 to have American Indians in this body. And I</p> <p>10 think if we proceed down the path that I'm</p> <p>11 looking at, that could potentially happen, and</p> <p>12 I'm really concerned about that, and I hope</p> <p>13 you're concerned about that.</p> <p>14 And I appreciate the speaker allowing</p> <p>15 me an opportunity this session to represent the</p> <p>16 tribes of North Carolina as a committee chair.</p> <p>17 To me, that's very important. It gives our</p> <p>18 citizens a voice. It gives the tribes a voice</p> <p>19 here in this body. And from time to time I've</p> <p>20 had many of you over the course of the past</p> <p>21 12 years come to me and ask for advice on</p> <p>22 particular items as it related to American</p> <p>23 Indians in this state. I can't imagine that you</p> <p>24 would support -- or not support having an</p> <p>25 American Indian in this body, and I hope you</p> <p align="right">48</p>

<p>1 will really take this to heart. Our people need  2 representation here too. I have communities of  3 interest.</p> <p>4 I hate to bring up the race card, but  5 I'm going to talk about culture. And I will  6 just pick out Chairman Hall. I mean, he's the  7 chairman, he drew these maps, and I can say that  8 I bet you that his district looks like him, no  9 doubt in my mind it looks like him. I want a  10 district that looks like me in this House, in  11 this body, whether I'm standing here or not.  12 Our people deserve it, and I expect that I'll be  13 sending an amendment that will support that at  14 some point.</p> <p>15 And I just want to make you aware that  16 I'm really concerned about potential that we're  17 getting to -- getting to obviously see happen is  18 for the first time in over 50 years may not have  19 an American Indian standing on this floor.  20 That's a possibility, and I just want to  21 emphasize that.</p> <p>22 And, Mr. Speaker, thank you for the  23 opportunity and thank you for listening.</p> <p>24 SPEAKER MOORE: And actually,  25 Representative Graham, I want to let you know,</p> <p align="right">49</p>	<p>1 lies, and the greatest care -- the greatest care  2 should be employed in constituting the  3 representative assembly. It should be a  4 miniature, an exact portrait of the people at  5 large. It should think, feel, reason, and act  6 like them. That it may be the interest of the  7 assembly to do strict justice at all times, it  8 should be an equal representation, or, in other  9 words, equal interests among the people should  10 have equal interests in it. Great care -- great  11 care should be taken to effect this and to  12 prevent unfair, partial, and corrupt elections."  13 John Adams.</p> <p>14 The one thing that I've always  15 respected about a conservative is that they,  16 probably more than any other group, profess that  17 they stand on principles of the constitution and  18 principles of their core beliefs, and I've seen  19 many times the other side of the aisle has done  20 this.</p> <p>21 Years ago, you were the leaders -- you  22 were the leaders of impartial redistricting.  23 What has happened? Why have you backed off that  24 belief?</p> <p>25 Caucus politics is hard, but standing</p> <p align="right">51</p>
<p>1 the amendments we are actually going to run on  2 the second reading so they don't have to redraft  3 them for third, so I think the amendments are on  4 the way over. So if we get to a point where the  5 debate has ended and where the amendments have  6 not -- we have not yet received the amendments,  7 what I will probably do is put everything at  8 ease until we get those amendments in. So we're  9 going to try to take care of those on second.</p> <p>10 For what purpose does the gentleman  11 from Cumberland, Representative Richardson,  12 rise?</p> <p>13 REPRESENTATIVE RICHARDSON: To debate  14 the --</p> <p>15 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the  16 floor.</p> <p>17 REPRESENTATIVE RICHARDSON: Thank you,  18 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>19 Members, this is where the rubber meets  20 the road. Two people far smarter than I have  21 said it this way:</p> <p>22 "The right of voting for representation  23 is a primary right by which other rights are  24 protected." Thomas Paine.</p> <p>25 John Adams. "The principal difficulty</p> <p align="right">50</p>	<p>1 on your merit and standing on your beliefs is  2 harder. Today is a day that each of you should  3 not listen to your caucus or what your caucus is  4 saying to the extent it overrides your basic  5 core beliefs.</p> <p>6 And one of the hardest things we all do  7 in here, one of the most difficult things we do  8 in here, and I do it time and again, is I often  9 will go against my basic core beliefs to back  10 and strengthen my caucus, but not at this  11 expense, not at this expense.</p> <p>12 John Adams was right when he said what  13 he said here. We all know it. We just don't  14 have the courage to do it. We need to go to  15 some form of impartial redistricting. It's the  16 only answer.</p> <p>17 I watched an extraordinarily good man  18 that I have immense respect for, our rules  19 chairman, struggle with this for two weeks and  20 struggle with the debate on the floor last  21 night. And it was hard -- it was a hard debate  22 for all of us. The reason is we're trying to  23 fit a square peg in a round hole. We're drawing  24 the very districts and the very lines in which  25 the people are going to elect us.</p> <p align="right">52</p>

<p>1 Are we following John Adams'</p> <p>2 admonition? No, we're not.</p> <p>3 Let's take this bill back, put in</p> <p>4 a -- and it will work this way if we would put</p> <p>5 an impartial redistricting in it, let those</p> <p>6 folks draw the lines, and then we have control</p> <p>7 over the ultimate outcome of it by voting to</p> <p>8 make sure they honor the principles that John</p> <p>9 Adams says.</p> <p>10 This assembly is at its best -- I</p> <p>11 believe this to my core, because I've run in a</p> <p>12 number of districts that are about 50/50</p> <p>13 districts. It makes you a better candidate. It</p> <p>14 makes you a better person. It makes you work</p> <p>15 harder. And it makes you listen to different</p> <p>16 beliefs when you're in a 50/50 district. Trust</p> <p>17 me; I know.</p> <p>18 Y'all, this is just too important. We</p> <p>19 have a chance to do something extraordinarily</p> <p>20 special, extraordinarily right as a group. I</p> <p>21 sense it in everybody in this room that this is</p> <p>22 a chance to get it right. Reconsider this,</p> <p>23 please reconsider it. Thank you.</p> <p>24 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>25 the gentleman from Wake, Representative Jones,</p> <p align="right">53</p>	<p>1 he's still living, good man, a lot of you may</p> <p>2 have known him. Skip Stam from Apex. Good,</p> <p>3 solid, conservative Republican. And Skip -- I</p> <p>4 knew Skip from law practice, and I knew Carl</p> <p>5 Holleman who knew Skip. And Skip's a very smart</p> <p>6 guy. Skip, I think -- I don't think I'm</p> <p>7 misinterpreting this, now supports commission to</p> <p>8 do this work. I don't know what he did when he</p> <p>9 was in the body, but this is what he now</p> <p>10 supports. And I believe the reason for that is</p> <p>11 because it would lift us, we members, whether</p> <p>12 you're on the minority side or majority side,</p> <p>13 out of the process and put it in the hands of</p> <p>14 men and women and experts who are Democrat,</p> <p>15 Republican, black, white, Native American,</p> <p>16 whatever, would be on a commission and try to do</p> <p>17 the best they can with the process that deals</p> <p>18 with the third rail of our democracy which is</p> <p>19 voting.</p> <p>20 And it's important, whether you win or</p> <p>21 lose an election, that you feel that process was</p> <p>22 fair. You may get the most votes and win, you</p> <p>23 may get fewer votes and lose, but at least you</p> <p>24 feel in your gut I got heard and my vote didn't</p> <p>25 count any more than another person's or any</p> <p align="right">55</p>
<p>1 rise?</p> <p>2 REPRESENTATIVE JONES: I rise to speak</p> <p>3 to the bill.</p> <p>4 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>5 floor.</p> <p>6 REPRESENTATIVE JONES: I didn't plan to</p> <p>7 say anything about the bill when you had said</p> <p>8 that two others planned to speak. And I'm not</p> <p>9 going to speak on the lines and all that so I'm</p> <p>10 going to sort of keep that promise, but I want</p> <p>11 to speak more globally about this process.</p> <p>12 Every ten years, I understand the</p> <p>13 legislature does this, and it's very, very</p> <p>14 important to the people of North Carolina. It</p> <p>15 reminds me of to democracy, the election process</p> <p>16 and the vote is like in the subway system, they</p> <p>17 have two rails that run the train, but then over</p> <p>18 on the side they have another rail. That's a</p> <p>19 third rail, and that's where the power comes</p> <p>20 from. And if you touch the third rail, it</p> <p>21 electrocutes you as a human being, that's how</p> <p>22 powerful it is.</p> <p>23 This process here that we're about to</p> <p>24 engage in is the third rail of democracy. And I</p> <p>25 had a friend in this body, he's no longer here,</p> <p align="right">54</p>	<p>1 less. That's democracy.</p> <p>2 So I hope -- I'm going to say some</p> <p>3 things towards the future, and I'm going to make</p> <p>4 a couple of promises here. I don't know how</p> <p>5 long I'm going to be in this House, but if I</p> <p>6 ever am in the House and I'm in the majority,</p> <p>7 I'm going to say the same thing I'm saying now</p> <p>8 in the minority. I'm going to support a</p> <p>9 commission. I'm going to support a process that</p> <p>10 lifts it out of us and gives it to a commission</p> <p>11 so that we can change the perception that when</p> <p>12 the D's are in charge, they control it and they</p> <p>13 manipulate it, and when the R's in charge, they</p> <p>14 manipulate it, and the people can say we now</p> <p>15 believe that they will be fair. That's what I</p> <p>16 want to support in the future.</p> <p>17 And I have a suggestion. You may not</p> <p>18 follow this, but that's okay. Regardless of</p> <p>19 what happens today, we kind of know what the</p> <p>20 deal is going to be in the lines and all that,</p> <p>21 but I'm not getting into the lines. But I hope</p> <p>22 that even when it's not the odd year after the</p> <p>23 even year, 2021, 3031 after 30, why can't we in</p> <p>24 the future work on this together in future</p> <p>25 sessions between now and the next one and change</p> <p align="right">56</p>

<p>1 this process that obviously is flawed. It's</p> <p>2 flawed. And I don't care how long they've been</p> <p>3 doing it, but the great thing about a democracy,</p> <p>4 we can change it and make it even better.</p> <p>5 So I implore you down the road -- I</p> <p>6 know today is sort of done, but down the road,</p> <p>7 why don't we look at this together in the</p> <p>8 nonelection years, in the non year after the ten</p> <p>9 and say let's make it better. Let's put</p> <p>10 something together that's different for the</p> <p>11 future. Thank you.</p> <p>12 SPEAKER MOORE: Thank you,</p> <p>13 Representative Jones.</p> <p>14 Ms. Churchill, are any of those</p> <p>15 amendments -- actually, Ms. Churchill, could the</p> <p>16 lady approach the dais, please.</p> <p>17 (Brief interruption.)</p> <p>18 SPEAKER MOORE: The House will come</p> <p>19 back to order.</p> <p>20 Members, before we get underway, we do</p> <p>21 want to welcome a special guest on motion of</p> <p>22 Representative Belk who actually herself is in</p> <p>23 the gallery right now. We're pleased to extend</p> <p>24 the courtesy of the gallery to the mayor pro tem</p> <p>25 of Charlotte, Julie Eiselt who is with us.</p> <p align="right">57</p>	<p>1 a majority decision as they go to the polls and</p> <p>2 make a choice. The numbers work out very well.</p> <p>3 Of course, it gives the municipalities of</p> <p>4 Rowland back to the district, which I served two</p> <p>5 terms two years ago, and right now I'm serving</p> <p>6 the area of Fairmont. And this amendment gives</p> <p>7 those districts back to this -- for this</p> <p>8 particular amendment.</p> <p>9 As I said earlier, this is an</p> <p>10 opportunity to ensure -- I think a good</p> <p>11 opportunity to ensure that a member of the tribe</p> <p>12 would be -- or the Lumbee Tribe would be</p> <p>13 represented in this body, and I think that's</p> <p>14 what I hope you would want to give us good</p> <p>15 representation across the state. And I know</p> <p>16 some of you represent tribes, but those tribes</p> <p>17 are not in the majority in your districts, but</p> <p>18 this happens to be -- Robeson county happens to</p> <p>19 be the most diverse -- culturally diverse county</p> <p>20 in this country, and this amendment will give</p> <p>21 the citizens of that county representation and a</p> <p>22 very good chance to have a member of the Lumbee</p> <p>23 Tribe serving in this body, and I would ask you</p> <p>24 to support this amendment. Thank you.</p> <p>25 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p align="right">59</p>
<p>1 Ms. Eiselt, if you would stand, please. We want</p> <p>2 to thank you for being here with us today.</p> <p>3 Members, we are ready to proceed with</p> <p>4 the amendments. We're going to take up</p> <p>5 Amendment ABW-23 V2.</p> <p>6 Representative Graham is recognized to</p> <p>7 send forth the amendment, and the clerk will</p> <p>8 read.</p> <p>9 THE CLERK: Representative Graham moves</p> <p>10 to amend the bill on page 5, lines 42 through</p> <p>11 48, by rewriting those lines to read.</p> <p>12 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman from</p> <p>13 Robeson has the floor to debate the amendment.</p> <p>14 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Thank you,</p> <p>15 Mr. Chair, and I'll be brief.</p> <p>16 I think I stated earlier my concern,</p> <p>17 and with this amendment, the amendment really</p> <p>18 does give I guess it's House District 24 an</p> <p>19 opportunity to have someone of the American</p> <p>20 Indian community here in the legislature. As I</p> <p>21 said earlier, we can go back to the '70s and</p> <p>22 we've had a member of the tribe standing on this</p> <p>23 floor, and my amendment will -- nothing's</p> <p>24 guaranteed, but it will give the citizens of</p> <p>25 Robeson county and the folks of the Lumbee Tribe</p> <p align="right">58</p>	<p>1 the gentleman from Caldwell,</p> <p>2 Representative Hall, rise?</p> <p>3 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: To debate the</p> <p>4 amendment.</p> <p>5 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>6 floor to debate the amendment.</p> <p>7 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you,</p> <p>8 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>9 Members, I am going to respectfully ask</p> <p>10 you to vote no on the amendment. For those of</p> <p>11 you who were here in 2017, you may remember that</p> <p>12 we had some litigation on our maps at that time</p> <p>13 and we had to come in and redraw, and the</p> <p>14 amendment that's before you in large part</p> <p>15 replicates the district that was struck down by</p> <p>16 the court. And of course, we want to avoid any</p> <p>17 such strike down this time around. So again, I</p> <p>18 respectfully ask you to vote no on the</p> <p>19 amendment.</p> <p>20 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>21 the gentleman from Chatham, Representative</p> <p>22 Reives, rise?</p> <p>23 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you,</p> <p>24 Mr. Speaker. Just ask for a recorded vote on</p> <p>25 both amendments.</p> <p align="right">60</p>

<p>1 SPEAKER MOORE: The chair will be 2 taking recorded votes on the amendments. 3 For what purpose does the gentleman 4 from Robeson county, Representative Graham, 5 rise? 6 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: To speak a 7 second time. 8 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the 9 floor. 10 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Well, I do 11 remember that, Representative Hall, and I don't 12 think that was the factor that -- I don't think 13 that's -- I don't think that's a correct 14 statement you made, and I disagree with you 15 100 percent. 16 My county got caught up into that and 17 that was the fix. It was another district that 18 was in question. And my county, my district got 19 caught up in that. And of course, it was 20 changed considerably, and I disagree with that. 21 So, Members, don't buy that, don't buy 22 that. It's not true. And I will tell you my 23 basis for my amendment is to give the Lumbee 24 people in Robeson county representation in this 25 body, and I would ask you don't accept that. Of</p> <p align="right">61</p>	<p>1 that area? 2 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: Well, there are 3 Lumbees in both districts, 23 and 24, but if we 4 accept this amendment, the majority in 5 district -- the District 24 would be a majority 6 Lumbee. 7 REPRESENTATIVE CUNNINGHAM: Thank you, 8 sir. 9 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion, 10 further debate. 11 If not, the question before the House 12 is the adoption of Amendment A1 sent forward by 13 Representative Graham. Those in favor will vote 14 aye. Those opposed will vote no. The clerk 15 will open the vote. 16 The clerk will lock the machine and 17 record the vote. 18 49 having voted in the affirmative and 19 66 in the negative, the amendment is not 20 adopted. 21 Representative Reives is recognized to 22 send forward Amendment ABW-24. The clerk will 23 read. 24 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you, 25 Mr. Speaker. Oh, I'm sorry. Go ahead.</p> <p align="right">63</p>
<p>1 course my district was changed, but it was 2 not -- it was not because my district was not a 3 part of the litigation. So I'm asking you do 4 not accept that. 5 I'm asking you give this amendment an 6 opportunity, which if you do vote for this 7 amendment, it will give an opportunity for 8 someone who looks like me, and who looks like 9 many of your districts, an opportunity to be 10 served and have representation in this body. So 11 I would ask you to support this amendment. 12 Thank you. 13 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 14 the lady from Mecklenburg, Representative 15 Cunningham, rise? 16 REPRESENTATIVE CUNNINGHAM: To ask my 17 colleague, Representative Graham, a question. 18 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Graham, 19 does the gentleman yield? 20 REPRESENTATIVE GRAHAM: I yield. 21 SPEAKER MOORE: He yields. 22 REPRESENTATIVE CUNNINGHAM: Thank you, 23 Representative Graham. 24 In District 23 and District 24, do we 25 know how much is comprised of Lumbee Indians in</p> <p align="right">62</p>	<p>1 THE CLERK: Representative Reives moves 2 to amend the bill on page 4, lines 43 through 3 49, by rewriting the lines to read. 4 SPEAKER MOORE: Now the gentleman from 5 Chatham has the floor to debate the amendment. 6 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you, 7 Mr. Speaker. 8 In this particular amendment, as you 9 see, takes two of the Stephenson groupings and 10 puts them together, so this is completely 11 different than any of the amendments I've 12 offered on any prior occasions last night or any 13 other time or even in the map that I drew. 14 The map that I drew before during this 15 last two weeks and also the amendments I have 16 offered have gone by the rules that I feel that 17 the committee has set forth. 18 There's one area that I fundamentally 19 disagreed with our approach on and just in the 20 interpretation of the legal situation that we're 21 in, and I alluded to this in my earlier 22 argument. That's what this amendment addresses. 23 As a lot of you know, last night's PCS 24 was the first time that we saw a new grouping 25 and a new change in the districts that cover</p> <p align="right">64</p>

<p>1 Wayne, Sampson, Bladen and those areas, and so 2 we couldn't do anything about having an 3 amendment ready for that because last night was 4 the first time we saw it and obviously didn't 5 want everybody to stay here late at night for 6 that.</p> <p>7 This morning, did not get to Raleigh in 8 time. My comrade, Representative Terry Brown, 9 was able to help out and I was able to 10 communicate to him what it is I was trying to 11 draw, and that's what we got, and I really 12 appreciate staff getting this together as 13 quickly as they did.</p> <p>14 So as I stated, from the beginning of 15 this process, our discussion has been that we've 16 got to address the Voting Rights Act. There's 17 no way around that. Stephenson, to me, makes it 18 very clear that we have to address the Voting 19 Rights Act.</p> <p>20 The fundamental difference in our 21 approaches, in our two different interpretations 22 that I and the chairman have about this 23 particular part, is that we feel that in order 24 to comply with Stephenson that you actually have 25 to draw your Voting Rights Act districts first.</p> <p align="right">65</p>	<p>1 opportunity. This amendment would allow for 2 that opportunity, and therefore I would ask you 3 to support this amendment.</p> <p>4 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 5 the gentleman from Caldwell, 6 Representative Hall, rise?</p> <p>7 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: To debate the 8 amendment.</p> <p>9 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the 10 floor.</p> <p>11 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you, 12 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>13 Colleagues, again respectfully, I'm 14 going to ask you to vote against the amendment. 15 I'll say that, you know, as to some of the 16 amendments last night and, of course, as to the 17 amendment today, I've had very little time to 18 look at them, to digest them, to think through 19 them, and that's despite the fact that the 20 committee room has been open for about three 21 weeks, and for much of that time I've been right 22 over there where anybody could come in and speak 23 to me any time they wanted to.</p> <p>24 Members, if you look at this grouping, 25 this -- the proposed amendment that's before</p> <p align="right">67</p>
<p>1 Once you draw those districts, then you commence 2 to drawing the rest of the map by the rules and 3 the points that we brought up as far as the 4 criteria that we've used.</p> <p>5 And so what I'm offering today is that 6 approach, whereas we've put two Stephenson 7 groupings together to draw a Voting Rights Act 8 qualified district. And if you look at the 9 area -- and for those of you especially that 10 serve that area and remember that area, it was 11 just four years ago that African Americans were 12 able to elect the candidate of their choice in 13 those counties, in Wayne and Lenoir counties.</p> <p>14 Well, now, with the new configuration, 15 there's an argument to be made that African 16 Americans can elect one person of their choice 17 with the configuration that we have in place. 18 We believe that is what the Voting Rights Act 19 was meant to address.</p> <p>20 And one point I want to clarify is 21 there's a huge difference between making a 22 majority-minority district and making a district 23 where African Americans have the opportunity to 24 elect a candidate of their choice. It can be a 25 much smaller percentage but still allow for that</p> <p align="right">66</p>	<p>1 you, you don't have to really be an expert to 2 look at that and think that's gerrymandering. 3 This is the exact kind of thing that folks 4 across the state in public comment told us they 5 wanted to avoid. They wanted to avoid districts 6 that look like monsters or some sort of 7 creature. And if you look at this district, 8 it's not compact at all. In fact, the seventh 9 district on this actually has the worst 10 compactness score under what's called the 11 Polsby-Popper score of any district in the 12 entire map at .09.</p> <p>13 Additionally, Members, in this 14 amendment, it would violate the state's 15 constitution. And I understand Representative 16 Reives and I have a different viewpoint on that, 17 but in my opinion this would violate the state's 18 constitution because it traverses counties too 19 many times. The purple sixth district runs from 20 Wayne, Greene, down into Lenoir, again, in 21 violation of the Stephenson decision.</p> <p>22 Members, the grouping that was chosen 23 ultimately -- and I went back and forth on this 24 one as I worked in the committee room, and 25 ultimately -- well, when I discovered that every</p> <p align="right">68</p>

<p>1 member -- determined finally that every member  2 in this grouping would be coming back and plan  3 to run again, I looked at that again, that's one  4 of our criteria is doing our best not to  5 double-bunk, and so at that point I knew  6 somebody had to be double-bunked. And so I  7 said, okay, well, let's go look at the other  8 criteria.</p> <p>9 And if you look at the counties that  10 are in the grouping that are in the map, Bladen  11 and Sampson have better community connections  12 than Bladen and Pender. Bladen is more of an  13 agricultural rural county; Pender more of a  14 beach suburban county. And really, it makes  15 more sense for Bladen and Sampson to be together  16 than it does Bladen and Pender.</p> <p>17 In the map drawn on the base map,  18 Goldsboro is kept whole. And in fact, the  19 districts in that grouping are more compact than  20 any other that I've seen drawn in this  21 particular grouping. It also keeps Onslow  22 mostly the same as it was except for swapping  23 Duplin for what is Pender on our current map.</p> <p>24 So, Members, for those reasons -- and  25 again, just by -- if you just look at it and</p> <p align="right">69</p>	<p>1 those, by definition, those are going to be ugly  2 districts, so that's not what this is about.</p> <p>3 That's the plain question: Do we draw those  4 Voting Rights Act districts first? According to  5 what we've done so far, we have not addressed  6 the Voting Rights Act at all in this map. This  7 would address that. I would ask you to support  8 the amendment.</p> <p>9 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,  10 further debate.</p> <p>11 If not, the question before the House  12 is the adoption of Amendment A2 sent forward by  13 Representative Reives. Those in favor of the  14 amendment will vote aye. Those opposed will  15 vote no. The clerk will open the vote.</p> <p>16 The clerk will lock the machine and  17 record the vote.</p> <p>18 49 having voted in the affirmative and  19 67 in the negative, the amendment is not  20 adopted.</p> <p>21 Representative Hall is recognized to  22 send forth Amendment AST-72. The clerk will  23 read.</p> <p>24 THE CLERK: Representative Hall moves  25 to amend the bill on page 1, line 9, through</p> <p align="right">71</p>
<p>1 tell this doesn't pass the eye test. I would  2 ask you to vote no on the amendment.</p> <p>3 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does  4 the gentleman from Chatham, Representative  5 Reives, rise?</p> <p>6 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: To speak to the  7 amendment a second time.</p> <p>8 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the  9 floor.</p> <p>10 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: And I would  11 just say as a friendly reminder, on this  12 particular grouping, the chairman and I actually  13 drew basically the same groupings. The first  14 time we saw a change in this grouping was last  15 night, and so I don't know we disagree until we  16 disagree.</p> <p>17 So again, this wasn't a trial by, you  18 know, laying in wait. This was a we saw a map  19 last night that differed from the map that's  20 been out for the last week or two, we have now  21 given you something in response to that.</p> <p>22 Secondly, I will remind you, this is  23 not an argument about compactness. The question  24 simply is does Stephenson require that we draw  25 Voting Rights Act districts first. If you draw</p> <p align="right">70</p>	<p>1 page 13, line 19, by rewriting those lines to  2 read.</p> <p>3 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Hall is  4 recognized to explain the amendment.</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Members, as many  6 of you mentioned -- many of the members in my  7 caucus and some of the folks in the other caucus  8 mentioned to Representative Reives, the  9 districts on what I call the base map that's  10 before you today, the numbers were a bit off  11 from what we're used to seeing, and so I went  12 ahead and did my best today to try to get an  13 amendment to fix those numbers within this map.</p> <p>14 And so that's all this does. It  15 doesn't change the map at all. It tries to make  16 these district numbers a little bit closer to  17 what they currently have. Did not realize how  18 important that might be to some folks, but it  19 is. And I'll offer a piece of free political  20 advice: Probably shouldn't be running on your  21 district number anyway, but that's okay. We're  22 going to change these and try to get them as  23 close as we can.</p> <p>24 I don't believe this is a controversial  25 amendment. I actually asked Representative</p> <p align="right">72</p>

<p>1 Reives if he would send me what the requests 2 from the Democrats, and I knew on our said, you 3 know, who really, really cared about it and we 4 tried to get it as close as we could, so please 5 support the amendment. 6 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion, 7 further debate. If not, the question before the 8 House is the adoption of Amendment A3 sent 9 forward by Representative Hall. Those in favor 10 will vote aye. Those opposed will vote no. The 11 clerk will open the vote. 12 Representative Hawkins. Representative 13 Hawkins wish to vote? 14 The clerk will lock the machine and 15 record the vote. 16 116 having voted in the affirmative and 17 none in the negative, Amendment A3 is adopted. 18 That was a close one. 19 All right. All the amendments have 20 been taken at this point. 21 Further discussion further debate on 22 the bill. 23 If not, the question before the House 24 is the passage of House Bill 976 on its second 25 reading. Those in favor will vote aye. Those</p> <p align="right">73</p>	<p>1 record the vote. 2 67 having voted in the affirmative and 3 49 in the negative, House Bill 976 passes its 4 third reading. The bill is ordered engrossed 5 and sent to the Senate by special messenger. 6 (Transcription from audio recording 7 stopped at 2:29:21.) 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25</p> <p align="right">75</p>
<p>1 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the 2 vote. 3 Representative Richardson wish to vote. 4 The clerk will lock the machine and 5 record the vote. 6 68 having voted in the affirmative, 48 7 in the negative, House Bill 976 passed the 8 second reading and will be read a third time. 9 THE CLERK: General Assembly of 10 North Carolina exacts. 11 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion 12 further debate. 13 Representative Morey, does the lady 14 wish to be recorded as a "no" on that first 15 vote? 16 REPRESENTATIVE MOREY: Yes, sir. 17 SPEAKER MOORE: I was holding out hope 18 there. You dashed my hopes up here, 19 Representative Morey. I was like -- 20 Further discussion, further debate. If 21 not, the question before the House is the 22 passage of House Bill 976 on its third reading. 23 Those in favor will vote aye. Those opposed 24 will vote no. The clerk will open the vote. 25 The clerk will lock the machine and</p> <p align="right">74</p>	<p>1 STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA ) 2 ) CERTIFICATE 3 COUNTY OF WAKE ) 4 5 I, DENISE MYERS BYRD, Stenographic Court 6 Reporter, CSR 8340, do hereby certify that the 7 transcription of the audio recorded General Assembly 8 of North Carolina House Floor Vote on HB 976, held on 9 November 2, 2021, was taken down by me 10 stenographically to the best of my ability and 11 thereafter transcribed under my supervision; and that 12 the foregoing pages, inclusive, constitute a true and 13 accurate transcription of said recording. 14 Signed this the 20th day of December 2021. 15 16 17 Denise Myers Byrd 18 CSR 8240, RPR, CLR 102409-2 19 20 21 22 23 24 25</p> <p align="right">76</p>

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NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
SENATE REDISTRICTING COMMITTEE  
NOVEMBER 2, 2021

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1 is yours.

2 CHAIRMAN HISE: Thank you, all members.

3 I'm going to present Senate Bill 739. You  
4 should have the map and the bill in front of  
5 you. I want to go through an explanation of the  
6 50 districts and, once again, be thankful I'm  
7 not in the House. That's for coming in.

8 So Senate District 1 is created by  
9 county groupings chosen in northeast  
10 North Carolina. The chairs chose the  
11 configuration that makes SD 1 out of the  
12 following whole counties: Bertie, Camden,  
13 Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hartford, Northampton,  
14 Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

15 The configuration leaves four of the  
16 five finger counties in the northeast in one  
17 district. We had some public comments about  
18 keeping these counties together or the northern  
19 Outer Banks together. Seven of the ten counties  
20 and 81 percent of the population in SD 1 are in  
21 the Norfolk media market, Camden, Currituck,  
22 Dare, Gates Hertford, Pasquotank, and  
23 Perquimans, while others are divided between  
24 Greenville and Raleigh containing 19 percent of  
25 the district's population.

3

1 (Transcription from YouTube started at  
2 1:00:15.)

3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. Good  
4 morning, everyone. Welcome to the Senate  
5 Committee on Redistricting. We're going to go  
6 ahead and get started this morning.

7 I want to begin by thanking our  
8 sergeant-at-arms for helping us today. We've  
9 got Michael Cavness. Michael, thank you.  
10 Thanks for being here. Rod Fuller is here.  
11 Hey, Rod. Jim Hamilton. Jim. Mike Harris and  
12 Sherrie Hedrick, thank you so much for being  
13 here and being a part of this team.

14 We are going to hear Senate Bill 739  
15 this morning. Senator Hise is going to present  
16 that. Shortly thereafter, we are going to take  
17 a break. There are a number of amendments --  
18 proposed amendments that Senator Blue and  
19 Senator Clark are going to be offering this  
20 morning. Those are in process. So we're going  
21 to take a little bit of a recess, then we will  
22 get our arms around those amendments, come back,  
23 do the Q and A around the map and do the  
24 amendments and Q and A around the amendments.

25 So with that, Senator Hise, the floor

2

1 All North Carolina counties in the  
2 Norfolk media market are in SD 1 except for  
3 Chowan county, this being a whole county  
4 district. There are no split VTDs or split  
5 municipalities within the counties in SD 1. The  
6 incumbent for this district is Senator Bazemore.

7 Senate District 2 follows the Roanoke  
8 River from Warren county to Albemarle Sound in  
9 Washington county, Chowan county directly across  
10 from the Albemarle Sound from Washington county.  
11 It is also grouped -- is also grouped in this  
12 district. Hyde county, also on the  
13 Albemarle Sound, is in this district as is  
14 Pamlico county. Along the Pamlico River and the  
15 Pamlico, five of the eight counties in the  
16 district are in the Greenville media market with  
17 the others being split between the Raleigh media  
18 market and the Norfolk media market. Two-thirds  
19 of the population of this district live in the  
20 Greenville media market. This being a whole  
21 county district, there are no split VTDs or  
22 split municipalities. In Senate District 2,  
23 there are two incumbents in this district:  
24 Senator Sanderson and Senator Steinburg.

25 Senate District 3 is created by the

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
1462

<p>1 base county grouping map: Beaufort, Craven, and</p> <p>2 Lenoir counties. This being a whole county</p> <p>3 district, there are no split VTDs or split</p> <p>4 municipalities. The incumbent is Senator Perry.</p> <p>5 Senate District 4 is created by the</p> <p>6 base county grouping map: Green, Wayne, and</p> <p>7 Wilson counties. This being a whole county</p> <p>8 district, there are no split VTDs or split</p> <p>9 municipalities. The incumbent in Senate</p> <p>10 District 4 is Senator Fitch.</p> <p>11 Senate District 5 is created by the</p> <p>12 base county grouping map: Edgecombe and Pitt</p> <p>13 counties. This being a whole county district,</p> <p>14 no split VTDs or split municipalities within</p> <p>15 counties. The incumbent for Senate District 5</p> <p>16 is Senator Davis of Pitt county.</p> <p>17 Senate District 6 is created by the</p> <p>18 base county grouping map: Onslow county. This</p> <p>19 is a single county district; no split VTDs or</p> <p>20 split municipalities.</p> <p>21 Senate District 7 [unintelligible]</p> <p>22 together comprise Brunswick, Columbus, and</p> <p>23 New Hanover counties. Senate District 7 is</p> <p>24 created by the county grouping choice in</p> <p>25 southeastern North Carolina. New Hanover county</p> <p align="right">5</p>	<p>1 Sampson county is split between the two</p> <p>2 districts. The chair chose to leave as much of</p> <p>3 Sampson county whole in Senate District 9 as</p> <p>4 possible. They had the choice of moving one</p> <p>5 precinct from northern Sampson county into</p> <p>6 Senate District 12; however, this would have</p> <p>7 split two municipalities and removed more</p> <p>8 residents from Sampson county into Senate</p> <p>9 District 12 than the alternative which they</p> <p>10 selected, which was to split the two precincts</p> <p>11 leaving the town of Plain View intact in Senate</p> <p>12 District 12 and the town of Spivey's Corner and</p> <p>13 the rest of Sampson county intact in Senate</p> <p>14 District 9. There are two split VTDs and no</p> <p>15 split municipalities within the counties in the</p> <p>16 district. The incumbent for Senate District 9</p> <p>17 is Senator Jackson.</p> <p>18 Senate District 12 is made up of</p> <p>19 Harnett and Lee county plus the municipalities</p> <p>20 of Plain View and Sampson county as described</p> <p>21 above. There are two split VTDs shared within</p> <p>22 Senate District 9 as previously mentioned and no</p> <p>23 split municipalities within the counties in the</p> <p>24 district. The incumbent for Senate District 12</p> <p>25 is Senator Berger.</p> <p align="right">7</p>
<p>1 is slightly larger than the maximum senate</p> <p>2 district, therefore the chairs chose to move</p> <p>3 three whole precincts out of Senate District 7</p> <p>4 into Senate District 8.</p> <p>5 Senate District 7 is thus New Hanover</p> <p>6 county minus these three precincts: CFO-1,</p> <p>7 CFO-6 and HO-1. These precincts were selected</p> <p>8 to keep all the municipalities in New Hanover</p> <p>9 county whole and to keep as much of the</p> <p>10 population in the county as possible in Senate</p> <p>11 District 7. The district based in the county,</p> <p>12 there are no split VTDs or split municipalities</p> <p>13 within New Hanover county. The incumbent for</p> <p>14 Senate District 7 is Senator Lee.</p> <p>15 Senate District 8 includes Brunswick</p> <p>16 and Columbus county plus the previously</p> <p>17 mentioned precincts in New Hanover county.</p> <p>18 There are no split VTDs or split municipalities</p> <p>19 within the counties of the district. The</p> <p>20 incumbent is Senator Rabon.</p> <p>21 Senate District 9 and 12 make a</p> <p>22 two-district, seven-county cluster also created</p> <p>23 by the county grouping decision in southeastern</p> <p>24 North Carolina. Bladen, Duplin, Jones, and</p> <p>25 Pender counties are whole in Senate District 9.</p> <p align="right">6</p>	<p>1 Senate District 10 is created by the</p> <p>2 base grouping map Johnston county. It's a</p> <p>3 single county district. There are no split VTDs</p> <p>4 or municipalities.</p> <p>5 Senate District 11 is created by the</p> <p>6 base grouping map: Franklin, Nash, and Vance.</p> <p>7 Being whole county district, there are no split</p> <p>8 VTDs or split municipalities. The incumbent for</p> <p>9 Senate District 11 is Senator Barnes.</p> <p>10 Granville and Wake counties form a</p> <p>11 six-district, two-county grouping in the base</p> <p>12 senate map. Within this grouping, the chairs</p> <p>13 are attempting to keep municipalities whole</p> <p>14 while splitting as few precincts as possible to</p> <p>15 accomplish this task and comply with the one</p> <p>16 person, one vote. The overall population when</p> <p>17 this -- within this county grouping is</p> <p>18 1,190,402, meaning the ideal population for each</p> <p>19 of the six districts is 198,400, which is only</p> <p>20 52 people above the minus 5 percent deviation</p> <p>21 minimum for senate districts in the state. In</p> <p>22 other words, all six districts were incredibly</p> <p>23 close to the minus 5 deviation minimum and some</p> <p>24 VTDs had to be split to the comply with the one</p> <p>25 person, one vote within Wake county.</p> <p align="right">8</p>

<p>1 Raleigh is too large for one senate 2 district and, therefore, must be split. The 3 chairs were unable to keep Cary or Apex whole 4 within a district due to the populations and 5 geography. However, all other municipalities -- 6 Fuquay-Varina, Garner, Holly Springs, 7 Knightdale, Morrisville, Rolesville, 8 Wake Forest, Wendell, and Zebulon -- were kept 9 whole. Ten percent were split in Wake county to 10 keep the municipalities whole and balance 11 populations between the districts. Ten 12 precincts were split to keep the populations 13 whole.</p> <p>14 Senate District 13 includes Granville 15 county and unincorporated areas in northern Wake 16 county plus the north wake towns of Rolesville, 17 Wake Forest, Zebulon -- and Zebulon. Raleigh, 18 the second largest city in North Carolina, again 19 is too large for a senate district and was, 20 therefore, contained in four senate districts. 21 Over 98 percent of Raleigh is in three senate 22 districts. Senate District 13 has the smallest 23 portion of the population, less than 2 percent. 24 The towns of Rolesville, Wake Forest, and 25 Zebulon are left whole and 100 percent of their</p> <p align="right">9</p>	<p>1 36 percent of the population of Raleigh is in 2 Senate District 15. Within the district, 3 85 percent of the population is in Raleigh and 4 12 percent is in Cary. Senate District 15 5 splits two precincts with other districts to 6 balance population. The incumbent in this 7 district is Senator Chaudhuri.</p> <p>8 Senate District 16 is centered in Cary 9 and western Wake. 80 percent of the population 10 of Cary is in Senate District 16. 45 percent of 11 the population of Apex is in the district. The 12 town of Morrisville is kept whole within Senate 13 District 16. Of the population of the district, 14 69 percent is Cary, 15 percent is Morrisville, 15 and 13 percent is Apex. There are two split 16 precincts to balance population. One was Senate 17 District 15 and one was Senate District 17. The 18 incumbent for Senate District 16 is 19 Senator Nickel.</p> <p>20 And Senate District 17 includes 21 Holly Springs, Fuquay-Varina, 55 percent of 22 Apex, and 6.5 percent of Cary. Three VTDs were 23 split to keep Garner whole in Senate 24 District 13, and another VTD was split to 25 balance population between 17 and 16. The</p> <p align="right">11</p>
<p>1 Wake county populations are within Senate 2 District 13.</p> <p>3 One precinct was split with Senate 4 District 18 to keep Wake Forest whole. Two 5 precincts were split with Senate District 14 to 6 keep Wendell whole. In the district, there are 7 no incumbents in Senate District 13.</p> <p>8 Senate District 14 includes Garner, 9 Knightdale, Wendell, southeast Raleigh and parts 10 of downtown Raleigh. 21 percent of the 11 population of Raleigh is in Senate District 14. 12 There are no split municipalities in the 13 district other than Raleigh. 100 percent of the 14 populations of Garner, Knightdale, and Wendell 15 are in the district. As mentioned, two of the 16 precincts are split with Senate District 13 to 17 keep Wendell whole in Senate District 14. Three 18 precincts are split along the southern edge of 19 the district to keep Garner whole. Two 20 precincts are split in east Raleigh to balance 21 its population with the districts within the 22 deviation range. The incumbent in Senate 23 District 14 is Senator Blue.</p> <p>24 Senate District 15 is in west Raleigh 25 downtown and contains a portion of eastern Cary.</p> <p align="right">10</p>	<p>1 incumbent in this district is Senator Batch.</p> <p>2 To recap, the Wake county senate map, 3 the chairs decided to split ten VTDs to balance 4 the population of the districts and to make as 5 many of the municipalities as whole as possible. 6 Apex, Cary, and Raleigh were each split into 7 more than one district, and Fuquay-Varina, 8 Garner, Holly Springs, Knightdale, Morrisville, 9 Rolesville, Wake Forest, Wendell, and Zebulon 10 were each left whole within one district.</p> <p>11 Cumberland and Moore county form a 12 two-county, two-district grouping in the base 13 map. Senate District 19 was drawn to keep as 14 much of Fayetteville as whole as possible. The 15 city of Fayetteville has an irregular shape and 16 many satellite annexations and shares precincts 17 with other municipalities such as Hope Mills, 18 and the chairs were not able to leave it whole. 19 The result is a district that includes over 20 88 percent of the population of Fayetteville and 21 nearly 15 percent of the population of 22 Hope Mills. There are no split VTDs in the 23 district. The incumbent in Senate District 9 is 24 Senator deViere.</p> <p>25 Senate District 21 was drawn keeping</p> <p align="right">12</p>

<p>1 Moore county whole in part with the remaining</p> <p>2 rural areas of Cumberland county. As stated</p> <p>3 above, the irregular shapes of municipalities</p> <p>4 and precincts containing more than one</p> <p>5 municipality in them made it difficult to keep</p> <p>6 all municipalities whole.</p> <p>7 Senate District 21 includes 85 percent</p> <p>8 of the population of Hope Mills and 12 percent</p> <p>9 of the population of Fayetteville. There are no</p> <p>10 split VTDs in Senate District 21, and there is</p> <p>11 no incumbent in the district.</p> <p>12 Chatham and Durham counties form a</p> <p>13 two-county, two-district grouping in the base</p> <p>14 senate map. Senate District 20 includes all of</p> <p>15 Chatham county, any unincorporated Durham</p> <p>16 county, and the peripheral Durham city</p> <p>17 precincts. The town of Chapel Hill has some</p> <p>18 territory in two Durham county precincts. The</p> <p>19 chairs decided to keep the town of Chapel Hill</p> <p>20 whole and place both the precincts in Senate</p> <p>21 District 20. Most of the City of Durham is in</p> <p>22 Senate District 20 and Senate District 22, but</p> <p>23 SD 20 includes 30 percent of the city's</p> <p>24 population. There are no split VTDs in the</p> <p>25 district, and the incumbent is Senator Murdock.</p> <p align="right">13</p>	<p>1 grouping is the base group in the senate map.</p> <p>2 Because of how the counties are aligned and the</p> <p>3 populations that live there, the counties must</p> <p>4 be split between districts are Cabarrus,</p> <p>5 Randolph, and Union. Alamance, Anson,</p> <p>6 Montgomery, and Richmond counties were left</p> <p>7 whole within the district.</p> <p>8 Senate District 25 comprises Alamance</p> <p>9 county and eastern Randolph county. The chairs</p> <p>10 opted to keep as many precincts whole in</p> <p>11 Randolph as possible while also keeping</p> <p>12 municipalities whole. One precinct was split to</p> <p>13 keep all of Asheboro whole in Senate District 29</p> <p>14 and to keep all of Randleman whole in Senate</p> <p>15 District 25. All other precincts in Randolph</p> <p>16 county are left whole as are municipalities in</p> <p>17 the county. Senator Galey is the incumbent for</p> <p>18 Senate District 25.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN HISE: Yes.</p> <p>21 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I just want to</p> <p>22 congratulate you for being halfway through.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN HISE: Actually, it's a little</p> <p>24 more than that, but that's good.</p> <p>25 Senate District 29 comprises the rest</p> <p align="right">15</p>
<p>1 Senate District 22 was drawn within the</p> <p>2 city of Durham. The city is larger than a</p> <p>3 senate district and is, therefore, split between</p> <p>4 Senate District 22 and Senate District 20.</p> <p>5 70 percent of the population of Durham will</p> <p>6 reside in Senate District 22. There are no</p> <p>7 split VTDs in Senate District 22. Senator</p> <p>8 Woodard is the incumbent in the district.</p> <p>9 Senate District 23 is created by the</p> <p>10 base county grouping map: Caswell, Orange, and</p> <p>11 Person counties. This being a whole county</p> <p>12 district, there are no split VTDs or split</p> <p>13 municipalities. The incumbent in Senate</p> <p>14 District 23 is Senator Foushee.</p> <p>15 Senate District 24 is also created by</p> <p>16 the base county grouping map: Hoke, Robeson,</p> <p>17 and Scotland counties. This being a whole</p> <p>18 county district, there are no split VTDs or</p> <p>19 split municipalities. There are two incumbents</p> <p>20 in this district, Senator Clark and Senator</p> <p>21 Robins -- Senator Britt from Robeson. Sorry.</p> <p>22 Alamance, Anson, Cabarrus, Montgomery,</p> <p>23 Randolph, Richmond, and Union counties comprise</p> <p>24 a seven-county, four-district grouping with the</p> <p>25 Senate Seats 25, 29, 34, and 35. The county</p> <p align="right">14</p>	<p>1 of Randolph county, including all of Asheboro</p> <p>2 and the eastern side of the county, all of</p> <p>3 Anson, Montgomery, and Richmond, and eastern and</p> <p>4 southern portions of Union county. Within Union</p> <p>5 county, the district line was drawn to keep all</p> <p>6 precincts and municipalities whole. Senate</p> <p>7 District 29 shares one split precinct with</p> <p>8 Senate District 25 in Randolph county to keep</p> <p>9 the city of Asheboro whole. There are no split</p> <p>10 municipalities within counties in the district.</p> <p>11 There are two incumbents in Senate District 29:</p> <p>12 Senator Craven and Senator McInnis.</p> <p>13 Senate District 35 comprises of the</p> <p>14 rest of Union county and parts of the</p> <p>15 southernmost VTDs in Cabarrus county. The</p> <p>16 chairs opted to not take the entire VTD, leaving</p> <p>17 the blocks north of the town of Midland in</p> <p>18 Senate District 34 to leave as much of the</p> <p>19 population of Cabarrus county in the district</p> <p>20 base there as possible, that being Senate</p> <p>21 District 34, and to make the populations of the</p> <p>22 districts within the pod fall within the plus or</p> <p>23 minus 5 percent range. All the districts in</p> <p>24 this county grouping are above the ideal</p> <p>25 population number with Senate District 34 and 35</p> <p align="right">16</p>

<p>1 above 218,000 people, just below the limit of</p> <p>2 219,227.</p> <p>3 A second VTD was split in Senate</p> <p>4 District 34 to keep the entire municipality of</p> <p>5 Midland within 30 -- within Senate District 34.</p> <p>6 The chairs were able to leave the municipalities</p> <p>7 of Locust whole in Cabarrus county. Most of the</p> <p>8 town is in Stanly county, but there are portions</p> <p>9 in Cabarrus. The Cabarrus county portion of</p> <p>10 Locust is, therefore, split between Senate</p> <p>11 District 34 and Senate District 35. The</p> <p>12 incumbent in Senate District 35 is Senator</p> <p>13 Johnson.</p> <p>14 Senate District 34 comprises most of</p> <p>15 Cabarrus county. There are two split VTDs, as</p> <p>16 mentioned before, and one split municipality.</p> <p>17 The Cabarrus county portion of Locust, the</p> <p>18 incumbent in Senate District 34 is Senator</p> <p>19 Newton.</p> <p>20 Guilford and Rockingham counties form a</p> <p>21 two-county, three-district grouping in the</p> <p>22 senate base map. Rockingham county is left</p> <p>23 whole in Senate District 26. Senate District 26</p> <p>24 includes the unincorporated and bedroom</p> <p>25 community areas of Guilford county along with</p> <p>17</p>	<p>1 sections of the city and the city of High Point,</p> <p>2 leaving the Guilford portion of the</p> <p>3 municipalities whole. There is no incumbent in</p> <p>4 Senate District 27.</p> <p>5 Senate District 30 is created by the</p> <p>6 base county grouping map: Davie and Davidson</p> <p>7 counties. This being a whole county district,</p> <p>8 there are no split precincts or split</p> <p>9 municipalities. Senator Jarvis is the incumbent</p> <p>10 in Senate District 30. 30, 32. Sorry.</p> <p>11 Senate District 31 and 32 are in a</p> <p>12 two-county pod that includes Stokes and Forsyth</p> <p>13 counties. The chairs opted to pair Forsyth and</p> <p>14 Stokes instead of Forsyth with Yadkin because</p> <p>15 the resulting districts both within</p> <p>16 Forsyth-Stokes county groupings and the</p> <p>17 Alexander-Wilkes-Surry-Yadkin groupings are more</p> <p>18 compact and because its configuration leaves two</p> <p>19 more municipalities whole spanning the two</p> <p>20 counties Germantown and King which span</p> <p>21 Forsyth-Stokes county line.</p> <p>22 Senate District 31 is drawn to keep</p> <p>23 Stokes county whole and to keep as many</p> <p>24 municipalities whole within Forsyth as possible.</p> <p>25 Senate District 31 keeps the suburban towns</p> <p>19</p>
<p>1 Rockingham county. Greensboro is too large to</p> <p>2 be contained in one senate district and is,</p> <p>3 therefore, split.</p> <p>4 Senate District 26 does not contain any</p> <p>5 G precincts, Greensboro [unintelligible] that</p> <p>6 begin with the letter G, but it does include</p> <p>7 4 percent of the city's population. One VTD was</p> <p>8 split, SDRI, in western Guilford county to keep</p> <p>9 the population of Kernersville, the Guilford</p> <p>10 county portion, most of the municipalities in</p> <p>11 Forsyth county but within Senate District 26,</p> <p>12 therefore in total there is one split</p> <p>13 municipality, Greensboro, and one split VTD in</p> <p>14 Guilford county. The incumbent in Senate</p> <p>15 District 26 is Senator Berger.</p> <p>16 Senate District 28 is drawn respecting</p> <p>17 the city limits of Greensboro as much as</p> <p>18 possible. The city's too large for one senate</p> <p>19 district, so Senate District 28 is situated in</p> <p>20 the northern two-thirds of the city. 68 percent</p> <p>21 of Greensboro's population is in Senate</p> <p>22 District 28. There are two incumbents in the</p> <p>23 district: Senator Robinson and Senator Garrett.</p> <p>24 Senate District 27 includes most of the</p> <p>25 rest of Greensboro, specifically the southern</p> <p>18</p>	<p>1 around Winston-Salem whole: Bethania, Clemmons,</p> <p>2 Germantown, Kernersville, King, Lewis,</p> <p>3 Rural Hall, Tobaccoville, and Walkertown. This</p> <p>4 configuration keeps the municipalities King and</p> <p>5 Germantown whole across the Forsyth-Stokes</p> <p>6 counties. There are no municipalities that span</p> <p>7 the Yadkin-Forsyth county line, the alternative</p> <p>8 option for the two-county groupings, therefore</p> <p>9 selecting the Forsyth-Stokes county grouping</p> <p>10 option creates more compact districts and keeps</p> <p>11 two more municipalities whole across the</p> <p>12 counties.</p> <p>13 Senate District 31 also includes parts</p> <p>14 of Winston-Salem that are in shared precincts</p> <p>15 with these two towns. The populations of</p> <p>16 Winston-Salem is too large for one senate</p> <p>17 district, therefore it is split between Senate</p> <p>18 District 31 and Senate District 32.</p> <p>19 Senate District 31 contains 16 percent</p> <p>20 of the city's population. There are no split</p> <p>21 VTDs in the district. The incumbent in Senate</p> <p>22 District 31 is Senator Krawiec.</p> <p>23 Senate District 32 is drawn within the</p> <p>24 city of Winston-Salem since it's larger than the</p> <p>25 population range for a senate district. Senate</p> <p>20</p>

<p>1 District 32 contains 84 percent of the 2 population of Winston-Salem. All VTDs were left 3 whole in Forsyth county. The incumbent for 4 Senate District 31 is Senator Lowe.</p> <p>5 Senate District 36 is created by the 6 same grouping choice in northwestern 7 North Carolina: Alexander, Surry, Wilkes, and 8 Yadkin counties. The alternative configuration 9 for this district follows the Stephenson 10 criteria, and Alexander, Surry, Wilkes, and 11 Stokes trading Yadkin for Stokes. The chairs 12 opted for the configuration that includes Yadkin 13 because the district is more compact and leaves 14 two more municipalities whole that span the 15 border of Forsyth and Stokes. There are no 16 split VTDs or split municipalities within this 17 district, and there is no incumbent for Senate 18 District 36.</p> <p>19 Senate District 33 is created by the 20 base county grouping map: Rowan and Stanly 21 counties. This being a whole county district, 22 there are no split VTDs or split municipalities 23 within the counties in the district. Senator 24 Ford is the incumbent in Senate District 33.</p> <p>25 Six senate districts are contained in</p> <p align="right">21</p>	<p>1 District 37, exactly the same way, creating the 2 same double-bunking.</p> <p>3 Senate District 38 is in northern 4 Mecklenburg county, directly south of Senate 5 District 37. This includes the town of 6 Huntersville, 67 percent of the town of 7 Cornelius, and 14 percent of the city of 8 Charlotte. Charlotte, the largest city in the 9 state, has over 857,000 people and is therefore 10 contained in the five Mecklenburg base senate 11 districts. Senate District 38 includes about a 12 dozen north Charlotte precincts. There are no 13 split precincts in this district, and the 14 incumbent is Senator Mohammed.</p> <p>15 Senate District 39 is in western 16 Mecklenburg county and includes the 17 unincorporated areas along with the Gaston 18 county along and the South Carolina border along 19 with parts of uptown, west Charlotte, 20 Still Creek and the town of Pineville and 21 southern Mecklenburg county. Of the population 22 in the district, 81 percent is in Charlotte, 23 5 percent is in Pineville, and 14 percent is in 24 the unincorporated areas of the state. Of the 25 total population of Charlotte, Senate District</p> <p align="right">23</p>
<p>1 the two-county grouping of Iredell and 2 Mecklenburg county. Senate District 37, 38, 39, 3 40, 41, and 42. The county grouping is created 4 by the base map.</p> <p>5 Senate District 37 keeps Iredell whole 6 and contains the northmost precincts of 7 Mecklenburg county. The municipality of 8 Davidson spans Iredell and Mecklenburg county, 9 so Senate District 37 includes the Mecklenburg 10 precincts containing Davidson, keeping the 11 Mecklenburg and Iredell portions of that 12 municipality whole. Part of Davidson is in 13 Cabarrus county, but that piece of the 14 municipality is in Senate District 34.</p> <p>15 The town of Cornelius is too large to 16 also fit in Senate District 37, and a split 17 municipality is unavoidable. Senate District 37 18 includes 33 percent of the population of 19 Cornelius. This is the only split municipality 20 in the district. There are no split precincts. 21 The incumbents in Senate District 37 are 22 Senator Sawyer and Senator Marcus.</p> <p>23 I would like to note that the Senate 24 Democrats' amendment for Mecklenburg and Iredell 25 county contains this same district, Senate</p> <p align="right">22</p>	<p>1 39 contains about 20 percent of the population. 2 There are no split VTDs in this district. 3 Senator Salvador is the incumbent in Senate 4 District 39.</p> <p>5 Senate District 40 is in northeastern 6 Charlotte and includes 24 percent of the city's 7 population. Of the population in the district, 8 96 percent is in Charlotte and 4 percent is in 9 unincorporated areas of Mecklenburg along the 10 eastern edge of the county bordering Cabarrus. 11 There is no split precincts in the district. 12 Senator Waddell is the incumbent in Senate 13 District 40.</p> <p>14 Senate District 41 includes south 15 Charlotte and the towns of Matthews and 16 Mint Hill. They're unincorporated areas in the 17 district. Of the population in the district, 18 71 percent is Charlotte, 14 percent is Matthews, 19 12 percent is Mint Hill, and the remaining 20 4 percent is Union county base municipalities 21 with territories in southern Mecklenburg and 22 unincorporated areas. Approximately 18 percent 23 of the population of Charlotte is in this 24 district. There are no split precincts, and 25 there is no incumbent in Senate District 41.</p> <p align="right">24</p>

<p>1 Senate District 42 includes parts of</p> <p>2 uptown Charlotte, south Charlotte, and east</p> <p>3 Charlotte. 100 percent of the district's</p> <p>4 population is in the city of Charlotte. The</p> <p>5 district includes 25 percent of Charlotte's</p> <p>6 population. There are no split precincts in</p> <p>7 Senate District 42, and the incumbent in the</p> <p>8 district is Senator Jackson.</p> <p>9 There are two options for county</p> <p>10 groupings in the southwest part of the state.</p> <p>11 The chairs selected the county group</p> <p>12 configuration that combines Cleveland, Gaston,</p> <p>13 and Lincoln counties in a 3-2 district pod,</p> <p>14 Henderson, Polk, and Rutherford counties in a</p> <p>15 3-1 district pod, and Buncombe, Burke, and</p> <p>16 McDowell in a three-county, two-district pod.</p> <p>17 The chairs selected this because the resulting</p> <p>18 districts are the most compact.</p> <p>19 Senate District 43 is drawn within</p> <p>20 Gaston county and keeps all the precincts and</p> <p>21 municipalities whole. Five VTDs were pulled out</p> <p>22 of the Gaston county district, the three</p> <p>23 Cherryville VTDs, Landers Chapel, and Tryon, to</p> <p>24 stay within the correct population range. The</p> <p>25 incumbent in District 45 is Senator Harrington.</p> <p align="right">25</p>	<p>1 municipalities in the district. The incumbent</p> <p>2 for District 48 is Senator Mayfield.</p> <p>3 The senate based map includes a western</p> <p>4 North Carolina county grouping comprising three</p> <p>5 districts, 45, 47, and 50, and 17 counties,</p> <p>6 Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Caldwell, Catawba,</p> <p>7 Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon,</p> <p>8 Madison, Mitchell, Swain, Transylvania, Watauga,</p> <p>9 and Yancey. Because of how these counties are</p> <p>10 aligned and the populations, the counties must</p> <p>11 be split between districts are Caldwell and</p> <p>12 Haywood.</p> <p>13 Senate District 45 contains all of</p> <p>14 Catawba county and a portion of Caldwell county.</p> <p>15 The chairs kept the municipalities in Caldwell</p> <p>16 whole as Lenoir -- with Lenoir going to Senate</p> <p>17 District 47 and the small towns in the southeast</p> <p>18 of Lenoir in Senate District 45. There are two</p> <p>19 split precincts in Caldwell to keep the</p> <p>20 municipalities of Lenoir whole. There are no</p> <p>21 split municipalities within the district.</p> <p>22 Senator Proctor is the incumbent in Senate</p> <p>23 District 45.</p> <p>24 Senate District 47 includes the rest of</p> <p>25 Caldwell county, all of Alleghany, Ashe, Avery,</p> <p align="right">27</p>
<p>1 Senate District 44 is comprised of the</p> <p>2 five VTDs from Gaston county and Cleveland and</p> <p>3 Lincoln counties. There are no split precincts</p> <p>4 or municipalities within the counties in Senate</p> <p>5 District 44. The incumbent in this district is</p> <p>6 Senator Alexander.</p> <p>7 Senate District 48 is combined of three</p> <p>8 county groupings: Henderson, Polk, and</p> <p>9 Rutherford counties. This being a whole county</p> <p>10 district, there are no split municipalities or</p> <p>11 precincts. The incumbent for Senate District 48</p> <p>12 is Senator Edwards.</p> <p>13 Senate District 46 includes all of</p> <p>14 Burke and McDowell county plus unincorporated</p> <p>15 precincts and small towns in Buncombe county.</p> <p>16 One VTD is split to keep the municipality of</p> <p>17 Woodfin whole within Senate District 49. There</p> <p>18 is no split municipalities in the district. The</p> <p>19 incumbent for District 47 is Senator -- 46 is</p> <p>20 Senator Daniel.</p> <p>21 Senate District 49 includes the rest of</p> <p>22 Buncombe county, including Asheville,</p> <p>23 Biltmore Forest, Weaverville, Woodfin -- and</p> <p>24 Woodfin. This splits one VTD mentioned above to</p> <p>25 keep Woodfin whole. There are no split</p> <p align="right">26</p>	<p>1 Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, and Yancey counties</p> <p>2 and a portion of Haywood county. The chairs</p> <p>3 kept all municipalities and VTDs whole within</p> <p>4 Haywood county. In Haywood county, Senate</p> <p>5 District 47 includes the town of Canton. The</p> <p>6 larger municipality of Waynesville is left whole</p> <p>7 in Senate District 50. There are no split</p> <p>8 municipalities in the district, and only the two</p> <p>9 split precincts shared with Senate District 45</p> <p>10 to keep Lenoir whole. There are two incumbents</p> <p>11 in Senate District 47, myself and Senator</p> <p>12 Ballard.</p> <p>13 Senate District 50 includes the rest of</p> <p>14 Haywood county, includes all of Cherokee, Clay,</p> <p>15 Graham, Jackson, Macon, Swain, and Transylvania.</p> <p>16 There are no split precincts or municipalities</p> <p>17 in the district. Senator Corbin is the</p> <p>18 incumbent for Senate District 50.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise, thank</p> <p>20 you. That's a lot of work, especially for a</p> <p>21 math guy. Very well done.</p> <p>22 [Applause.]</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yeah, give him a</p> <p>24 hand. Well done.</p> <p>25 So, Members, where we're going to go</p> <p align="right">28</p>

1 from here is I'm going to be making a statement  
2 of the chairs. We have a number of amendments  
3 that are being pulled together that I think will  
4 answer or go to many of the questions that you  
5 may have for Senator Hise.

6 So what we're going to do, I'm going to  
7 provide you the statement of the chairs, we're  
8 going to then pause, go into recess for enough  
9 time to get our arms around these amendments,  
10 see what we've got, then we'll reconvene and  
11 you'll be able to ask Senator Hise any questions  
12 you have about the map and then follow that with  
13 your amendment if you think that cures a concern  
14 that you have.

15 So, Senator Hise, you're welcome to  
16 take a seat at this point because you're not  
17 going to have to be asked any questions until a  
18 little bit later.

19 So the chairs wanted to be direct and  
20 address an issue that's being raised by some,  
21 and that is whether the General Assembly is  
22 required to draw districts using racial data.  
23 We've also received a lawsuit already  
24 from -- against the General Assembly filed  
25 before the plan has even passed. This interest

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1 evidence -- quote, a strong basis in evidence,  
2 for each of those three factors. Specific  
3 evidence would come in the form of reliable  
4 racial bloc voting analysis by an expert in the  
5 field. Spreadsheets and argument based on  
6 inadequate data do not create the strong basis  
7 in evidence the General Assembly would need to  
8 overcome a constitutional challenge.

9 Second, if we draw districts using race  
10 and we do not satisfy the Gingles preconditions,  
11 we risk violating the Equal Protection Clause of  
12 the 14th Amendment to the United States  
13 Constitution. In short, making one districting  
14 choice over another for racially predominant  
15 reasons will be subjected to strict scrutiny by  
16 the courts.

17 Our present record and most recent  
18 litigation does not provide a yes answer to any  
19 of the Gingles factors. Our two most recent  
20 redistricting efforts, overseen and approved by  
21 the courts, in the Covington case and the Lewis  
22 case did not consider race. In fact, in Lewis,  
23 a three-judge panel analyzed all regions of the  
24 state last year, last year, and found no region  
25 where the Gingles factors were met. Some have

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1 group activity litigated against the General  
2 Assembly this past decade and succeeded in  
3 developing some of the strict limits on  
4 permissible racial consideration -- racial  
5 considerations it now asks us to defy. I want  
6 to explain at the outset why we cannot do that.  
7 So just to be clear, they litigated to limit our  
8 ability to use racial data, we're choosing, as  
9 we did in 2019, not to use racial data, and now  
10 they're litigating, saying we should have used  
11 racial data.

12 So first, the General Assembly, the  
13 allegation is, cannot draw districts using  
14 race -- well, no, this is the law. Apologies.

15 First, the General Assembly cannot draw  
16 districts using race under the Voting Rights Act  
17 unless we satisfy the three Gingles  
18 preconditions. They are, one, a reasonably  
19 compact majority-minority VAP district; two, a  
20 politically cohesive minority community; and  
21 three, white bloc voting usually defeating that  
22 community's candidate of choice.

23 To draw VRA districts according to  
24 Covington and other recent court cases, the  
25 General Assembly would need a strong basis in

30

1 asked about whether the Stephenson case require  
2 that race be used in redistricting. Stephenson  
3 says VRA districts must be drawn first only if  
4 there are VRA districts. Stephenson does not  
5 require VRA districts be drawn independent of  
6 the requirements of federal law. Stephenson  
7 assumed there would be VRA districts because  
8 Section 5 of the VRA then applied here which  
9 meant VRA districts would need to be preserved  
10 independent of the Gingles factors I just  
11 discussed, but the US Supreme Court has held  
12 that VRA Section 5 no longer applies which means  
13 it no longer protects the General Assembly from  
14 racial gerrymandering claims.

15 Now, I'll discuss district-specific  
16 issues several members have asked us about.

17 In the Wilson-Wayne area, we do not  
18 have any proposed plan from any member of this  
19 body that includes a reasonably compact  
20 majority-minority district in that area. If you  
21 have one, and we mean a complete plan with a  
22 majority-minority VAP district in that area,  
23 please provide it. If no such district can be  
24 drawn, then there is no need to continue the  
25 Gingles analysis. Creating such a district

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<p>1 would violate the 14th Amendment's Equal 2 Protection Clause. 3 In addition, the General Assembly 4 cannot justify departure from the whole county 5 rule for expressly and predominantly racial 6 reasons without a strong basis in evidence of 7 the type I described earlier. Under current 8 law, only majority-minority districts required 9 under Section 2 of the VRA can be formed prior 10 to other districts in a plan under Stephenson. 11 Following this request would put the map 12 squarely in conflict with the 14th Amendment. 13 Some members of this committee have 14 also expressed concern about the grouping 15 decision we made for SD 1 in the northeastern 16 part of the state. The General Assembly is not 17 in a position to create so-called crossover 18 districts in this map. First, Section 2 of the 19 VRA does not require such districts. 20 Second, if the General Assembly were to 21 engage in such race-predominant drawing, they 22 would run into claims of racial gerrymandering 23 under the 14th Amendment and they would be 24 without the protection of the VRA to survive 25 strict scrutiny.</p> <p align="right">33</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: We are going to 2 conclude our 15-, 20-minute recess now, and 3 we're at the point in the agenda where we are 4 going to open the floor to members to ask any 5 questions of Senator Hise that you might have 6 but also to offer any amendments that you may 7 have. So, members of the committee, the floor 8 is open for either questions or for amendments. 9 Senator Clark. 10 SENATOR CLARK: I'd like to send forth 11 an amendment. 12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you. 13 Senator Clark's sending forth an amendment. 14 Do the members have that already, 15 Senator Clark? Not yet. Okay. So they'll need 16 to be passed out. 17 CHAIRMAN HISE: Which one is it? 18 SENATOR CLARK: SCG-3. 19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Question for staff. 20 Are we going to hand out all the amendments to 21 the -- 22 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Do you want to 23 do that? Are all the amendments -- 24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I'd rather go ahead 25 and hand them all out. Members, we'll try to</p> <p align="right">35</p>
<p>1 Finally, no one has given the General 2 Assembly the data necessary to develop a strong 3 basis in evidence for engaging in such drawing. 4 That district was drawn with neutral criteria 5 predominating as just explained when going over 6 the map. 7 In short, we take our role and the 8 legal precedence that guide it seriously. We 9 reject the notion that we should flout binding 10 precedent and clear guidance from the courts 11 even when facing a lawsuit from a litigious 12 group that developed some of the very guidance 13 it now asks us to ignore. 14 Now we'll take a short recess in order 15 to see these proposed amendments, and after that 16 we will open the floor for the committee to ask 17 questions of Senator Hise and to consider those 18 amendments. So let's take a break. We will 19 recess until -- what time is it, about ten till. 20 Let's go till quarter after, and if that's not 21 enough time we may have to go back and recess 22 for a few more minutes. Thank you. So we 23 recess now until 10:15. Thank you. 24 (Transcription from YouTube ended at 25 1:40:34 and started again at 2:21:59.)</p> <p align="right">34</p>	<p>1 give them to you in order so you can minimize 2 the shuffling, but that way you've got them and 3 we won't have to pause for distribution for 4 every -- because there's a bunch of amendments 5 being offered here, so let's go ahead and send 6 them all out. 7 CHAIRMAN HISE: Do we want to put them 8 in packets and hand them out that way? 9 [Unintelligible.] 10 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Members, just FYI. 11 There are going to be 12-ish proposed 12 amendments. And again, we're going to try to 13 give those to you in order. 14 So, Members, they're coming to you in 15 reverse order to make your life a little bit 16 easier. 17 I'm now going to remove my guarantee 18 that they're in reverse order. They may not be. 19 We'll figure it out. 20 Members, you should be receiving SBVA 21 Amend-3 is the last map you're handed, but it 22 will be the first map we discuss -- or 23 amendment. 24 Members, we're almost ready to go. We 25 are going to go out of order, just to make</p> <p align="right">36</p>

<p>1 things interesting as we get started here.</p> <p>2 SCH Amendment 1 is going to be the first</p> <p>3 amendment to be discussed. If you want to go</p> <p>4 ahead and shuffle your packet, it should be the</p> <p>5 second one down in your packet.</p> <p>6 All right. Members, we are going to go</p> <p>7 ahead and get started again. And at this point</p> <p>8 I'm opening the floor to members for amendments</p> <p>9 or questions of Senator Hise.</p> <p>10 Senator Clark.</p> <p>11 SENATOR CLARK: I'd like to send forth</p> <p>12 an amendment, Mr. Chair.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Thank you,</p> <p>14 Senator Clark. Which amendment are you sending</p> <p>15 forth?</p> <p>16 SENATOR CLARK: SCH Amendment 1,</p> <p>17 Cumberland county and Moore county cluster.</p> <p>18 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. Thank</p> <p>19 you. Senator Clark, are you moving for the</p> <p>20 amendment, or you just want to explain it at</p> <p>21 this point?</p> <p>22 SENATOR CLARK: I will explain and ask</p> <p>23 that it be accepted.</p> <p>24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you. You have</p> <p>25 the floor.</p> <p align="right">37</p>	<p>1 northwestern precincts in Cumberland county as</p> <p>2 well as Hope Mills. So essentially it is</p> <p>3 splitting the same municipalities as your plan,</p> <p>4 both of them split Fayetteville and both of them</p> <p>5 split Hope Mills, but I believe this supports</p> <p>6 the community of interest concept much better.</p> <p>7 And for one thing, like the -- I guess you can</p> <p>8 say the top portion of this, what looks like a C</p> <p>9 beneath the Manchester precinct, that is a part</p> <p>10 of what we call the big bang expansion in</p> <p>11 Cumberland county, when Fayetteville expanded</p> <p>12 out from its original boundaries, and it picked</p> <p>13 that area up. And then to the south of that you</p> <p>14 have Hope Mills, so we have all of the</p> <p>15 Hope Mills precincts.</p> <p>16 But as you indicated, because of the</p> <p>17 irregularities in the VTDs within Cumberland</p> <p>18 county, invariably you're going to, you know,</p> <p>19 possibly split a municipality, and that's why we</p> <p>20 split a little bit of Hope Mills, just as your</p> <p>21 plan does, in addition to splitting</p> <p>22 Fayetteville.</p> <p>23 So that being said, Mr. Chair, I</p> <p>24 recommend to the committee that we adopt this</p> <p>25 version of the cluster.</p> <p align="right">39</p>
<p>1 SENATOR CLARK: Okay. Thank you,</p> <p>2 Mr. Chair. I appreciate y'all's effort to do a</p> <p>3 grouping -- or should I say separation within</p> <p>4 the group of a senate district between Moore and</p> <p>5 Cumberland counties. However, I think I have an</p> <p>6 option that will probably serve the communities</p> <p>7 of that -- those two counties a little bit</p> <p>8 better.</p> <p>9 As you come down from Moore county,</p> <p>10 which is numbered Senate District 21 in this</p> <p>11 particular iteration, the first thing you see</p> <p>12 essentially is Fort Bragg, which is that large</p> <p>13 block Manchester precinct that is there, and</p> <p>14 adjacent to it in the top right-hand corner you</p> <p>15 will find the Spring Lake precinct, and then</p> <p>16 this little knob down at the bottom is what we</p> <p>17 call west area. Essentially, they provide for a</p> <p>18 very tight community of interest within the</p> <p>19 Fort Bragg community that is also associated</p> <p>20 with this lower tier in Moore county which much</p> <p>21 of it has been designated as a protection for</p> <p>22 the military training environment.</p> <p>23 But instead of coming down and forming</p> <p>24 a block such as you all do, I connect this</p> <p>25 Manchester precinct with some of the</p> <p align="right">38</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>2 Senator Clark.</p> <p>3 So Senator Clark is moving that we</p> <p>4 adopt this amendment. First, are there any</p> <p>5 questions by members before we take that vote?</p> <p>6 Any questions of Senator Clark on his amendment?</p> <p>7 All right. If not, those in favor of</p> <p>8 Senator Clark's adopting this amendment to the</p> <p>9 map say aye.</p> <p>10 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Those opposed.</p> <p>12 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. The nos</p> <p>14 have it.</p> <p>15 So thank you, Senator Clark. Are you</p> <p>16 up next as well?</p> <p>17 SENATOR CLARK: I'm not up next.</p> <p>18 Senator Blue is up next.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. So just</p> <p>20 so the record is clear, SCH Amendment 1 was</p> <p>21 voted nay, and now we have SBV Amendment 3; is</p> <p>22 that correct?</p> <p>23 SENATOR BLUE: Is that the first one?</p> <p>24 I'm sorry, I'm out of order here. I'm trying</p> <p>25 to -- is that the northeast one?</p> <p align="right">40</p>

<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I have -- we took</p> <p>2 Senator Clark's out of order at his request.</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: I want the northeast</p> <p>4 cluster.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Senator Blue</p> <p>6 is asking to go to the northeast cluster which</p> <p>7 is SBA Amend-2. Is that what you'd like?</p> <p>8 SENATOR BLUE: Yes, that's it. It was</p> <p>9 initially SST 10.</p> <p>10 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: It should be the next</p> <p>11 to last map in your packet, Members,</p> <p>12 SBA Amend-2. And this is -- Senator Blue is</p> <p>13 offering this amendment.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: Yes. Thank you,</p> <p>15 Mr. Chairman. If everybody has gotten it, I'll</p> <p>16 comment.</p> <p>17 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Senator Blue,</p> <p>18 you have the floor.</p> <p>19 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you, Senator</p> <p>20 Newton.</p> <p>21 First, I'd like to sort of follow up</p> <p>22 and explain in this district what the comments</p> <p>23 that the chair ably stated just before we took a</p> <p>24 recess, and that is whether the General Assembly</p> <p>25 is required to draw districts regarding race.</p> <p align="right">41</p>	<p>1 and all that, you got it reinforced, and when I</p> <p>2 was in college in the '70s you got it reinforced</p> <p>3 again. And those counties have not</p> <p>4 significantly changed population percentages.</p> <p>5 They're losing populations like all of the other</p> <p>6 counties -- almost all of the other counties in</p> <p>7 that region.</p> <p>8 Starting in 1980, after the census,</p> <p>9 starting in '81, when the districts were drawn,</p> <p>10 there was no minority district drawn up there.</p> <p>11 There was one black House member who had gotten</p> <p>12 elected in 1980, the first African American from</p> <p>13 that area, that entire area of the state to be</p> <p>14 elected since 1900 -- either 1898 or 1900. And</p> <p>15 so following that is what led to the Gingles</p> <p>16 decision. A lawsuit was filed. It was</p> <p>17 originally Gingles versus Edmisten, because</p> <p>18 Rufus Edmisten was the attorney general. A</p> <p>19 lawsuit was filed. It was a Section 5 lawsuit,</p> <p>20 meaning that the counties had to be pre-cleared.</p> <p>21 There were 42 counties in North Carolina under</p> <p>22 Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act that had to</p> <p>23 be pre-cleared. You couldn't change them</p> <p>24 without getting the justice department's</p> <p>25 permission.</p> <p align="right">43</p>
<p>1 And I simply go back to the Stephenson</p> <p>2 decision that said that before you do any</p> <p>3 clusters or do any kind of redistricting, you</p> <p>4 first must determine the VRA districts. And I</p> <p>5 say it against this context. At least as I</p> <p>6 understand it -- and I don't hold myself out to</p> <p>7 be an expert in this area and haven't litigated</p> <p>8 in it in 40 years, but let me simply say that if</p> <p>9 you look at Senate District Number 1 and</p> <p>10 Number 2, there are two clusters up there, and</p> <p>11 there was a choice of clusters that the</p> <p>12 committee made.</p> <p>13 I heard Senator Hise explain the</p> <p>14 historic reason of putting certain counties</p> <p>15 together in that area, but history indicates</p> <p>16 just the opposite has happened.</p> <p>17 There are seven or eight counties along</p> <p>18 the North Carolina-Virginia border that</p> <p>19 historically I'll call the black belt of</p> <p>20 North Carolina because they're majority black</p> <p>21 counties, and you don't need to consider race or</p> <p>22 statistics to know that. If you -- again, I go</p> <p>23 back to eighth grade geography. It's one of the</p> <p>24 lessons you learned. And if you go to the</p> <p>25 efforts in the 1960s, voter registration efforts</p> <p align="right">42</p>	<p>1 The justice department objected. Went</p> <p>2 back, tried to fix them again. A district was</p> <p>3 drawn up there in 1984, after the Gingles</p> <p>4 decision, and that's where the doctrine that you</p> <p>5 just recited came from. And the Gingles</p> <p>6 decision, later changed to Gingles versus -- the</p> <p>7 successor to Rufus Edmisten as attorney general</p> <p>8 and later on another name. But anyhow, the</p> <p>9 court in that case decided that you had to,</p> <p>10 because of history in that area, and that</p> <p>11 history was a history of polarized voting, that</p> <p>12 you had to draw certain districts in there if</p> <p>13 as -- again, using your criteria, if they were</p> <p>14 reasonably compact, if there were politically</p> <p>15 cohesive, meaning they voted primarily,</p> <p>16 minorities in that area, as a bloc, and you</p> <p>17 could show racially polarized voting, that is,</p> <p>18 you could show that whites tended not to vote</p> <p>19 for African Americans in that district.</p> <p>20 The districts were drawn, it later</p> <p>21 evolved in the mid '80s to a senate district</p> <p>22 drawn pretty much along that same area, with</p> <p>23 those seven counties in it.</p> <p>24 What you have here is -- and in Senate</p> <p>25 District 1, with the amendment that I'm</p> <p align="right">44</p>

1 offering, is putting those counties back  
2 together naturally, because that's how they've  
3 been, and they have elected a minority from that  
4 district I think since it was created. That  
5 became the case in the 1990s in the various  
6 lawsuits that came about. Even when the justice  
7 department wasn't sure what they were requiring  
8 with congressional districts, they required that  
9 one up there. That was the case in 2000, the  
10 district was drawn with those counties together,  
11 and it was the case in 2011.

12 Now, an interesting thing happened in  
13 America during that time and particularly in  
14 North Carolina. Initially, Guilford county and  
15 Cumberland county and Mecklenburg county were  
16 affected counties because of their voting  
17 patterns, and you can show all of these Gingles  
18 factors.

19 Over the course of the last almost  
20 40 years, since the Gingles decision by the  
21 United States Supreme Court, areas of the state  
22 are less polarized in their voting patterns.  
23 Wake county never was a Section 5 county,  
24 neither was Durham county. And in fact, in the  
25 Gingles decision, the court pointed out that

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1 would put all of the African Americans, or the  
2 minorities, in as few districts as possible, and  
3 that's what you did when -- this assembly did,  
4 you were not here so you didn't do it.

5 So when you took all of these districts  
6 up to 50 percent plus, the court did not make  
7 the specific determination that they were -- the  
8 determination was not made that you could  
9 justify 50 percent certainly in non-VRA  
10 districts but even more so in VRA districts such  
11 as this district was. And it said now because  
12 the idea behind the Voting Rights Act was  
13 overtime to ameliorate the effects of polarized  
14 voting and the inability of blacks to get whites  
15 to vote for them, and all of the counties in  
16 eastern North Carolina were part of the 42 that  
17 were covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights  
18 Act.

19 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act  
20 covered the entire country, not just this -- the  
21 way Section 5 affected 42 counties out of 100 in  
22 North Carolina. But the court said in Rucho  
23 that what you have done in taking all of these  
24 districts above 50 percent is in violation of  
25 the Voting Rights Act. First, you haven't shown

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1 Durham was not a Voting Rights district because  
2 you could not show polarized voting, although  
3 you could show the other aspects of it. Durham,  
4 as Wake county, had elected African Americans  
5 countywide, the judgeships, county commission  
6 races, and various other races, so you could not  
7 show polarized voting and, consequently, you  
8 couldn't create majority-minority districts.

9 The problem -- and I think the way it  
10 was described, and I know that folk interpret  
11 this different ways -- is that Rucho -- the case  
12 Rucho in 2011 that was filed was because even in  
13 places that you had not had -- you could not  
14 prove racially polarized voting, this General  
15 Assembly took the number of minority voters in  
16 every district in the urban areas, in every  
17 district that African Americans represented with  
18 the exception of Orange county, took them up to  
19 50 percent plus one minority voters, voting age  
20 population and minority voters. That way all of  
21 the districts that were represented by African  
22 Americans were placed in the category of Voting  
23 Rights Act districts, they weren't, but what  
24 that case brought to the forefront was a  
25 doctrine called packing which meant that you

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1 the Gingles measurements, and it is possible to  
2 have VRA districts that are not 50 percent plus.  
3 Justice Kennedy said in his ruling that if in  
4 fact you try to dismantle a VRA district where  
5 you can create one, then that raises serious  
6 questions under the 14th Amendment and the  
7 Voting Rights Act, the Equal Protection Clause  
8 of the 14th Amendment.

9 So when you say that you haven't shown  
10 any VRA violations, it begs the question that  
11 you don't have to show 50 percent in the  
12 district for it to be an operating VRA district.

13 The point that I've been trying to make  
14 all along is if you can show that you can draw a  
15 VRA district that meets these criteria, you  
16 don't have to draw that district because you can  
17 analyze what's been going on over time, and you  
18 can take that number down because ideally, all  
19 of us want that number to disappear, but you  
20 gradually take it down without doing it  
21 abruptly. And when you do it abruptly, you  
22 dismantle districts where you've shown a history  
23 of polarized voting.

24 And that's what the letters to the  
25 chairs and to all of the members were trying to

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1 get at; that the preliminary evidence shows that  
2 you have a responsibility to inquire as to  
3 whether or not there is further need for a  
4 Voting Rights Act district. The burden of  
5 making the inquiry is on the legislature, not on  
6 citizens out here because when citizens do it,  
7 they sue you because you haven't done it. And  
8 Stephenson says that you will make that analysis  
9 before you do all of the clustering and all of  
10 the other things.

11 What becomes obvious here in this  
12 cluster -- and mind you, the Voting Rights Act  
13 trumps the clustering, and that's why Stephenson  
14 says you first make the inquiry as to whether  
15 you can create -- or you must create VRA  
16 districts. You can show up in the northeast  
17 that you can create a VRA district, and you can  
18 show that you can -- look, I will tell you, it  
19 probably would take four hours to get from one  
20 end of the district that you've recommended down  
21 to Carteret county. No direct way to do it.  
22 You might have to catch boats, planes, and cars  
23 to get there. But the point is that there have  
24 been districts drawn down there that have been  
25 determined to be compact, now, even if they

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1 50 percent of the vote -- 50 plus percent of the  
2 vote, so you don't have polarization to the  
3 extent that whites are not voting for African  
4 Americans, and they point out that in those  
5 districts, 53 percent of the vote went to these  
6 African American statewide candidates. And  
7 that's how they suggest that there's enough  
8 information that would make you inquire whether  
9 or not you can create a functioning district  
10 without having 50 plus percent in that district.

11 Because you can create the district  
12 without the disruption that creating a full VRA  
13 district would require, it seems the choice  
14 would be to create that district because then  
15 would you not tear into all of those counties,  
16 ferreting out the black vote in all of those  
17 counties the way the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000  
18 district initially did before the whole county  
19 provision was reactivated in 2003. And prior to  
20 that time, I might add, that for 20 years plus,  
21 the state was districted without regard to the  
22 whole county provision in the state constitution  
23 because folk had assumed that it was repealed by  
24 the Voting Rights Act.

25 So that's why I'm offering this

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1 meander through 8 or 10 or 12 counties and they  
2 dip into counties, affecting counties that ought  
3 not be affected in it you can draw, because  
4 we've drawn in the past, and the population is  
5 still there to support a VRA district.

6 What I've offered in this amendment is  
7 a solution to that problem, a simple solution.  
8 The fact of the matter is, as pointed out in the  
9 communications that have come to the chair, is  
10 that this district, as appears up here, that was  
11 created by the clustering, not by any drawing  
12 that I've done, all whole counties, are  
13 certainly much more compact than the two  
14 districts that the committee is recommending.  
15 But what I've shown is that you can adopt  
16 that cluster and you got a functioning VRA  
17 district just by accepting this top cluster with  
18 those counties in it.

19 It is currently represented by an  
20 African American woman, and it would still  
21 be -- she would still be residing in that  
22 district. You're not looking at race figures in  
23 the district, but the communication that you got  
24 indicated that black candidates, African  
25 American candidates had consistently scored

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1 district. The two groups that have communicated  
2 with the chair and with this committee have made  
3 it plain to you that this is a VRA district.  
4 You have all the tools at your disposal to  
5 inquire as to whether you can create it, how you  
6 would create it, but they point out to you that  
7 based on this anecdotal evidence you clearly  
8 still have a degree of racially polarized  
9 voting. I believe, and I think you believe too,  
10 that it's not to the degree that it was in the  
11 1980s or 1990s, but it hasn't gotten to the  
12 point that it is in these urban areas which are  
13 no longer -- which no longer have the degree of  
14 polarized voting that existed, those areas that  
15 were covered by Section 5 and, again, all of us  
16 by Section 2.

17 One of the things -- and I'll point  
18 this out because I've been asked about it.  
19 Gingles, the decision, and you can read it in  
20 black and white, points out, and they point it  
21 out in Gingles itself, and we've referred to it  
22 in many cases since then, that you can do, as  
23 far as drawing, whatever you need to in Durham  
24 county now, in Wake county, in Mecklenburg  
25 county, and in Guilford county, and that on its

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1 face is not violating the Voting Rights Act  
2 unless you can show packing again in Guilford  
3 county or Cumberland county. But with respect  
4 to the others, there is no Voting Rights Act  
5 violation unless you unreasonably take the black  
6 vote beyond the level where it is functioning  
7 effectively, but that doesn't say that you can  
8 go 50 percent plus without justification because  
9 that was Gingles -- I mean, that was Rucho. And  
10 Rucho did not say you no longer look for Voting  
11 Rights Act districts and that there are none any  
12 more. Rucho just said you hadn't done the study  
13 that supports your taking these districts to  
14 50 percent plus. And the case was finally  
15 resolved when this legislature redrew the  
16 districts, took them down in the 30s and 40s.  
17 There are African Americans representing senate  
18 districts with 20 some percent African American  
19 population that went up to 50 plus. Rucho said  
20 you got to bring that back down. There were  
21 districts such as mine that went back into the  
22 low 30s and had not been in the 40s.

23 And I'll just make one comment and I'll  
24 shut up on this amendment. There were nine  
25 senate districts represented by African

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1 Americans prior to 2011. Nine. None of them  
2 except this one -- I believe this was the only  
3 one. There were three districts in the east,  
4 but none of them, I believe except one, had a  
5 VRA greater than 50 percent, yet all of them had  
6 elected African Americans which showed that the  
7 Voting Rights Act was working and you were  
8 bringing the polarization down and we were all  
9 getting to the point that I hope all of us  
10 aspire to.

11 So I'm suggesting to you that this  
12 district, this district recognizes the progress  
13 that's been made, but it does not dismantle a  
14 district without at least doing the baseline  
15 study which has a burden on the General Assembly  
16 to do. You indicated you had not done it, you  
17 did not plan to do it, and this morning, Senator  
18 Newton, you indicated you were not doing it  
19 because you didn't see any need to do it because  
20 the people who litigated it to the limit -- to  
21 limit it now want to make you look at it. The  
22 people who litigated it litigated it because you  
23 had packed all of these other districts and said  
24 you got to unpack and make sure that the Voting  
25 Rights Act is working, not that you're going

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1 back to pre-1965 practices.

2 So this district in the northeast,  
3 District 1, whatever it is officially,  
4 would -- it's reasonably compact, because it's a  
5 cluster; it's politically cohesive, because  
6 that's what the information from these various  
7 groups have told you that it is; and there is  
8 racially polarized voting in it to some extent  
9 but not to the degree -- not to the degree that  
10 you got to create a district that's 50 percent  
11 plus African American minority.

12 Now, you say that there's no expert  
13 evidence available. The burden is on this  
14 General Assembly to have the experts tell you  
15 that there's no need for it, not on the  
16 citizenry to tell you that there is a need. But  
17 if you're looking for that, the public hearings  
18 tell you that the citizens in this district  
19 think you ought to preserve the district as it  
20 is and keep those counties together.

21 What you've done in choosing one option  
22 over the other with these two -- and again,  
23 they're two clusters. You can choose one  
24 cluster over the other. Senator Hise explained  
25 why you chose the first cluster. Well, the

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1 first cluster hasn't been like that over the  
2 years. It hasn't been like that in the earlier  
3 cluster, and it should not present an excuse to  
4 you to do it like that when you know that you're  
5 dismantling a functioning VRA district.

6 So I'll answer any questions, but I  
7 would move the adoption of the amendment,  
8 Mr. Chair, because I believe -- I sincerely  
9 believe that in this map that you've presented  
10 there are two viable Voting Rights Act claims  
11 that would survive in this action.

12 Now, the theory might be -- and I don't  
13 know what the lawyers' strategies may be on  
14 this. The theory might be that maybe you want  
15 to tee it up and let the supreme court decide  
16 further what Section 2 means or what the Voting  
17 Rights Act means, but what you do is put the  
18 burden of doing that on the taxpayers of  
19 North Carolina. And again, we spend tens of  
20 millions of dollars litigating something that at  
21 the end of the day we're going to lose unless  
22 the United States Supreme Court significantly  
23 changes the law on it. And we go back up to a  
24 fourth circuit that issued some of the harshest  
25 rulings in the last cycle about North Carolina's

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<p>1     redistricting than it did of any other</p> <p>2     redistricting in the country from any of the</p> <p>3     circuit courts -- or any of the three-judge</p> <p>4     panels. I'm sorry.</p> <p>5             And so I would ask you to really look</p> <p>6     seriously at this. And I will offer one more</p> <p>7     amendment so that you can absolve the state of</p> <p>8     Voting Rights Act violations and litigate</p> <p>9     whatever else you have done in the context of</p> <p>10    whether it is political gerrymandering because</p> <p>11    those are the choices. You had two issues in</p> <p>12    2010 decade: Racial gerrymandering, which I</p> <p>13    have just described to you why the court</p> <p>14    reversed it, but the court didn't say you didn't</p> <p>15    have to look at it. And secondly, political</p> <p>16    gerrymandering. The issues that might remain in</p> <p>17    Guilford county and Cumberland county or the</p> <p>18    other urban counties are issues of political</p> <p>19    gerrymandering unless you far exceed what the</p> <p>20    court said in 2015 or '16 you had to do with</p> <p>21    respect to creating minority districts within</p> <p>22    those areas if you were going to create them,</p> <p>23    and no requirement that you create them, but you</p> <p>24    can't unreasonably -- I don't think there's a</p> <p>25    requirement except maybe again in Greensboro and</p> <p align="right">57</p>	<p>1     consideration of county pods, if it's necessary.</p> <p>2     We may disagree on the concept of whether those</p> <p>3     standards have been met, whether the anecdotal</p> <p>4     evidence proves those standards have been met.</p> <p>5             But this decision is clearly about</p> <p>6     Stephenson groupings in the two districts. We</p> <p>7     have moved on -- Stephenson requires, says ten</p> <p>8     counties are grouped in one manner and eight</p> <p>9     counties are grouped in another, there are two</p> <p>10    options for doing so. And so his amendment</p> <p>11    presents one of those options, our amendment</p> <p>12    presents -- our bill presents a different option</p> <p>13    chosen. Both meet the Stephenson criteria.</p> <p>14    Both are drawn under the Stephenson criteria.</p> <p>15             As I have said previously, the chairs</p> <p>16    looked at this extensively and made a decision</p> <p>17    as to which of those best conformed communities</p> <p>18    of interest. We looked at compactness. The map</p> <p>19    you currently have -- not the amendment.</p> <p>20    District 1 is the most compact of the four</p> <p>21    districts that are created in the map. The</p> <p>22    fingerling counties and [unintelligible] are</p> <p>23    most contained within this map. Four of the</p> <p>24    five are placed together in the current map. It</p> <p>25    moves it to a 3/2 split in the other map.</p> <p align="right">59</p>
<p>1     Fayetteville because it was covered -- as long</p> <p>2     as you don't unreasonably discriminate against</p> <p>3     minorities.</p> <p>4             But what I am trying to offer to you is</p> <p>5     a way to stay clear of federal court with</p> <p>6     respect to the racial gerrymander and leave open</p> <p>7     these issues of the political gerrymander,</p> <p>8     because that's the only thing that I've seen the</p> <p>9     letters about, these two districts, and those</p> <p>10    clearly are racial gerrymander issues that bring</p> <p>11    in other parts of the state that don't have to</p> <p>12    be involved in we fix them here without leaving</p> <p>13    it to the courts to send it back and involving a</p> <p>14    much broader swath of the state.</p> <p>15             CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>16    Senator Blue.</p> <p>17             Senator Hise, or any other members that</p> <p>18    may have comments or questions.</p> <p>19             CHAIRMAN HISE: I'd like to respond.</p> <p>20             Members, I think it is clear with what</p> <p>21    we have here that this is not a consideration</p> <p>22    under the Voting Rights Act. I think</p> <p>23    Senator Blue has made it clear several times</p> <p>24    that that is a separate consideration that must</p> <p>25    be done first and considered prior to the</p> <p align="right">58</p>	<p>1     Particularly looking at the northern Outer Banks</p> <p>2     region, the map that you have contains all of</p> <p>3     those counties together in a more compact</p> <p>4     district. So I would ask that the committee</p> <p>5     reject the amendment and consider the map as is.</p> <p>6             SENATOR BLUE: Mr. Chairman, can I ask</p> <p>7     Senator Hise a question.</p> <p>8             CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, Senator</p> <p>9     Hise.</p> <p>10             Yes, you may. Senator Hise.</p> <p>11             SENATOR BLUE: Senator Hise, you</p> <p>12    indicate that your map is more compact. How do</p> <p>13    you determine that having a map that runs from</p> <p>14    Warren county down to Carteret county is more</p> <p>15    compact than what we see on the board up here.</p> <p>16             CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator Blue, I'll be</p> <p>17    clear on what I said, not transpose what I said.</p> <p>18             There are four districts that can be</p> <p>19    created. District 1 in the map that we</p> <p>20    currently have is the most compact of the four</p> <p>21    districts.</p> <p>22             SENATOR BLUE: Let me ask another</p> <p>23    question --</p> <p>24             CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up. Sure,</p> <p>25    Senator Blue.</p> <p align="right">60</p>

<p>1 SENATOR BLUE: And so it's your</p> <p>2 testimony that you chose -- you chose the</p> <p>3 district in your map because it is more compact</p> <p>4 than the other two?</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN HISE: I can repeat my answer.</p> <p>6 SENATOR BLUE: Please do.</p> <p>7 CHAIRMAN HISE: District 1 that is</p> <p>8 created is the most compact of the districts</p> <p>9 formed. I also stated that it keeps more of the</p> <p>10 finger counties, which we heard from both</p> <p>11 comments and others that are community of</p> <p>12 interest, keeps more of those counties together</p> <p>13 within that map and keeps the northern</p> <p>14 Outer Banks region together within a map.</p> <p>15 I also talked about in the choice for</p> <p>16 the districts comparing the media markets that</p> <p>17 the two were in versus which ones are in the</p> <p>18 Norfolk media markets and which ones are in the</p> <p>19 Raleigh or Greenville media markets for those</p> <p>20 considerations. All of that went into those</p> <p>21 considerations for determining communities of</p> <p>22 interest as well as looking at the compactness.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up,</p> <p>24 Senator Blue.</p> <p>25 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up.</p> <p>61</p>	<p>1 traditionally African American counties and</p> <p>2 agricultural counties as opposed to aquacultural</p> <p>3 counties or various other things that the</p> <p>4 coastal counties might entail?</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator, we looked at</p> <p>6 as many considerations as we could to identify</p> <p>7 which of these two choices were the better</p> <p>8 choice to make between the grouping -- the 10/8</p> <p>9 groupings of the counties, and from what we</p> <p>10 concluded, with keeping the fingerling counties</p> <p>11 whole as well as the northern Outer Banks region</p> <p>12 together that this better met the needs of that</p> <p>13 region.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: Further question.</p> <p>15 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes, Senator Blue.</p> <p>16 SENATOR BLUE: Did you consider the</p> <p>17 community of interest of the northern border</p> <p>18 counties?</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN HISE: I would say that with</p> <p>20 the exception of inland to Halifax or Warren,</p> <p>21 so -- and the only one of those that happens to</p> <p>22 be different would be Warren, all the northern</p> <p>23 border counties are the same -- with the</p> <p>24 exception of Warren county are in the same</p> <p>25 district in both maps.</p> <p>63</p>
<p>1 So that I understand, then, compactness</p> <p>2 is the dominant issue in this choice of</p> <p>3 districts.</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN HISE: I never said that. I</p> <p>5 said it is one of the issues.</p> <p>6 SENATOR BLUE: What are the other</p> <p>7 issues that --</p> <p>8 CHAIRMAN HISE: Considering communities</p> <p>9 of interest, and that included a consideration</p> <p>10 of the fingerling counties, that included a</p> <p>11 consideration of the media markets that the</p> <p>12 counties are in and the northern Outer Banks</p> <p>13 region.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up.</p> <p>15 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up.</p> <p>16 SENATOR BLUE: So the media market is</p> <p>17 in your opinion a legitimate community of</p> <p>18 interest?</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN HISE: It identifies -- it</p> <p>20 would help identify a community of interest,</p> <p>21 yes.</p> <p>22 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes, sir.</p> <p>24 SENATOR BLUE: Did you examine the</p> <p>25 community of interest of all of these</p> <p>62</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up,</p> <p>2 Senator Blue?</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, further question.</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes.</p> <p>5 SENATOR BLUE: In looking at the map</p> <p>6 that's displayed on the screen, could you tell</p> <p>7 me what the communities of interest are if you</p> <p>8 start in the northeast at Warren county, which</p> <p>9 is the extreme -- northwest, rather, in the pink</p> <p>10 and go all the way down to Carteret county which</p> <p>11 is in -- below the south central eastern part of</p> <p>12 North Carolina.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator Blue, I did not</p> <p>14 determine the two possible groupings for the</p> <p>15 counties. We were just in a position to make a</p> <p>16 choice between the two possible groupings.</p> <p>17 SENATOR BLUE: Further follow-up.</p> <p>18 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Another follow-up.</p> <p>19 SENATOR BLUE: My question is what is a</p> <p>20 community of interest if I flow through them</p> <p>21 from Warren county, then looks like is it</p> <p>22 Halifax, Northampton and then down a couple</p> <p>23 hundred miles or so to Carteret county which is</p> <p>24 a coastal county?</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN HISE: Other than looking at</p> <p>64</p>

<p>1 what I've said previously about a similar media 2 market for those counties, I would say that we 3 have identified and mentioned the communities we 4 were trying to keep whole and keep together, and 5 when choosing between two groupings of counties, 6 there was only one grouping of counties that did 7 that.</p> <p>8 SENATOR BLUE: I think one last 9 question, if I could, Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>10 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes, sir.</p> <p>11 SENATOR BLUE: Senator Daniel pointed 12 out yesterday, when we were considering the 13 congressional map, that one of the things that 14 you had considered or that you thought about was 15 the travel time. One of the congressional maps 16 caused him some hiccups with respect to travel 17 time. I think it may have been from Forsyth 18 county down to Lincoln county.</p> <p>19 Did you have an idea of what the travel 20 time is from Warren county down to 21 Morehead City?</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN HISE: I don't. I'm sure 23 that's a number we could get you on what the 24 travel time is.</p> <p>25 I will tell you that it is clear that</p> <p>65</p>	<p>1 media market? Is it Raleigh?</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN HISE: I can go back through 3 and see if I've got --</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue, we're 5 hearing someone in the gallery saying, yes, it 6 is in fact Raleigh.</p> <p>7 SENATOR BLUE: What about Carteret 8 county?</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN HISE: Bertie, Tyrrell, 10 Northampton, Raleigh.</p> <p>11 So I have that the Greenville media 12 market is Carteret, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, and 13 Washington that's coming in. The Raleigh media 14 market will be Halifax and Warren. The Norfolk 15 media market will be Chowan. The Greenville 16 media market would also be Bertie and Tyrrell in 17 the northern, and Raleigh would be in the 18 Northampton media market. The rest, Camden, 19 Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, 20 Perquimans, in the Norfolk market.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: Would Carteret --</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue, you 23 have a last, last, last, last, last question.</p> <p>24 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, just a follow-up 25 because I'm intrigued by this media market</p> <p>67</p>
<p>1 when you're doing congressional maps, you are 2 not drawing predetermined poddings of counties 3 that you choose between. So congressional maps 4 are open. There -- we did the analysis. There 5 are no poddings of counties in congressional 6 maps. In this manner, we had two choices of 7 podding between two groups of poddings to choose 8 from.</p> <p>9 SENATOR BLUE: So -- and one last one.</p> <p>10 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: One last, last one.</p> <p>11 SENATOR BLUE: As I understand it -- as 12 I understand it, in this grouping, the only 13 thing that mattered was compactness.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN HISE: I never said that. I 15 said we looked at a lot of considerations, and 16 what we -- and I could go through them all 17 again, which communities were important to stay 18 as together as possible, what media markets they 19 were in and others and made the choice for the 20 other podding different than this amendment.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: Well, that does call for 22 one last question.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay.</p> <p>24 SENATOR BLUE: And as I understand it, 25 the media market in Warren county, what's that</p> <p>66</p>	<p>1 element.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Sure.</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: But is it fair to say, 4 and I'll put multiple ones together, there's a 5 New Bern media market that would be affecting 6 this district, there's a Wilmington media market 7 that would be affecting this district as well as 8 a Greenville media market?</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN HISE: We have identified a 10 Greenville media market. I'm assuming the 11 others --</p> <p>12 SENATOR BLUE: Well, there are TV 13 stations in all of those towns.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN HISE: I come from the 15 mountains so we're all pretty consistent on 16 where WLOS or those go to, but they identify -- 17 those areas identify their media markets.</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, 20 Senator Blue.</p> <p>21 Senator Marcus, no, your question has 22 been answered.</p> <p>23 Seeing no -- Senator Nickel.</p> <p>24 SENATOR NICKEL: Yeah. I just kind of 25 did a double take with the distance and looked</p> <p>68</p>

<p>1 on my phone to try to figure out how long it</p> <p>2 would take someone to go from Emerald Isle in</p> <p>3 Carteret county all the way up to -- I found</p> <p>4 Wise, North Carolina, right along the Virginia</p> <p>5 border. And Senator Blue is about right, if you</p> <p>6 stop for a rest break, it's about 4 hours,</p> <p>7 177 miles, and that's if you're cutting through</p> <p>8 Senator Perry, Senator Davis, Senator Barnes'</p> <p>9 districts to get there.</p> <p>10 You know, so my question just is what</p> <p>11 does somebody living in Emerald Isle, all the</p> <p>12 way on the bottom there on the coast, have in</p> <p>13 common with someone living in Wise,</p> <p>14 North Carolina, way on the Virginia border, up</p> <p>15 there, in Warren county.</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: So, Senator Nickel,</p> <p>17 I'll allow Senator Hise to answer that question,</p> <p>18 but I think it's essentially asked and answered</p> <p>19 multiple times with Senator Blue, but Senator</p> <p>20 Hise.</p> <p>21 CHAIRMAN HISE: Having served for 10</p> <p>22 years in a district that's over a three-hour</p> <p>23 drive from Marshall to Tryon, about three and a</p> <p>24 half, if you do that, I understand the</p> <p>25 complexities of doing so, but that is in a lot</p> <p align="right">69</p>	<p>1 [Unintelligible.]</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Not that one.</p> <p>3 Members.</p> <p>4 SCH Amendment 2. Is that the Moore,</p> <p>5 Cumberland 21, 19 districts. Okay, very good.</p> <p>6 All right. And who is going to be offering</p> <p>7 these?</p> <p>8 SENATOR BLUE: I'll talk about it. I</p> <p>9 want to first ask Senator Hise a couple</p> <p>10 questions since this is before us, but I want to</p> <p>11 ask Senator Hise a couple questions.</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Go ahead.</p> <p>13 SENATOR BLUE: Yes. Senator Hise, I'm</p> <p>14 trying to get straight in my mind these criteria</p> <p>15 that the committee adopted, and they were all</p> <p>16 listed with specific statement by you, I</p> <p>17 believe, that you couldn't rank order them, but</p> <p>18 you could consider all of them depending on what</p> <p>19 you were looking at at the time.</p> <p>20 And what I'm trying to figure out about</p> <p>21 this is you mentioned that keeping</p> <p>22 municipalities whole was one of the priorities</p> <p>23 at least in the other maps that you've drawn; is</p> <p>24 that right.</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN HISE: And continues to be in</p> <p align="right">71</p>
<p>1 of ways the geographics of the map and the</p> <p>2 county pods that formed.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you.</p> <p>4 Anything else, Senator Nickel?</p> <p>5 Okay. Well, with that, Senator Blue</p> <p>6 has moved for the adoption of SBA Amendment 2.</p> <p>7 All those in favor say aye.</p> <p>8 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All those opposed,</p> <p>10 no.</p> <p>11 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: The nos have it.</p> <p>13 So the next amendment -- I'll ask the</p> <p>14 proponent. The next one that I have on my list</p> <p>15 is actually right back up to the top which is</p> <p>16 SBV Amendment 3. Is that what you would like to</p> <p>17 pursue next?</p> <p>18 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Just Buncombe</p> <p>19 county.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN HISE: Buncombe, McDowell,</p> <p>21 Burke. It's red and pink. It's on the screen</p> <p>22 as well.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: It's up to the</p> <p>24 sponsor what order you'd like to take these in.</p> <p>25 I've done my best.</p> <p align="right">70</p>	<p>1 both maps, yes.</p> <p>2 SENATOR BLUE: Keeping municipalities</p> <p>3 whole. And following that, what was the next</p> <p>4 most important criteria that you think you</p> <p>5 applied?</p> <p>6 CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator Blue, I can go</p> <p>7 through the entire list of the criteria. We</p> <p>8 have made no statements about most important or</p> <p>9 next important. These are the criteria of the</p> <p>10 committee, and we considered them when drawing</p> <p>11 maps.</p> <p>12 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. So is it fair to</p> <p>13 say --</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN HISE: Each member will make</p> <p>15 their own choice.</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue.</p> <p>17 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you. So is it</p> <p>18 fair to say that you got this set of criteria</p> <p>19 and no one criteria determined the outcome?</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise.</p> <p>21 CHAIRMAN HISE: So, Senator Blue, I</p> <p>22 would not say that that -- I think that is true</p> <p>23 for several criteria. There are criteria in the</p> <p>24 maps that I do see as absolute. We had said</p> <p>25 that -- when we said that we would comply with</p> <p align="right">72</p>

<p>1 the Voting Rights Act, we will comply with the</p> <p>2 Voting Rights Act. When we said that the</p> <p>3 Stephenson groupings -- so violating the</p> <p>4 Stephenson groupings would be absolutes for the</p> <p>5 committee to consider. Not using race, not</p> <p>6 using political data were absolute</p> <p>7 considerations of the committee.</p> <p>8 Beyond that, we moved to considerations</p> <p>9 minimizing -- which is not an exact science, but</p> <p>10 minimizing, dividing counties, dividing VTDs,</p> <p>11 dividing municipalities. All of those have</p> <p>12 varying levels that maps are drawn to try to</p> <p>13 accommodate them, but there were also absolute</p> <p>14 criteria that we felt were important to comply</p> <p>15 with.</p> <p>16 SENATOR BLUE: Another question.</p> <p>17 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes, Senator Blue.</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: And what made me ask you</p> <p>19 that question, Senator Hise, is because in many</p> <p>20 of the clusters, as you explained them earlier</p> <p>21 this morning, it appears that you prioritize not</p> <p>22 splitting municipalities. For example, when you</p> <p>23 say that next door in Sampson county that you</p> <p>24 decided -- you went out of the way to split a</p> <p>25 precinct in order to keep I believe the</p> <p>73</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up.</p> <p>2 SENATOR BLUE: Now, in your map, I</p> <p>3 believe you split Fayetteville several times; is</p> <p>4 that right?</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN HISE: Fayetteville is split.</p> <p>6 SENATOR BLUE: Several times.</p> <p>7 CHAIRMAN HISE: Fayetteville is split.</p> <p>8 There's a portion -- I think it came to</p> <p>9 12 percent or something like that of</p> <p>10 Fayetteville is in a different district.</p> <p>11 SENATOR BLUE: Just for information,</p> <p>12 you had to split it because of Fort Bragg. I</p> <p>13 believe you got to split it at least once, but</p> <p>14 you split it more than once.</p> <p>15 CHAIRMAN HISE: We did keep -- all the</p> <p>16 military installations are whole within a</p> <p>17 district.</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: And one last follow-up.</p> <p>19 But you split Hope Mills also.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN HISE: I believe we did.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: And would you agree that</p> <p>22 a better cluster map in Cumberland county would</p> <p>23 be one where you didn't jeopardize any of the</p> <p>24 other criteria? You kept municipalities whole,</p> <p>25 you didn't split precincts, et cetera,</p> <p>75</p>
<p>1 municipality of Plain View, one of those places</p> <p>2 next to the hollerin' capital of the world.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Spivey's Corner.</p> <p>4 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, Spivey's Corner.</p> <p>5 You went out of the way not to split</p> <p>6 precincts -- or you went out of the way, rather,</p> <p>7 to split a precinct to keep the municipality</p> <p>8 whole, but in Cumberland county your map decided</p> <p>9 to split Hope Mills.</p> <p>10 Tell me, what was your thought process</p> <p>11 in determining the split Hope Mills and not</p> <p>12 Plain View?</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN HISE: And I believe in the</p> <p>15 same map we, by necessity, also split</p> <p>16 Fayetteville. With coming in, for the way it</p> <p>17 was coming, it is a balancing factor, and in</p> <p>18 choosing to make -- you know, could we choose to</p> <p>19 split a single VTD in order to keep a</p> <p>20 municipality whole, we made that choice and</p> <p>21 could do so. Would that choice be different if</p> <p>22 it required splitting multiple VTDs that's</p> <p>23 coming in in order to keep a municipality whole</p> <p>24 would be a different consideration and decision.</p> <p>25 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up.</p> <p>74</p>	<p>1 et cetera.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue. I</p> <p>3 mean, I'm sorry. Senator Hise.</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN HISE: He'll answer his own</p> <p>5 question. That's the attorney side.</p> <p>6 What I would say is, again, it is</p> <p>7 weighing multiple considerations, and the</p> <p>8 challenge would be, in doing so, taking a</p> <p>9 district that was 80 percent contained in</p> <p>10 Fayetteville and trying to divide it to more of</p> <p>11 a 50/50 district would be something that would</p> <p>12 weight that decision I think more towards</p> <p>13 keeping more of Fayetteville within a district.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. Thank you,</p> <p>15 Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>16 Senator Hise, I offer you a district</p> <p>17 that does not split Hope Mills in Cumberland</p> <p>18 county and it splits Fayetteville only in the</p> <p>19 place that you split it. I believe it splits</p> <p>20 Fayetteville only at that place. I'm trying to</p> <p>21 remember my geography of my used-to-be next door</p> <p>22 neighboring county, but I think it -- but if it</p> <p>23 splits Cumberland -- or Fayetteville, it doesn't</p> <p>24 split it more times than you do, but it keeps</p> <p>25 Hope Mills totally whole as you did the</p> <p>76</p>

<p>1 surrounding districts up in its neighboring</p> <p>2 Sampson county.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Is that a question or</p> <p>4 a comment?</p> <p>5 SENATOR BLUE: It's a statement. And</p> <p>6 with that said, unless I'm wrong on that, which</p> <p>7 I don't believe I am, I would move the adoption</p> <p>8 of the map.</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>10 Senator Blue.</p> <p>11 Senator Hise, any other comments?</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN HISE: I am trying to find,</p> <p>13 and I don't believe that it's in this pack, the</p> <p>14 percentage of Fayetteville that is now in the</p> <p>15 district. It now takes Fayetteville I believe</p> <p>16 to a 53/47 split between the two districts, as I</p> <p>17 had said earlier, and makes a district that was</p> <p>18 a predominant Fayetteville district and kept as</p> <p>19 much of it as whole as possible to almost an</p> <p>20 even split between the two, and I see no reason</p> <p>21 and would not support making that decision.</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. Thank</p> <p>23 you.</p> <p>24 Seeing no other comments or questions,</p> <p>25 Senator Blue has moved to amend the map</p> <p>77</p>	<p>1 SENATOR BLUE: It's a Wake county map.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Members, SCG</p> <p>3 Amendment 6 we think is the -- Granville and</p> <p>4 Wake. SCH -- SCH Amendment 6? Sorry.</p> <p>5 SENATOR BLUE: SCG Amendment 6, is that</p> <p>6 it?</p> <p>7 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: That's it. I got it.</p> <p>8 SENATOR BLUE: Question first of</p> <p>9 Senator Hise. And it might -- it might help if</p> <p>10 we could have displayed the map that Senator</p> <p>11 Hise is defending.</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: So I'll ask staff if</p> <p>13 we can -- you want a split screen, if we can get</p> <p>14 that.</p> <p>15 SENATOR BLUE: Yes.</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: So, staff, if we</p> <p>17 can -- if not, you just want Senator Hise --</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: Just Wake county</p> <p>19 portion.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Wake county portion.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: With the Wake-Granville</p> <p>22 county portion of Senator Hise -- that cluster.</p> <p>23 There it is.</p> <p>24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: How about that.</p> <p>25 SENATOR BLUE: That's perfect.</p> <p>79</p>
<p>1 SCH Amendment 2. All those in favor say aye.</p> <p>2 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All those opposed say</p> <p>4 no.</p> <p>5 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</p> <p>6 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: The nos have it.</p> <p>7 Okay. Senator Blue, which is your</p> <p>8 next?</p> <p>9 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, let me get out of</p> <p>10 my own way.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: No worries. Take</p> <p>12 your time.</p> <p>13 SENATOR BLUE: Question of -- I'm going</p> <p>14 to introduce -- the next one I'm going to</p> <p>15 introduce is going to be SBK 3 is the number I</p> <p>16 have. I don't know what the corresponding new</p> <p>17 number for the amendment is.</p> <p>18 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: SBA --</p> <p>19 SENATOR BLUE: SBK. SBK 3.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: SBA Amendment 3.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: Is that it?</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I don't have an SB 8.</p> <p>23 SENATOR BLUE: No. It's -- SBK 3 was</p> <p>24 my old one.</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: SBA 3. Is this it?</p> <p>78</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue, you</p> <p>2 have the floor.</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>4 And, Senator Hise, correct me if I'm</p> <p>5 wrong, and I'll ask you because I can't keep up</p> <p>6 with all this stuff. In looking at your drawing</p> <p>7 of Wake county, if I could first go to the</p> <p>8 Granville-Wake county district.</p> <p>9 It looks like in doing those six</p> <p>10 districts you appear to split ten precincts and</p> <p>11 split three municipalities; is that right?</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN HISE: I believe that is</p> <p>13 accurate.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: I think you split</p> <p>15 Raleigh --</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN HISE: I don't have that</p> <p>17 report in front of me.</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: I think you split</p> <p>19 Raleigh -- Raleigh, Apex, and Cary, I believe.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN HISE: Yes.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: And did you find keeping</p> <p>22 municipalities whole to be of higher importance</p> <p>23 than splitting VTDs?</p> <p>24 CHAIRMAN HISE: There were individual</p> <p>25 cases in which we felt like we could pick an</p> <p>80</p>

<p>1 individual VTD and as a result not split 2 municipalities, but again, there was no priority 3 on the criteria that ranks one higher than the 4 other. 5 SENATOR BLUE: Then if you -- so none 6 of them have -- again, and you said this, but I 7 want to make sure I understand it. None of them 8 have necessarily a higher priority. It just 9 depends on the specific district that you're 10 drawing at the time. 11 CHAIRMAN HISE: And we are showing how 12 we considered each of them in the reports for 13 what the results are. 14 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. If you will take 15 a look at that protrusion from the green 16 district into the blue district up there, that's 17 from -- I can't see the Raleigh district number. 18 I think it may be -- I don't know what the 19 district is, but there's a protrusion reaching 20 sort of north that extends from the green 21 district into the blue district. 22 Do you see that? 23 CHAIRMAN HISE: I see it. 24 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. If you look at 25 that, tell me why you determined to put that</p> <p align="right">81</p>	<p>1 it protrudes up into the district, that is, the 2 blue district. 3 CHAIRMAN HISE: Correct. Well, we 4 can't show it on these. On the map you could 5 put the city limits up and I could better 6 respond to that question, but we -- again, by 7 adding the unincorporated areas and kind of 8 moving down to get towards that equal population 9 number. 10 SENATOR BLUE: Further question. 11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Question. 12 SENATOR BLUE: In looking at the stat 13 pack on that district, you did split Raleigh, 14 and you have part of Raleigh into the blue 15 district. And so could you tell me why you 16 chose to put the part of Raleigh to the left of 17 that green protrusion into the blue district and 18 not part of the green since both of them are 19 part of Raleigh's corporate limits. 20 CHAIRMAN HISE: A specific decision for 21 that choice, I think you're looking at as we 22 were coming south, when you look in the other 23 part of the green area, those seem to be 24 smaller, more compact VTDs, particularly with 25 higher populations that's with coming in. And</p> <p align="right">83</p>
<p>1 protrusion in the map as you were drawing it. 2 CHAIRMAN HISE: As I said when I 3 explained this map, our intent was to connect 4 Granville county with the unincorporated, more 5 rural areas of the northern county. All of 6 drawing this two-county pod was exceptionally 7 difficult compared to the fact that our variance 8 for the district was already at 4.9 percent 9 below the average district, and so we really 10 only had an average variance of about 52 11 individuals per district. I know you and others 12 that have drawn in Wake county ran into this 13 same complexities in doing so. 14 And so balancing populations required 15 many more circumstances in which you could not 16 keep VTDs whole and others in doing so in 17 drawing it, but literally this district was 18 drawn starting with Granville county and looking 19 at the northern particularly unincorporated 20 areas of Wake county and adding the two of those 21 into the district and then coming down into the 22 district as was necessary to balance population. 23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue. 24 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up. 25 So you chose not to split Raleigh where</p> <p align="right">82</p>	<p>1 so when we're trying to balance populations, as 2 we're getting close, we're looking for the VTDs 3 that closest match that in order to minimize the 4 splitting of VTDs. 5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up. 6 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up. 7 But you could split one precinct and 8 one VTD and make up for any difference in 9 population. 10 CHAIRMAN HISE: And that would be an 11 additional split VTD. 12 SENATOR BLUE: Yes, sir. 13 Another question. 14 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes. Follow-up. 15 SENATOR BLUE: And one of the criteria 16 that you looked at, one of the criteria adopted 17 by the committee was not to split precincts 18 except where it was necessary. 19 CHAIRMAN HISE: Yeah. 20 SENATOR BLUE: And that was because 21 when you start splitting precincts, you create a 22 lot of districts for election officials in 23 trying to match up all of these areas with 24 what's in and what's out since we elect on a 25 precinct basis.</p> <p align="right">84</p>

<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue, I'll</p> <p>2 just note that you're kind of answering your own</p> <p>3 question there.</p> <p>4 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you, sir. Thank</p> <p>5 you. I don't mean to answer it, but I think</p> <p>6 he's going to say yes so I'll state it for him,</p> <p>7 lead him a little bit, if you will.</p> <p>8 So if you had a map that didn't split</p> <p>9 any precincts and still conformed with all of</p> <p>10 the other criteria, would that not be a superior</p> <p>11 map?</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator Blue, I</p> <p>13 think -- I don't know if there's a distinction</p> <p>14 being made. The data in the system is by VTDs.</p> <p>15 In some areas, those are not consistent with</p> <p>16 what are called precincts but in others they are</p> <p>17 and I don't have an answer off the top of my</p> <p>18 head where those are coming in.</p> <p>19 I will tell you with an average</p> <p>20 variance of 52 individuals, not dividing a VTD</p> <p>21 in Wake county was a -- considering that your</p> <p>22 VTD probably minimum size is somewhere around a</p> <p>23 thousand. If there's many below that, there's</p> <p>24 not many, that's coming in and having to get</p> <p>25 districts within 50 people of each other</p> <p>85</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN HISE: Sure.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Nickel, yes.</p> <p>3 SENATOR NICKEL: We were talking</p> <p>4 yesterday about Senator Tillman, and I just</p> <p>5 wanted to dig up what he said in lead up to my</p> <p>6 question here.</p> <p>7 On the floor of the senate, the last</p> <p>8 session, he said that this process is --</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I'm sorry,</p> <p>10 Senator Nickel. Who is he?</p> <p>11 SENATOR NICKEL: Senator -- Republican</p> <p>12 Senator Jerry Tillman.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. He is not</p> <p>14 serving in this body. Is this relevant to</p> <p>15 today's discussion?</p> <p>16 SENATOR NICKEL: It is to my question.</p> <p>17 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Mr. Chairman,</p> <p>18 point of order. We had a motion on the floor.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: You are correct, we</p> <p>20 do have a motion on the floor.</p> <p>21 Do you want to speak to that motion</p> <p>22 without -- something that is germane to the</p> <p>23 motion on the floor today?</p> <p>24 SENATOR NICKEL: I think we've got</p> <p>25 another Wake map coming up; is that correct?</p> <p>87</p>
<p>1 necessitates the division of VTDs.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up.</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: So then -- thank you</p> <p>4 very much.</p> <p>5 So, Senator Hise, I'm going to show</p> <p>6 you, if you would refer to the map that I have</p> <p>7 up over there which is before us. It is a map</p> <p>8 that splits no precincts in Wake county.</p> <p>9 Would that not be a superior map based</p> <p>10 on the criteria? No split precincts.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN HISE: It would meet the</p> <p>12 criteria of not splitting VTDs more efficiently,</p> <p>13 but there are other considerations to consider,</p> <p>14 including what does it do splitting</p> <p>15 municipalities, what is the change on that, all</p> <p>16 the other criteria. I could go through the</p> <p>17 list, but if you're asking if splitting fewer</p> <p>18 VTDs meets the criteria better of splitting</p> <p>19 fewer VTDs, the answer is yes.</p> <p>20 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up.</p> <p>21 SENATOR BLUE: I move the adoption.</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right.</p> <p>23 Senator Blue moves the adoption --</p> <p>24 SENATOR NICKEL: Can I ask a question</p> <p>25 first?</p> <p>86</p>	<p>1 Senator Blue, we have a second Wake map? I can</p> <p>2 give my comments then.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right.</p> <p>4 Senator Hise, would you like to make</p> <p>5 any other comments before we vote?</p> <p>6 All right. Those in favor of the</p> <p>7 motion to adopt SCG Amendment 6 say aye.</p> <p>8 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Those opposed, no.</p> <p>10 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: The nos have it.</p> <p>12 Senator Blue, do you know which</p> <p>13 amendment you'd like to propose next?</p> <p>14 SCH Amend-6. SCH Amend-6.</p> <p>15 CHAIRMAN HISE: That might be the one</p> <p>16 that I don't have. There's a lot of Wake county</p> <p>17 options here.</p> <p>18 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right.</p> <p>19 Senator Blue, who's going to be proposing this</p> <p>20 amendment? The question is Senator Blue is</p> <p>21 going to be presenting this amendment and he has</p> <p>22 a question for Senator Hise.</p> <p>23 You have the floor, Senator Blue.</p> <p>24 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah. Senator Hise, in</p> <p>25 the last series I asked you about was splitting</p> <p>88</p>

1 VTDs and you said that that was important and  
2 probably took precedence over splitting  
3 precincts, at least as you drew the  
4 Granville-Wake county district; is that correct?

5 CHAIRMAN HISE: Again, I would  
6 make -- I'm assuming on this line of question  
7 that the VTDs and the precincts are not aligned  
8 in Wake county.

9 SENATOR BLUE: They pretty much are  
10 aligned, they pretty much are.

11 CHAIRMAN HISE: And as we -- because  
12 it's the layer in the system, we have looked at  
13 this from the lens of splitting VTDs.

14 SENATOR BLUE: Okay.

15 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Follow-up.

16 SENATOR BLUE: Follow-up.

17 You think that splitting -- at least as  
18 you made the decision here, you wanted to split  
19 as few VTDs as possible in Wake county.

20 CHAIRMAN HISE: We balanced the  
21 criteria between splitting VTDs, municipalities,  
22 compactness of districts, all that exists in  
23 coming up with these maps.

24 SENATOR BLUE: And if I were to show  
25 you a map that split two municipalities as

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1 opposed to the three that you split in your map  
2 and it split only three VTDs as compared with  
3 the ten VTDs that you split in your map, would  
4 you agree that that's probably a better map  
5 using the criteria that the committee adopted?

6 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise.

7 CHAIRMAN HISE: Senator Blue, I will  
8 actually say on what's being presented,  
9 SCH Amendment 6, it is our understanding from  
10 the report it splits the same municipalities.

11 SENATOR BLUE: And let me correct that.  
12 That's what I was going to point out to you. It  
13 leaves six people in one of the -- I think it's  
14 an Apex VTD, but those people could easily be  
15 transferred out to a neighboring district and it  
16 wouldn't affect the numbers.

17 So if in fact you split two  
18 municipalities versus three and you split  
19 only -- and you split only three VTDs, that  
20 would be a better map using the committee's  
21 criteria.

22 CHAIRMAN HISE: There are a lot of  
23 considerations under those specific areas. I  
24 will say that if you -- driving this home, if  
25 you split fewer municipalities, you have better

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1 met the criteria for splitting municipalities.  
2 If you split fewer precincts or VTDs, you have  
3 better met the criteria of meeting VTDs. That  
4 does not imply in some manner that the overall  
5 has better complied with the map drawing because  
6 it met any one particular criteria in a better  
7 manner.

8 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue.

9 SENATOR BLUE: [Unintelligible] a  
10 question again and we'll move on and other folk  
11 can ask questions.

12 But if you improve on both of those,  
13 which of the criteria you used to determine how  
14 to draw this map, you say these are the  
15 important considerations, then it is a better  
16 map if it's improved on the other aspects of the  
17 criteria.

18 CHAIRMAN HISE: I would not limit my  
19 comment to both. If you meet all of the  
20 criteria better, then you have drawn a better  
21 map.

22 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. I'll hold it for  
23 a minute. I think Senator Nickel --

24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Nickel.

25 SENATOR NICKEL: My question is about

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1 the partisan intent of drawing the map. And,  
2 you know, I represent Wake county so I know  
3 every single precinct here pretty well. I know  
4 how they perform. I know where people live and  
5 how they vote. And in the last session I know  
6 Senator Jerry Tillman, who's not here, but he  
7 said "This is set up to be partisan. Do you  
8 think we're going to draw Democrat maps? We're  
9 doing exactly what you all did for 140 years."

10 And so my question is about intent.  
11 And you know, I'm a lawyer, I was a prosecutor,  
12 I'm a defense lawyer. You know, we talk to  
13 people and you try to ask them to tell you  
14 things that will help with their intent for the  
15 fact finder, and it's rare that people will say,  
16 "Oh, hey, I did it, I did it."

17 But the question I have is very  
18 specific about Wake county. I know if I wanted  
19 to draw two Republican maps, I'd do the top part  
20 and then I'd do the bottom part, and that's  
21 where the Republicans live, on the top part and  
22 on the bottom part.

23 And so one of the things that's neat  
24 about this process, and really boring at the  
25 same time, is watching people draw maps. And I

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1 got to watch when you were drawing Wake county,  
2 and, you know, you did it and you started at the  
3 top with Granville and then you did that weird  
4 finger thing and the top part of Wake, and then,  
5 instead of drawing other districts, you skipped  
6 down to the bottom and you did the Republican  
7 district on the bottom.

8 So my question just is I believe if I  
9 were trying to draw two Republican maps, that's  
10 the way I would do it, but my question is why  
11 did you start at the top and then, instead of  
12 doing other districts, skip down to the bottom?

13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Hise.

14 CHAIRMAN HISE: So I appreciate you  
15 giving your intent for drawing several of the  
16 other options that are available for us to be  
17 considered and for what your intent was. I will  
18 say --

19 SENATOR NICKEL: I didn't draw maps.

20 CHAIRMAN HISE: -- we began this  
21 process in the northern because there is  
22 actually a requirement under the Stephenson that  
23 when Granville does not meet the criteria of a  
24 district in size that it be -- that the county  
25 can remain whole and be added to another

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1 district. It so happens in this map that it  
2 connects to Wake in the northern area of the  
3 county, so we knew that we had to come in and  
4 transverse into Wake county on the northern end  
5 of the county, that's with coming in. So we  
6 completed that district first with the others.

7 Do I have a propensity to start north?  
8 South? East? West? It probably depends more  
9 which mood I'm kind of in coming in, and most of  
10 my maps I've drawn with the state I've started  
11 in the west with coming in. I think it's clear  
12 versus the first time I was involved in drawing  
13 maps ten years ago where we had data that told  
14 us the election results of the top ten districts  
15 in every precinct in the state or VTD in the  
16 state and how it performed and formed those  
17 together for that purpose.

18 We have not considered any political  
19 data in doing this, and to somehow suggest that  
20 my knowledge of political data in Wake county,  
21 you know, some 250 miles away from where I live,  
22 was somehow the basis for why, after drawing the  
23 required transversal, I then moved to the bottom  
24 of the county it seems to me a little  
25 ridiculous.

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1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Nickel, do  
2 you have a follow-up?

3 SENATOR NICKEL: I mean, my follow-up  
4 is just pretty obvious. You know, all the  
5 experts who have commented on these maps call it  
6 an extreme partisan gerrymander because there's  
7 virtually no other way to draw Wake-Granville to  
8 make two districts more favorable for  
9 Republicans, and that's what I see here.

10 And, you know, Senator Blue's amendment  
11 would have a community of interest, you know, on  
12 the top northwest corner. You know, you see on  
13 his map, those folks there have a lot more in  
14 common with folks from the east and all the way  
15 over to the west side. So for me I see, you  
16 know, if we're following criteria with that  
17 district, one that makes a lot more sense with  
18 the committee's criteria.

19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Nickel, are  
20 you moving for the adoption of SCH Amendment 6?

21 SENATOR NICKEL: No.

22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue.

23 SENATOR BLUE: Mr. Chairman, thank you.  
24 And I want to thank Senator Hise for catching  
25 the same error in this map that I caught, but it

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1 is my intention to fix that error so that it  
2 does have fewer things. So I can end the  
3 discussion, but I will fix that error in it, but  
4 the point is to show you that we can draw a more  
5 efficient map. And I say that because, you  
6 know, I'm probably the only person around who  
7 has represented every single inch of the  
8 geography in Wake county. I've represented this  
9 entire county in different forms in senate  
10 districts, house districts or the county as a  
11 whole.

12 And I will tell you that for those of  
13 us in these urban areas, and it's something that  
14 you might really take seriously, we look at  
15 ourselves as representing the county, for the  
16 most part, and that's the way the county looks  
17 at us, especially the business community, that  
18 we represent collectively the interests of Wake  
19 county, the interests of the state, but these  
20 nuances and fine pickings, once we get real  
21 communities of interest out of the way, don't  
22 really carry the kind of sway. We've got a  
23 consolidated school system, so we all -- you  
24 know, we work for the same school board. We've  
25 got commissioners that are countywide, and so

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<p>1 we -- so we see ourselves as representing the</p> <p>2 county. So these fine points that you're</p> <p>3 raising don't register as much here as they do</p> <p>4 in some of the other areas where you have other</p> <p>5 entities that are being represented in so</p> <p>6 many -- you know, if you're representing a</p> <p>7 senate district, most of you have six or eight</p> <p>8 school districts and those kinds of things or</p> <p>9 other cities and towns outside the immediate</p> <p>10 area that you're in.</p> <p>11 But I want to fix this map by putting</p> <p>12 those six people into a -- so that we're not</p> <p>13 making another municipal split so that you can</p> <p>14 see that we can draw a map that still protects</p> <p>15 all of the interests that the criteria pointed</p> <p>16 out that we were going to consider and have</p> <p>17 fewer split municipalities and fewer split VTDs.</p> <p>18 So with that said, I will withdraw this</p> <p>19 map -- and no hurry to get it done. I will just</p> <p>20 offer it again tomorrow. Okay.</p> <p>21 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>22 Senator Blue.</p> <p>23 All right. So SCH Amendment 6 has been</p> <p>24 withdrawn.</p> <p>25 What's up next, Senator Blue?</p> <p align="right">97</p>	<p>1 district. You can see it's a tight circle</p> <p>2 around the center of the city of Durham there,</p> <p>3 that green area inside all the purple.</p> <p>4 And then the other part of this county</p> <p>5 cluster is not compact at all. It's pretty</p> <p>6 stretched out. It's oddly shaped. It goes</p> <p>7 around, it goes over the next two and then under</p> <p>8 Durham and then picks up all of Chatham county,</p> <p>9 so it's pretty contorted. It also, this map,</p> <p>10 unfortunately cuts up some communities of</p> <p>11 interest.</p> <p>12 So the amended map that we're offering</p> <p>13 here makes two equally compact districts</p> <p>14 instead, that's the one on the left without any</p> <p>15 odd shape, and it has a better both</p> <p>16 Polsby-Popper average compactness score. Ours</p> <p>17 is a 42 versus the map on the right which is 32.</p> <p>18 The Reock scores are about the same since when</p> <p>19 you look at an average of the two they come out</p> <p>20 to be about the same.</p> <p>21 So between these two maps there's no</p> <p>22 difference in municipality or VTD splits, so we</p> <p>23 don't have to worry about that, and we're</p> <p>24 offering this alternative to make both districts</p> <p>25 compact, for the map to make more sense to the</p> <p align="right">99</p>
<p>1 SENATOR BLUE: Senator Marcus.</p> <p>2 SENATOR MARCUS: Mr. Chair, I believe</p> <p>3 we are going to move to Durham and Chatham</p> <p>4 county now, and that's amendment -- SBVA</p> <p>5 Amend-2.</p> <p>6 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: SBVA Amendment 2.</p> <p>7 SENATOR MARCUS: Yeah. I said that A</p> <p>8 twice. Sorry about that. If staff could have</p> <p>9 the side-by-side up again, that would be I think</p> <p>10 most helpful for people following along.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right.</p> <p>12 Senator Marcus, you have the floor.</p> <p>13 SENATOR MARCUS: Shall I let Erika get</p> <p>14 that other map up before I start.</p> <p>15 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: It's up to you.</p> <p>16 SENATOR MARCUS: Okay, here we go.</p> <p>17 Thank you so much.</p> <p>18 This amendment that we're submitting</p> <p>19 here is an amendment that honors the criteria of</p> <p>20 compactness better than the map that is</p> <p>21 otherwise drawn here, the Republican map.</p> <p>22 So the map that we're offering is the</p> <p>23 one on the screen to the left compared to the</p> <p>24 one on the right which is the Republican map.</p> <p>25 And that one on the right has one very compact</p> <p align="right">98</p>	<p>1 community, and to improve the compactness of the</p> <p>2 overall county cluster. So unless there are any</p> <p>3 questions.</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>5 Senator Marcus.</p> <p>6 The chair has two questions for Senator</p> <p>7 Murdock because she's the most impacted -- just</p> <p>8 not catching you cold. We talked about this</p> <p>9 with respect to one other amendment and one</p> <p>10 other senator as well.</p> <p>11 Are you in favor of this amendment?</p> <p>12 SENATOR MURDOCK: Yes, I am.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: And is it your view</p> <p>14 that it complies with the VRA?</p> <p>15 SENATOR MURDOCK: That it complies with</p> <p>16 the VRA?</p> <p>17 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: It complies -- is it</p> <p>18 your understanding, your view, your belief that</p> <p>19 it complies with the Voting Rights Act if we</p> <p>20 take this amendment?</p> <p>21 SENATOR MURDOCK: It's my</p> <p>22 understanding.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Very good.</p> <p>24 All right. Anybody else have any</p> <p>25 questions? Senator Hise?</p> <p align="right">100</p>

<p>1 CHAIRMAN HISE: So, Members, I will 2 just add, in choosing this district was unique. 3 We tried to keep as much of Durham as possible, 4 but Durham is sufficiently too large to be 5 contained in a senate district and -- both in 6 this amendment and the map we had to divide 7 Durham in order to do so, and so I'm actually 8 okay with it. 9 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. 10 Senator Marcus, have you moved for the 11 adoption of the amendment? 12 SENATOR MARCUS: I believe Senator Blue 13 would like to be recognized. 14 SENATOR BLUE: I just want to make one 15 point, Mr. Chairman. And again, I want to 16 disclaim any expertise in the area, but I just 17 don't see any Voting Rights Act violations in 18 Durham, not that there aren't some and maybe 19 experts can tell you differently, but I know 20 that Senator Murdock indicated to her 21 understanding that it complied with the VRA. 22 I'd rephrase that to say that I am 23 aware of no violations of the Voting Rights Act 24 that exist in the Durham county redistricting. 25 I think that they just want to do it because it</p> <p align="right">101</p>	<p>1 up next; is that right? 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Yes. 3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Is that SBV 4 Amendment 3? 5 SENATOR CLARK: Yes. I'll do that, 6 Mr. Chair. 7 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Wait a minute. Hold 8 on. I've got the wrong one there. Let's find 9 the right map. Which one is it? 10 SCG Amendment 3? Is that the one, SCG? 11 SENATOR CLARK: I will handle SCG 12 Amendment 3, Mr. Chair. 13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Thank you, 14 Senator Clark. You have the floor. 15 SENATOR BLUE: Is it SCG Amendment 1, 16 the one that Senator Lowe has? 17 SENATOR LOWE: Yes. I have 3. 18 SENATOR BLUE: Senator Clark just said 19 he has 3. 20 SENATOR CLARK: I have SCG Amendment 3. 21 That's the one that's on the screen now. 22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Lowe has made 23 the handoff, a good, clean handoff to 24 Senator Clark. 25 SENATOR CLARK: Okay. Thank you,</p> <p align="right">103</p>
<p>1 satisfies some community-of-interest issues, but 2 I'm not aware of any VRA issues in the way that 3 Durham county is -- there may be some other 4 issues. As I said, there may be some issues on 5 gerrymandering still, even though it might not 6 have any effect, but again, that's my lay 7 opinion. That's not an expert opinion. 8 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, 9 Senator Blue. 10 And is there a motion. 11 SENATOR MARCUS: I move for the 12 adoption of this amendment. 13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you. 14 Senator Marcus has moved for the 15 adoption of SBV Amendment 2. All those in favor 16 say aye. 17 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye. 18 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All those opposed. 19 All right. The amendment is in fact 20 adopted. 21 Next up. Who would like to lead the 22 charge on whatever amendment you prefer next? 23 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Looks like -- 24 SENATOR BLUE: It's my understanding 25 that there's a Guilford county amendment that's</p> <p align="right">102</p>	<p>1 Mr. Chair. Thank you, Senator Lowe. Sorry for 2 the confusion there. 3 But anyway, Mr. Chair, I would like to 4 move that the committee accept this amendment. 5 What it does, it follows one of the criteria 6 that we have established, and that is to give, I 7 guess, relief to the double-bunking of members 8 if we can do so in a reasonable way. 9 And what this particular amendment does 10 is it essentially changes the orientation of the 11 Senate District 28 and 27 as in the plan put 12 forth by the Senate Republicans by shifting it 13 from a north-south orientation essentially to an 14 east-west orientation, and also it avoids the 15 double-bunking of Senators Robinson and Garrett. 16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, 17 Senator Clark. 18 And, Senator Robinson, I do have the 19 same two questions for you that we asked Senator 20 Murdock. Are you in favor of this redraw, this 21 amendment? 22 SENATOR ROBINSON: Yes, I am. 23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: And is it your 24 understanding, belief, view that it complies 25 with the VRA to take this amendment?</p> <p align="right">104</p>

<p>1 SENATOR ROBINSON: Yes. Based on the</p> <p>2 previous ruling of the courts, yes.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, Senator</p> <p>4 Robinson.</p> <p>5 Senator Blue.</p> <p>6 SENATOR BLUE: I make the same</p> <p>7 observation that I'm certainly not an expert,</p> <p>8 and I don't think Senator Robinson is holding</p> <p>9 herself out as one in this area, but I believe</p> <p>10 that the issue in Guilford county that we</p> <p>11 wrestle with with these two districts the last</p> <p>12 time had to do with partisan gerrymandering, and</p> <p>13 there was a special master appointed who drew</p> <p>14 what had been earlier VRA district and we</p> <p>15 complied with the special master's</p> <p>16 recommendation and that's how we settled the</p> <p>17 last lawsuit. And so I'm assuming that this</p> <p>18 configuration doesn't change radically anything</p> <p>19 that the special master did in District 28. I</p> <p>20 think that was the number of it when he did it</p> <p>21 the last time, and that resolved the voting</p> <p>22 rights issues in that district as well as</p> <p>23 political gerrymandering issues.</p> <p>24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>25 Senator Blue.</p> <p align="right">105</p>	<p>1 it gets to the point and it does what the</p> <p>2 criteria is trying to do. And I certainly</p> <p>3 submit this map -- submit this amendment unto</p> <p>4 you.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>6 Senator Lowe.</p> <p>7 Members or Senator Hise, do you have</p> <p>8 any comments?</p> <p>9 CHAIRMAN HISE: Yeah. I would just</p> <p>10 say, technically, I think this amendment would</p> <p>11 undo the previous amendment we just did and</p> <p>12 replace the two-county podding with a different</p> <p>13 two counties, three districts, replace them with</p> <p>14 different others. This seems to significantly</p> <p>15 change, I don't have them on top of it, but</p> <p>16 where High Point would go as well as what in</p> <p>17 Greensboro would go and how it was configured</p> <p>18 and would not support -- especially in light of</p> <p>19 having just changed it to change it again for</p> <p>20 the committee, I don't think that's a really</p> <p>21 good fit.</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, Senator</p> <p>23 Hise.</p> <p>24 Senator Blue.</p> <p>25 SENATOR BLUE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I</p> <p align="right">107</p>
<p>1 Senator Hise, do you have any comments</p> <p>2 on the proposed amendment?</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN HISE: No, I think</p> <p>4 [unintelligible] ...functionally equivalent.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. So Senator</p> <p>6 Hise endorses the amendment as well, and</p> <p>7 Senator Clark has moved that we adopt SCG</p> <p>8 Amendment 3.</p> <p>9 All those in favor say aye.</p> <p>10 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All those opposed.</p> <p>12 The amendment is adopted.</p> <p>13 All right. Senator Blue, we'll look to</p> <p>14 you to determine which amendment is up next.</p> <p>15 SENATOR BLUE: I think Senator Lowe</p> <p>16 has -- on the list I got is SCG Amendment 1.</p> <p>17 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. Senator</p> <p>18 Lowe, I think we have the pink SCG Amendment 1</p> <p>19 in front of us.</p> <p>20 SENATOR LOWE: We do have pink.</p> <p>21 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: And you have the</p> <p>22 floor.</p> <p>23 SENATOR LOWE: Just looking at this</p> <p>24 map, it's a much cleaner-looking map, and I</p> <p>25 think it can be well seen that it's cleaner and</p> <p align="right">106</p>	<p>1 will simply say that's why they were staged in</p> <p>2 the order that they were staged.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Do you want to --</p> <p>4 SENATOR LOWE: I will withdraw.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: The motion to amend</p> <p>6 SCGA Amend-1 has been withdrawn.</p> <p>7 Members, we're getting very close now.</p> <p>8 Next map or next amendment.</p> <p>9 SENATOR MARCUS: Okay, Mr. Chair, I</p> <p>10 believe I'm up next.</p> <p>11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: What number?</p> <p>12 SENATOR MARCUS: This is SCH Amend-5</p> <p>13 for Mecklenburg and Iredell.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: You have the floor to</p> <p>15 explain proposed Amendment SCH Amend-5.</p> <p>16 SENATOR MARCUS: I'll give staff just a</p> <p>17 minute to get the side-by-side up. I'll get my</p> <p>18 papers here.</p> <p>19 Okay, thank you so much.</p> <p>20 So this amendment concerns the new</p> <p>21 two-county cluster of Mecklenburg and Iredell</p> <p>22 counties. As you know, this body must carve</p> <p>23 those two counties into six districts, trying to</p> <p>24 keep population as equal as possible and</p> <p>25 following all the other criteria that this body</p> <p align="right">108</p>

<p>1 has adopted. As the chairs have mentioned  2 several times throughout this process, the  3 criteria are not ranked, rather the criteria are  4 considered co-equal and in the chair's own words  5 should be blended to be fair and to honor all of  6 the criteria whenever possible.</p> <p>7 So the Republican map, which is on the  8 left, for this cluster, it fails to meet at  9 least two of the criteria that this committee  10 adopted. First, it has low compactness scores.  11 I'll note that when the chair presented the map,  12 he did not even mention this criteria in his  13 discussion of the map to justify why it's drawn  14 as it was and that he also has emphasized  15 frequently, when he was speaking to Senator Blue  16 earlier, that there should not be any one  17 criteria that trumps all the other criteria,  18 that we should blend them all.</p> <p>19 The second reason that this map, as  20 drawn, fails to meet this committee's criteria  21 is that it double-bunks two current members of  22 this body, putting the precinct where I live in  23 a district that is now represented by Senator  24 Sawyer in Iredell county. This double-bunk is  25 especially egregious for two reasons. First, it</p> <p align="right">109</p>	<p>1 criteria about considering member residences and  2 the rule that this committee has followed in the  3 past with the court's blessing, I will mention,  4 to avoid pairing incumbents in the same district  5 when it can be avoided with reasonable efforts.</p> <p>6 Unfortunately, when I saw the  7 Republican-proposed map, it seemed to me that my  8 information was used for the opposite purpose,  9 since the Republican map double-bunks me,  10 pitting me against one of the few other female  11 members of this body who also happens to be of  12 the opposite political party.</p> <p>13 Now, it's true that some incumbents  14 from other parts of the state, including one of  15 the chairs of this committee, ended up in the  16 same district with another member due to the  17 county clustering rules. Those double-bunks  18 were unavoidable, they're not in anyone's  19 control, and they will eliminate some members of  20 this body on a partisan-blind basis. But the  21 double-bunk in Mecklenburg-Iredell that is in  22 this map on your screen now is not necessary and  23 in fact drawing the map that way makes it less  24 compact and therefore less fair on two of the  25 criteria that this committee said it would</p> <p align="right">111</p>
<p>1 takes me across county lines, out of the county  2 in the community where I live and I serve,  3 north Mecklenburg, to tack me into a district  4 that is made up almost entirely of Iredell  5 county. And the second reason is it's the only  6 double-bunk that still exists in this entire  7 state map that could have been avoided.</p> <p>8 The members of the Mecklenburg  9 delegation thought that we could do a better job  10 of honoring all of the criteria, so we sat  11 together and we drew this map that is now on the  12 right of your screen which I now offer to you as  13 an amendment.</p> <p>14 Our map puts all incumbents in separate  15 districts and is significantly more compact.  16 Our Reock average score is .48 which is  17 11 points higher than the Republican map which  18 scores only a .37. Our map has a better  19 Polsby-Popper compactness score too. Our score  20 is .39 while the Republican map scores only .32.</p> <p>21 At the start of this redistricting  22 process, this committee required all current  23 senators to provide a map which marked with an X  24 exactly where we live. I did that. I hoped  25 that that information would be used to honor the</p> <p align="right">110</p>	<p>1 follow when drawing maps.</p> <p>2 In Common Cause v Lewis, the court  3 approved using reasonable efforts to avoid  4 pairing incumbents in the same district. It is  5 certainly reasonable in this case where the map  6 that avoids pairing incumbents is more compact  7 than the map that double-bunks. Now that you've  8 fixed Guilford county's map, there aren't any  9 other double-bunk members when it can be  10 avoided.</p> <p>11 And I'm asking you to treat me and the  12 voters I represent fairly based on their public  13 comment that does not like your map and taking  14 into account all the criteria in a blended way  15 and applying those criteria consistently across  16 all districts.</p> <p>17 This map that I'm offering is more  18 fair, it is more compact on both Reock and  19 Polsby-Popper, it splits zero precincts or VTDs,  20 and it allows all current members to remain in  21 separate districts. It's fair, and I ask for  22 your support for this amendment.</p> <p>23 I'll pause to see if there's any  24 questions.</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p align="right">112</p>

<p>1 Senator Marcus.</p> <p>2 Senator Hise.</p> <p>3 CHAIRMAN HISE: Yeah. I think -- I</p> <p>4 think there's -- and similar to the proposal the</p> <p>5 Democrats put forward for how to draw this map</p> <p>6 that we mentioned earlier, there are some</p> <p>7 absolute criteria in drawing, and that is that</p> <p>8 when you have this two-county pod, Iredell</p> <p>9 county must be kept whole, Mecklenburg is</p> <p>10 divided, and so it is a narrow region in the</p> <p>11 northern part of Mecklenburg county where you</p> <p>12 cross into Mecklenburg and are required to</p> <p>13 transverse into Mecklenburg.</p> <p>14 It does not seem unreasonable to find</p> <p>15 that the most north municipality in Davidson</p> <p>16 would be wholly contained in that district when</p> <p>17 it could be wholly contained in that district</p> <p>18 versus the options in this. I think it's about</p> <p>19 a 60/40 split of Davidson coming in and</p> <p>20 intentionally splits that for the criteria that</p> <p>21 says we may consider members' addresses in</p> <p>22 drawing maps.</p> <p>23 So I think it is the most -- I'll also</p> <p>24 say that it is really a misrepresentation of the</p> <p>25 scores for compactness to average six scores</p> <p align="right">113</p>	<p>1 assess that. We should just not use compactness</p> <p>2 in this cluster? I mean, the statistics I</p> <p>3 showed you are average compactness scores for</p> <p>4 the cluster on my map and on the Republican map.</p> <p>5 And so I hope we all agree that compactness is a</p> <p>6 criteria that this committee adopted and is</p> <p>7 definitely relevant here as is consideration of</p> <p>8 member residences which is a criteria you've</p> <p>9 taken into account in every other district that</p> <p>10 we've drawn for the whole state.</p> <p>11 And so I'm just asking you to consider</p> <p>12 both of those when you look at this map and find</p> <p>13 that it is more fair -- my amended map is more</p> <p>14 fair and meets more of the criteria better than</p> <p>15 your map.</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you for your</p> <p>17 comment, Senator Marcus.</p> <p>18 Other questions, comments. Is there</p> <p>19 a -- Senator Daniel.</p> <p>20 SENATOR DANIEL: I mean, I guess, if I</p> <p>21 could, I would like to ask Senator Marcus a</p> <p>22 question.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Marcus, will</p> <p>24 you stand for a question?</p> <p>25 SENATOR MARCUS: Sure.</p> <p align="right">115</p>
<p>1 together and compare the averages of those</p> <p>2 scores. With coming in, that's not how they</p> <p>3 were designed, and so trying to take six</p> <p>4 separate circles and the percentage that fills</p> <p>5 the circle and somehow averaging that over six</p> <p>6 circles and making conclusions from that misses</p> <p>7 a lot of variance that's not included in that,</p> <p>8 but I know I digress on that, but by comparison</p> <p>9 of what you may look specifically at what</p> <p>10 district 37 does -- I don't have those in front</p> <p>11 of me. It seems to what is being changed</p> <p>12 specifically in this map, but I am not inclined</p> <p>13 to support this amendment.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, Senator</p> <p>15 Hise.</p> <p>16 Senator Marcus.</p> <p>17 SENATOR MARCUS: Could I make a</p> <p>18 comment?</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Yes.</p> <p>20 SENATOR MARCUS: Thank you, Mr. Chair.</p> <p>21 I will just respond to that by saying</p> <p>22 it sounds to me like Senator Hise is saying that</p> <p>23 he didn't like the way we're taking an average</p> <p>24 compactness score on both and that therefore,</p> <p>25 what, would should -- there's no other way to</p> <p align="right">114</p>	<p>1 SENATOR DANIEL: Do you consider</p> <p>2 Davidson a community of interest?</p> <p>3 SENATOR MARCUS: I do. And you know,</p> <p>4 this is painful to put up a map that has to</p> <p>5 split my municipality. I didn't want to do</p> <p>6 that. It certainly wasn't my first choice the</p> <p>7 way it seems to be Senator Hise's first choice</p> <p>8 to put Davidson with Iredell. I heard from so</p> <p>9 many -- so many people who live in Davidson that</p> <p>10 don't want to be moved into the much more rural</p> <p>11 area outside of our county, but there's no other</p> <p>12 way to draw this map.</p> <p>13 You're splitting Davidson as well, I'll</p> <p>14 point out, going over into Cabarrus county. I</p> <p>15 know you say that doesn't count, but that's also</p> <p>16 a split of Davidson. Davidson is an oddly</p> <p>17 shaped municipality, and I will note that in</p> <p>18 other cases you specifically took into account</p> <p>19 the oddly shaped municipality to split some VTDs</p> <p>20 to make it work there.</p> <p>21 So I know that the people of Davidson</p> <p>22 feel very much part of north Mecklenburg. That</p> <p>23 is how we refer to ourselves. That's the area</p> <p>24 where we shop and go to church and go to school.</p> <p>25 And so at least my map allows some of Davidson</p> <p align="right">116</p>

<p>1 to stay with north Mecklenburg.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Daniel, you</p> <p>3 good?</p> <p>4 SENATOR DANIEL: No follow-up.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. Any other</p> <p>6 comments, questions?</p> <p>7 Senator Nickel.</p> <p>8 SENATOR NICKEL: Yeah. You know, I</p> <p>9 just want to say I think, you know, if we reject</p> <p>10 this amendment, you're ending Senator Marcus's</p> <p>11 career in the senate, and I just -- I hope that</p> <p>12 this committee and the chairs will continue to</p> <p>13 meet with Senator Marcus and the members of the</p> <p>14 Mecklenburg delegation about this issue. We're</p> <p>15 not done yet, we're not at the floor, and I</p> <p>16 think the way we address this is going to</p> <p>17 determine how we proceed as a body. And I</p> <p>18 hope -- I hope there's a way to find a solution</p> <p>19 here that follows the committee criteria and</p> <p>20 allows folks to have a real choice here.</p> <p>21 So I know where this is going, I</p> <p>22 believe, but I truly, truly hope that, you know,</p> <p>23 the conversation can continue here because I</p> <p>24 have been with Senator Marcus here since I got</p> <p>25 here and seen how hard she works every day to</p> <p>117</p>	<p>1 Senator Marcus is asking for. In the dialogue</p> <p>2 between Senator Hise and me a little bit</p> <p>3 earlier, I think I pointed out to him that</p> <p>4 decisions are made to split townships or not</p> <p>5 split -- not townships. I'm sorry. -- towns,</p> <p>6 municipalities, and we've done it in Sampson</p> <p>7 county, putting it together, but yet we come to</p> <p>8 Cumberland county and we split Hope Mills, a</p> <p>9 town which I'm very familiar, they still stay in</p> <p>10 the same cluster, and that's in effect what you</p> <p>11 would be doing here. Yeah, you come down from</p> <p>12 the north, which is what Granville did to Wake</p> <p>13 county, came down from the north, and you</p> <p>14 decided to take a radical left turn. That's</p> <p>15 strange, but you took a left turn when you could</p> <p>16 have taken a right turn coming down in Wake</p> <p>17 county from Granville. Took a left turn to go</p> <p>18 over to Zebulon and in that area.</p> <p>19 And here you're coming down, you got</p> <p>20 these four, five precincts across the top -- or</p> <p>21 towns across the top of Mecklenburg county, you</p> <p>22 can come down the -- as I look at it, the left</p> <p>23 edge from here and allow this split in that city</p> <p>24 just like you did in Hope Mills. And that's</p> <p>25 what I was trying to get at. If none of the</p> <p>119</p>
<p>1 represent her constituents.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thanks,</p> <p>3 Senator Nickel.</p> <p>4 Senator Lowe, do you have a comment or</p> <p>5 are you good?</p> <p>6 SENATOR LOWE: Yes. As I look at this</p> <p>7 amendment, I am really hoping that there is a</p> <p>8 way that given the criteria that is given that</p> <p>9 we can make the necessary adjustments so that we</p> <p>10 don't have these two senators double-bunked. I</p> <p>11 think that there is a way. As a matter of fact,</p> <p>12 I know there is a way. If we put our heads to</p> <p>13 it, we can figure this one out, and I'm hoping</p> <p>14 that we'll do everything that is necessary,</p> <p>15 hopefully in this meeting, to figure this out so</p> <p>16 that we don't have a two of our members</p> <p>17 double-bunked. I think it's important to the</p> <p>18 work that we're doing to figure this one out.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>20 Senator Lowe.</p> <p>21 Any other comments, questions?</p> <p>22 SENATOR BLUE: One here, Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue.</p> <p>24 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, and I would simply</p> <p>25 say that there is precedent for what</p> <p>118</p>	<p>1 criteria trumps the other, that is, if none is</p> <p>2 more important than the other criteria and you</p> <p>3 got eight or ten criteria, none is more</p> <p>4 important than any other criteria and you got</p> <p>5 eight of them, you've shown that you're willing</p> <p>6 to elevate one to a higher level depending on</p> <p>7 what you're trying to achieve.</p> <p>8 So there's no reason not to split</p> <p>9 Davidson, it's still got the same group of</p> <p>10 people representing it, and you can do it within</p> <p>11 these other five districts in Mecklenburg county</p> <p>12 in that cluster without -- you can accommodate</p> <p>13 the question of members who already occupy this</p> <p>14 body. That's why you put it in as one of the</p> <p>15 considerations, one of the criteria.</p> <p>16 And as I told you privately, I'll tell</p> <p>17 you publicly, I appreciate the efforts that the</p> <p>18 three of you have made to unbunk Democrats</p> <p>19 because we're the ones in the urban areas who</p> <p>20 ended up being double-bunked. You did it in the</p> <p>21 case of Wake county. You did it in one instance</p> <p>22 in the case of Mecklenburg county. You did it</p> <p>23 in Guilford county. You may have done it</p> <p>24 somewhere else, but you've done it in the places</p> <p>25 where we ended up double-bunked.</p> <p>120</p>

<p>1 Certainly, you didn't have to split</p> <p>2 municipalities or anything like that, you can</p> <p>3 shift things around, but again, this is a case</p> <p>4 where you can do some of the things that you've</p> <p>5 done in other districts and observe that</p> <p>6 criterion in this decision.</p> <p>7 Again, as Senator Nickel said, there</p> <p>8 are ways you can do it and still preserve the</p> <p>9 efforts that you've made in the rest of this</p> <p>10 map, and you know you can in southern</p> <p>11 Mecklenburg county still preserve the effort</p> <p>12 that you've made down there, but not just end up</p> <p>13 in this being the single double-bunk where you</p> <p>14 could do something about that you didn't do</p> <p>15 something about.</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue and</p> <p>17 Members, in the discretion of the chair, I'm</p> <p>18 going to recommend that we displace this</p> <p>19 amendment. Let's get our heads together. I</p> <p>20 will -- I will point out, just for fun, the</p> <p>21 humor in the fact that I think Senator Marcus</p> <p>22 championed an amendment to remove consideration</p> <p>23 of members' residences from the criteria, but</p> <p>24 that's okay, that was yesterday. Today's today.</p> <p>25 And why don't we displace this and we'll spend a</p> <p>121</p>	<p>1 Senator Marcus.</p> <p>2 SENATOR MARCUS: And I'll be happy to</p> <p>3 displace this for today.</p> <p>4 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you.</p> <p>5 Senator Blue, what's the next</p> <p>6 amendment?</p> <p>7 SENATOR BLUE: Since this one is</p> <p>8 displaced, Mr. Chair, I have I think one other</p> <p>9 amendment, and I'll be very brief on that.</p> <p>10 That's SBK 4. It's a VRA district based in</p> <p>11 Wilson county.</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I don't have that</p> <p>13 nomenclature before me.</p> <p>14 SENATOR BLUE: Let's see.</p> <p>15 SENATOR MARCUS: Senator Blue, I</p> <p>16 believe it's SCH Amend-7.</p> <p>17 SENATOR BLUE: Okay. I've got it here.</p> <p>18 SBA Amend-3.</p> <p>19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay, got it.</p> <p>20 So, Members, it's SBA Amend-3.</p> <p>21 SENATOR MARCUS: I'm sorry.</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Members found that</p> <p>23 map, we're good to go. The map's up on the</p> <p>24 screen.</p> <p>25 Senator Blue, you have the floor.</p> <p>123</p>
<p>1 little time seeing if we can find a solution.</p> <p>2 All right. Thank you. Next amendment.</p> <p>3 SENATOR MARCUS: Mr. Chair, can I just</p> <p>4 set the record straight on that since you</p> <p>5 represented what I said.</p> <p>6 This caucus, not me, did put forward an</p> <p>7 amendment when we were adopting these criteria</p> <p>8 to say let's not consider anybody's residence,</p> <p>9 to be fair, and the committee turned that down.</p> <p>10 They said, no, no, we want to consider member</p> <p>11 residence. So my amendment, for the record, was</p> <p>12 to say let's be fair and make sure that we use</p> <p>13 that data for everyone to not double-bunk.</p> <p>14 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>15 Senator Marcus.</p> <p>16 SENATOR MARCUS: And you turned that</p> <p>17 amendment down. So we are where we are for</p> <p>18 exactly that reason. I don't think I've been</p> <p>19 inconsistent. I'm trying to be consistent and</p> <p>20 honest. Obviously, I have feelings about this,</p> <p>21 and I hope you'll forgive me for being a little</p> <p>22 bit emotional about it, but I don't want you to</p> <p>23 misrepresent or suggest that I've been</p> <p>24 inconsistent in how I feel about this issue.</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>122</p>	<p>1 SENATOR BLUE: Is that it?</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Vance. That is</p> <p>3 not -- that is not it.</p> <p>4 SENATOR BLUE: That's not it.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: How about to the left</p> <p>6 there. Yeah.</p> <p>7 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah, that's it, that's</p> <p>8 it. I'm looking at the wrong one.</p> <p>9 I won't repeat everything I said about</p> <p>10 a VRA district, but this was one of the</p> <p>11 originally created VRA senate districts, and it</p> <p>12 stayed in place through 2011. I think it was</p> <p>13 created in the -- in 2003 with the whole county</p> <p>14 provision applicable, and this body redid it in</p> <p>15 2011, and Senator Angela Bryant was representing</p> <p>16 various portions of it.</p> <p>17 The only thing I've done here -- and</p> <p>18 again, this is a solution to a problem before it</p> <p>19 becomes a problem. The only thing I've done is</p> <p>20 take districts whatever it was beforehand, but</p> <p>21 as to Wilson, Nash, Edgecombe area, and it</p> <p>22 starts up in Vance county, comes down to</p> <p>23 Franklin, then through Nash. It takes those two</p> <p>24 clusters -- there are two clusters. It takes</p> <p>25 those two clusters and it combines them because</p> <p>124</p>

<p>1 you can create the functioning VRA district  2 without going through the exercise of the  3 original VRA district which had Wilson, Nash,  4 Edgecombe, Northampton -- I think Northampton,  5 but Halifax and Warren and maybe even Vance, but  6 it went into all of those counties.  7 And its configuration after Rucho -- or  8 as a result of Rucho was Wilson -- Wilson,  9 Halifax, and Edgecombe, those three counties,  10 and it met the requirements of a VRA district as  11 it was intended to be. And once it got thrown  12 into this new cluster that it was thrown into,  13 it dissolves that VRA district. And as I said  14 earlier, Stephenson can't in and of itself  15 dissolve a VRA district. You've got to make the  16 study. It, too, was one of the districts  17 pointed out by those who were telling you some  18 problem areas and it showed the statistics.  19 What this would do is preserve that  20 district and it would combine those two  21 districts so that the remaining district --  22 again, just as with my first formulation over in  23 the northeast, it would combine the districts,  24 and the remaining district would be the second  25 district of those two. It would still be three</p> <p align="right">125</p>	<p>1 I guess I want to point out that this  2 fails to create a two-county pod for Edgecombe  3 and Pitt, a three-county pod for Wilson, Greene,  4 and Wayne, and a three-county pod for Vance,  5 Franklin, and Nash, and instead creates an  6 eight-county pod that it divides among three  7 members. No evidence to suggest that that is  8 required that I have seen before you bypass the  9 entire podding and destroy three pods.  10 Even if I accepted that, I do not --  11 the challenges of why Edgecombe would be divided  12 seems to make no sense to me when Edgecombe and  13 Pitt form a two-county pod already, and so  14 you've got this small, little blip that was  15 divided just because.  16 But trying to get into those, I think  17 that the request here is to throw out the  18 Stephenson poddings of a two-county pod and two,  19 three-county pods and instead make that an  20 eight-county pod and divide it among three  21 districts, splitting all those counties and  22 others.  23 They claim that -- the claim is being  24 made that there are some VRA requirement that  25 has to do so. I refer everyone to the statement</p> <p align="right">127</p>
<p>1 counties. It wouldn't cause any other  2 configurations under the Stephenson criteria  3 because you will have created a VRA district and  4 then you are left with three counties from that  5 VRA district -- from creating that VRA district  6 just as it is going into it. So it's a  7 three-county cluster. It would still be a  8 three-county cluster. The cluster around it  9 would still be a two-county cluster, and this  10 would be a cluster going into three or four  11 counties, but it would be a VRA district so it  12 wouldn't count against that, and it solves a  13 problem before you have to address it in any  14 other proceeding win or lose. It gives you  15 certainty through this decade, and it doesn't do  16 any harm to the other stuff that you've come up  17 with cluster-wise or any other way. So I offer  18 it to you for your consideration and move its  19 adoption.  20 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,  21 Senator Blue.  22 And before we take up the motion,  23 Senator Hise.  24 CHAIRMAN HISE: Thank you,  25 Mr. Chairman.</p> <p align="right">126</p>	<p>1 we've made earlier today that we don't see that,  2 and I think it would be a tremendous mistake for  3 us to go this far in violating all the pods and  4 others in order to accommodate with certain  5 other people's opinions of what's required of  6 us.  7 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you, Senator  8 Hise.  9 Senator Blue, comment.  10 SENATOR BLUE: Just to be clear,  11 Stephenson says you first draw the VRA  12 districts. That's an instruction to the General  13 Assembly. Nobody disputes that. That is the  14 first thing that the opinion says that you do.  15 It says first draw the VRA districts.  16 After you draw the VRA districts, then  17 you group counties, those that can be separate  18 in and of themselves, a single-member district,  19 you do that. Those that contain within  20 themselves a concrete number of districts, then  21 you do that. So you get Wake -- you used to get  22 Wake and Mecklenburg, and that's how you got  23 Onslow.  24 Then it says after -- after you do the  25 VRA district, you do the clustering. After I've</p> <p align="right">128</p>

<p>1 done this proposed VRA district, the clustering</p> <p>2 is still the Pitt-Edgecombe cluster. That's the</p> <p>3 cluster. That's a two-county cluster because it</p> <p>4 disregarded what you did to draw the VRA</p> <p>5 district. The cluster is still Nash, Wilson,</p> <p>6 and Wayne, a three-county cluster which is what</p> <p>7 it is now. So those are the clusters that you</p> <p>8 draw after you've drawn the VRA district.</p> <p>9 And that's what Stephenson says you do,</p> <p>10 no difference than what you did when you started</p> <p>11 initially. You just didn't recognize the</p> <p>12 obligation to do a VRA district. That's all</p> <p>13 this does. It doesn't make an eight-county</p> <p>14 super cluster. You haven't -- remember, you</p> <p>15 haven't done the clusters when you do the VRA</p> <p>16 district. You do the clustering afterwards, and</p> <p>17 that's why it leaves these counties intact. You</p> <p>18 don't -- you're still observing the clustering</p> <p>19 mandate.</p> <p>20 Remember, the whole theory behind</p> <p>21 Stephenson was that you harmonized the whole</p> <p>22 county provision with -- and that's the language</p> <p>23 from the case, you harmonize it with federal</p> <p>24 law, which is what I just tried to do, and</p> <p>25 that's what I was pointing out to you. It does</p> <p>129</p>	<p>1 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: So that takes care of</p> <p>2 7. And then so I still --</p> <p>3 SENATOR BLUE: And we're pulling back</p> <p>4 on 3.</p> <p>5 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: You're pulling back</p> <p>6 on 3 as well? Okay.</p> <p>7 So that is all the amendments. Am I</p> <p>8 missing anything? That's all the amendments you</p> <p>9 wanted to offer today.</p> <p>10 SENATOR BLUE: I think it is. It's all</p> <p>11 that I have. I don't know whether some other</p> <p>12 members have other amendments.</p> <p>13 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Okay. I want to make</p> <p>14 the committee aware that we will be having a</p> <p>15 committee meeting tomorrow. The time is TBD</p> <p>16 because I think it's dependent on some work the</p> <p>17 House is doing, but I wanted to put that on your</p> <p>18 radar. As soon as we know the schedule, we will</p> <p>19 certainly let you know.</p> <p>20 And I'd like to stand at east for just</p> <p>21 five minutes or less here. The chairs need to</p> <p>22 caucus a second.</p> <p>23 SENATOR BLUE: Can I do one thing</p> <p>24 before you go at ease --</p> <p>25 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Sure.</p> <p>131</p>
<p>1 not create an eight-county super cluster.</p> <p>2 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>3 Senator Blue.</p> <p>4 Seeing no other comments or questions,</p> <p>5 Senator Blue has moved for the adoption of SBA</p> <p>6 Amendment 3. All those in favor say aye.</p> <p>7 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</p> <p>8 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Those opposed no.</p> <p>9 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</p> <p>10 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: The nos have it, so</p> <p>11 we will not be amending the map.</p> <p>12 All right. So I know Senator Blue said</p> <p>13 that was his last amendment, but I do have a</p> <p>14 couple other maps here. I don't know if</p> <p>15 somebody else moving for those amendments, or</p> <p>16 are those withdrawn at this point? I've got</p> <p>17 SBVA Amend-3 and SCHA Amend-7.</p> <p>18 SENATOR BLUE: SCH -- I pulled back</p> <p>19 SCH 10 Amend-7 because you said you're going to</p> <p>20 set the discussion that Senator Marcus was</p> <p>21 having aside.</p> <p>22 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: 3 and 7.</p> <p>23 SENATOR BLUE: Yeah. So it wouldn't be</p> <p>24 appropriate to do that one until I see how</p> <p>25 that's resolved.</p> <p>130</p>	<p>1 SENATOR BLUE: -- to make sure that</p> <p>2 the -- so the staff knows where we're going.</p> <p>3 Again, and I appreciate publicly the</p> <p>4 effort that the three chairs made with respect</p> <p>5 to not unnecessarily changing district numbers</p> <p>6 in the same counties, and I acknowledge that,</p> <p>7 and I certainly appreciate it for those members</p> <p>8 in these counties who are returning who order</p> <p>9 their supplies in great quantities -- in great</p> <p>10 quantities so that you'll save some trees. And</p> <p>11 I'm sure that Senator Hise recognizes that from</p> <p>12 the western part of the state where they just</p> <p>13 cut down Christmas trees.</p> <p>14 But so that the staff will understand,</p> <p>15 in case there's a need for them to renumber</p> <p>16 whatever the final districts are within your map</p> <p>17 where you've changed, and we won't be rushed to</p> <p>18 do it, if you could sort of give them some</p> <p>19 direction in that regard. I know you changed</p> <p>20 mine in the ones in Wake county, but I didn't</p> <p>21 know whether there were others where you had</p> <p>22 made those kinds of --</p> <p>23 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you,</p> <p>24 Senator Blue. The staff's got that on their</p> <p>25 radar.</p> <p>132</p>

<p>1 ERIKA CHURCHILL: Mr. Chair, if I 2 might, we're happy to engross today's amendments 3 into an underlying map if y'all will give us a 4 couple of hours and then we can reopen the 5 drawing room if Senator Blue and the chairs 6 would like to come in and instruct us how to 7 renumber. 8 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: All right. Let us 9 caucus here for just a moment. Thanks. 10 [At ease.] 11 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: I'll start with just 12 a little housekeeping. The chairs have 13 discussed with Senator Blue the best mechanism 14 for -- if we can come to agreement to cure the 15 double-bunk that Senator Marcus has, we can do 16 that as a floor amendment, so we're going to 17 proceed today to vote out the map as amended 18 with any changes thereto either being technical 19 which we're going to give the staff the ability 20 to make at the direction of the chairs or it can 21 be done on the floor. 22 And with that, Senator Hise has a 23 motion. 24 CHAIRMAN HISE: Thank you, 25 Mr. Chairman.</p> <p align="right">133</p>	<p>1 that's been adopted is unfavorable to the 2 original bill, favorable to the bill as amended 3 rolled into a new Proposed Committee Substitute 4 with a favorable report to the committee 5 substitute and to make technical changes which 6 include renumbering of districts under the 7 direction of the chairs, and with that we stand 8 adjourned. Thank you. 9 (Transcription from YouTube ended at 10 4:41:50.)</p> <p align="right">135</p>
<p>1 I move for a favorable report to 2 Senate Bill 737 as amended rolled into a new PCS 3 with leave for staff to make technical and 4 informing changes inclusive of the numbering of 5 districts as technical, unfavorable to the 6 original bill on the direction of the chairs. 7 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: That is well done, 8 Senator Hise. 9 Any comments, questions? Good. 10 All those in favor -- 11 SENATOR BLUE: One -- 12 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Senator Blue, of 13 course. I should have known. 14 SENATOR BLUE: No. No. I want to make 15 a statement so the record is clear. 16 I was iterating the different versions 17 of Edmisten, and the second iteration was 18 Gingles versus Thornburg. 19 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Thank you so much for 20 that clarification to the record. 21 All those in favor of the motion say 22 aye. 23 COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye. 24 CHAIRMAN NEWTON: Those opposed. 25 The ayes have it. And so the motion</p> <p align="right">134</p>	<p>1 STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA ) 2 ) C E R T I F I C A T E 3 COUNTY OF WAKE ) 4 5 I, DENISE MYERS BYRD, Stenographic Court 6 Reporter, CSR 8340, do hereby certify that the 7 transcription of the recorded Senate Redistricting 8 Committee held on November 2, 2021, was taken down by 9 me stenographically to the best of my ability and 10 thereafter transcribed under my supervision; and that 11 the foregoing pages, inclusive, constitute a true and 12 accurate transcription of said recording. 13 Signed this the 17th day of December 2021. 14 15 16 Denise Myers Byrd 17 CSR 8240, RPR, CLR 102409-2 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25</p> <p align="right">136</p>

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NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
SENATE REDISTRICTING COMMITTEE  
NOVEMBER 3, 2021

Transcribed by:

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unprecedented step of choosing not to use  
election data at all in the drawing of our maps.  
We've had a thorough debate on these  
maps, including proposed amendments in the  
House, both in committee and on the floor. I'm  
glad to go into those if the committee so  
wishes, but I'll say that we don't intend to  
likely amend the Senate map over in the House,  
and we hope that you won't amend this one  
either, and we hope that you will vote for this  
map.

CHAIRMAN DANIEL: Are there any  
questions from the committee?

Senator Hise.

SENATOR HISE: Move for favorable  
report.

SENATOR MARCUS: I'm sorry.

CHAIRMAN DANIEL: We have a motion for  
a favorable report.

SENATOR MARCUS: I did have a question.  
I'm sorry.

CHAIRMAN DANIEL: That's okay.

Senator Marcus, what's your question?

SENATOR MARCUS: Mr. Chair, just a  
couple questions, Representative Hall, about

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(Transcription from YouTube started at  
32:16.)

CHAIRMAN DANIEL: Come to order. So  
welcome to the Senate Redistricting Committee,  
November 3, 2021.

I'd like to thank our sergeant-at-arms,  
Michael Cavness, Rod Fuller, Dwight Green, Chris  
Moore, and Hal Roach. Gentlemen, thank you for  
being here.

We have one bill on the calendar today.  
It's House Bill 976. All the members should  
have a copy of that. It's the -- it's the House  
of Representatives -- [audio stopped.]

Representative Hall, present the map.  
So, Representative Hall, you have the floor.

REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you,  
Mr. Chairman. Good to see all my friends in the  
Senate committee. I will not be real long  
unless the members of this committee want me to  
be long.

But I'll start by saying we conducted a  
process in the House committee, similar to your  
committee here, in my opinion that is the most  
transparent process in the history of this state  
regarding redistricting. We also took the

Mecklenburg county.

I'm chair of that delegation, and so I  
just want to be sure here. It's very hard to  
see on this map which doesn't -- doesn't have  
a -- my version -- my printed version doesn't  
come out here.

But in Mecklenburg county, does your  
map pair any current members of the House in the  
same district?

REPRESENTATIVE HALL: No.

SENATOR MARCUS: No double bunks.

REPRESENTATIVE HALL: No.

SENATOR MARCUS: And then I believe  
there's one new district, then, that would be an  
open seat. Is that true?

REPRESENTATIVE HALL: That's right.

SENATOR MARCUS: And can you just  
clarify for me what you've numbered that on this  
map or where it is or what color it is just so I  
can find it on this map.

REPRESENTATIVE HALL: While we look  
through this map, I will say all of the  
districts have slightly shifted somewhat. And  
I'm told it's District 96 that is the, quote,  
unquote, new district.

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1 (Pages 1 to

<div>1           SENATOR MARCUS: Thank you.</div> <div>2           CHAIRMAN DANIEL: Any other questions,</div> <div>3           comments from the committee?</div> <div>4           Seeing none, we have a motion from</div> <div>5           Senator Hise to give House Bill 976 a favorable</div> <div>6           report. All in favor of that motion please</div> <div>7           indicate by saying aye.</div> <div>8           COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Aye.</div> <div>9           CHAIRMAN DANIEL: All opposed, no.</div> <div>10          COMMITTEE MEMBERS: No.</div> <div>11          CHAIRMAN DANIEL: Ayes have it and the</div> <div>12          motion passes.</div> <div>13          There being no further business to come</div> <div>14          before this committee, it is adjourned.</div> <div>15          (Transcription from YouTube ended at</div> <div>16          35:50.)</div> <div>17</div> <div>18</div> <div>19</div> <div>20</div> <div>21</div> <div>22</div> <div>23</div> <div>24</div> <div>25</div> <div>5</div>	
<div>1           STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA    )</div> <div>2                                    ) C E R T I F I C A T E</div> <div>3           COUNTY OF WAKE            )</div> <div>4           I, DENISE MYERS BYRD, Stenographic Court</div> <div>5           Reporter, CSR 8340, do hereby certify that the</div> <div>6           transcription of the recorded Senate Redistricting</div> <div>7           Committee held on November 3, 2021, was taken down by</div> <div>8           me stenographically to the best of my ability and</div> <div>9           thereafter transcribed under my supervision; and that</div> <div>10          the foregoing pages, inclusive, constitute a true and</div> <div>11          accurate transcription of said recording.</div> <div>12          Signed this the 18th day of December 2021.</div> <div>13</div> <div>14</div> <div>15</div> <div>16                   Denise Myers Byrd</div> <div>17                   CSR 8240, RPR, CLR 102409-2</div> <div>18</div> <div>19</div> <div>20</div> <div>21</div> <div>22</div> <div>23</div> <div>24</div> <div>25</div> <div>6</div>	

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<p>GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA 2021 LEGISLATIVE SESSION, HOUSE FLOOR VOTE ON SB 739 AND SB 740 NOVEMBER 4, 2021</p> <p>Transcribed by:</p> <p>Denise Myers Byrd, CSR 8340, RPR Discovery Court Reporters and Legal Videographers, LLC 4208 Six Forks Road Suite 1000 Raleigh, North Carolina 27609 (919) 424-8242 denise@discoverydepo.com</p>	<p>1 this map. And I think one of the best pieces of 2 information about this map is that they were 3 able to really limit the split of municipalities 4 in this map to 10. That's 10 total municipality 5 splits out of 552 in North Carolina, or 6 1.8 percent of municipalities across the state. 7 Additionally, there were a couple of 8 Democratic amendments that were accepted into 9 the map. And so ultimately I would ask the 10 members to vote yes on the State Senate map. 11 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion, 12 further debate. If not, the question before the 13 House is the adoption -- or the passage, rather, 14 of Senate Bill 739 on second reading. Those in 15 favor will vote aye. Those opposed will vote 16 no. The clerk will open the vote. 17 Representative Brody. Representative 18 Saine. 19 Brody aye. 20 The clerk will lock the machine and 21 record the vote. 22 64 having voted in the affirmative and 23 48 in the negative, Senate Bill 739 passed the 24 second reading and will be read a third time. 25 THE CLERK: The General Assembly of</p> <p>3</p>
<p>1 (Transcription from audio recording 2 started at 6:53.) 3 SPEAKER MOORE: The bill will be 4 temporarily displaced. 5 Let's go to Senate Bill 739. The clerk 6 will read. 7 THE CLERK: Senators Hise, Daniel, and 8 Newton, Senate Bill 739, the bill will be 9 entitled Senate Redistricting Plan 2021 SBK-7. 10 The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts. 11 SPEAKER MOORE: Gentleman from 12 Caldwell, Representative Hall, is recognized to 13 debate the bill. 14 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you, 15 Mr. Speaker. 16 Members, this is the State Senate 17 proposed map that was drawn in the State Senate 18 committee. I'll tell the members that the 19 Senate has passed our state House map this 20 morning and have not made any changes. And 21 historically, the bodies have not changed each 22 other's maps in terms of the State House and 23 State Senate, and so I would ask you to approve 24 this map. 25 I'll speak briefly to the merits of</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 North Carolina enacts. 2 SPEAKER MOORE: The question before the 3 House is the passage of Senate Bill 739 on third 4 reading. Those in favor will vote aye. Those 5 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the 6 vote. 7 Representative Gill. The chair sees 8 Representative Baker. Representative Autry wish 9 to vote. 10 Is Representative Gill on the floor? 11 There she is. Okay. 12 Saine. Saine aye. 13 The clerk will lock the machine and 14 record the vote. 15 65 having voted in the affirmative and 16 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 739 passes its 17 third reading and the bill was ordered enrolled. 18 Senate Bill 740, the clerk will read. 19 Sorry. Senate Bill 740 is back before 20 the body. 21 And actually, before the gentleman 22 debates, the chair would like to extend the 23 courtesy to the gallery on motion of the 24 gentleman from Forsyth county, Representative 25 Zenger. The chair is happy to extend the</p>

<p>1 courtesies to the gallery to Cheryl Key, Allison  2 Duncan, and their students who are here with us  3 from the Redeemer School. Would y'all please  4 stand so we can recognize you and welcome you.  5 Thanks for being with us today.</p> <p>6 Also on motion of Representative Meyer  7 of Orange county, the chair is happy to extend  8 the courtesy of the gallery to Mebane city  9 council member Sean Ewing. Sean, would you  10 please stand. Thanks for being with us here  11 today, sir.</p> <p>12 The gentleman from Caldwell,  13 Representative Hall, has the floor to debate the  14 bill.</p> <p>15 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you,  16 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>17 Members, I've said this before in this  18 process, and I'm going to say it again because I  19 think it's important and it bears repeating, and  20 that is that the 2021 redistricting process that  21 has been undertaken by this body is a historic  22 process. We have an unprecedented amount of  23 transparency in this process with every single  24 district that was drawn done so in full public  25 view with live audio and live video in the</p> <p>5</p>	<p>1 this morning that I just learned about, but I  2 think that it's essentially an amendment that  3 was drafted by Senate Democrats.</p> <p>4 Members, after the map itself that's  5 before you today, I'll mention that the House  6 and Senate have filed the same map. I filed the  7 same map that you see before you today in the  8 Senate, but for procedural purposes, we're using  9 the map that was passed over by the Senate.</p> <p>10 The map before you, and the one that I  11 filed, were both drafted in the Senate committee  12 room, and I drew a separate map that was posted  13 for the public to view before our public  14 comment, but I ultimately decided that the map  15 drawn in the Senate committee was a better map  16 because, among other reasons, it splits fewer  17 municipalities.</p> <p>18 Also, we heard from public comment that  19 it was important to keep the finger counties, as  20 they're called, in the northeast together, so I  21 advocated with the Senate chairs that change be  22 made, and it was, and therefore I felt that the  23 map drawn in the Senate committee was ultimately  24 the best member-submitted map that I saw.</p> <p>25 As I did with our State House map, I am</p> <p>7</p>
<p>1 committee room.</p> <p>2 We also made the unprecedented and  3 historic decision to voluntarily not use  4 election data in the drawing of these maps.  5 Maps have been being drawn by this state by this  6 body for literally hundreds of years, and that  7 has never happened voluntarily until now. When  8 our committees adopted criteria to say we're not  9 going to use election data, we're going to focus  10 on traditional redistricting criteria. We're  11 going to look at things like keeping counties  12 whole, keeping municipalities whole, not  13 splitting precincts or VTDs. And the result  14 that you see of that is the maps that we've had  15 before this body and the congressional map that  16 you have before you now.</p> <p>17 I will say that I have been  18 disappointed about the lack of involvement of  19 the Democrats in drawing congressional maps in  20 our committee room. Senate Democrats submitted  21 proposed congressional maps, they spent time in  22 the committee room drawing, and as far as I  23 know, none of our members, unfortunately,  24 participated in that process, although I have  25 learned that there's apparently an amendment</p> <p>6</p>	<p>1 going to briefly go through the criteria the  2 committee adopted and how it corresponds with  3 the proposed map that's before you today.</p> <p>4 The first thing we tried to do was keep  5 counties whole. Within the map, where counties  6 could be kept whole, they are. In total, there  7 are only 11 counties split, and that's done for  8 equalizing population across the map, which, of  9 course, is tougher to do because for congress  10 you have to have zero deviation. You don't have  11 that plus or minus 5 percent that you do on the  12 State House and State Senate maps.</p> <p>13 One of our criteria was to not split  14 VTDs. And again, this is important. It's  15 important to understand context. In 2011, there  16 were many, many VTD splits across the map. In  17 this map, there are only 24 total VTD splits for  18 a statewide for a congressional map, 24 VTD  19 splits, that's it, across the entire map.</p> <p>20 This map honors municipal boundaries.  21 Again, another very important note about this  22 map is that there are only two total municipal  23 splits in the entire congressional map. If you  24 spent any time at all over in that committee  25 room drafting, you know how hard that is to do.</p> <p>8</p>

<p>1 There are only two municipalities split in the 2 entire congressional map, and that's Charlotte 3 and that's Greensboro. Charlotte has to be 4 split, it's got too much population, so we 5 already have to have one in the map no matter 6 what we do. And there's only one more across 7 the entire map, and that's Greensboro, and still 8 yet over 90 percent of the city of Greensboro 9 remains in one district. That is an incredible 10 feat for a congressional map. 11 Of course, we -- every district in this 12 map is contiguous. We looked at compactness. 13 And again, despite not having an algorithm to 14 use or somebody else using an algorithm, the map 15 contains compact districts. And of course, we 16 did not consider racial data. And as I said 17 earlier, for the first time in the history of 18 this state, we did not use election data. 19 Members, the process that we've gone 20 through has been a transparent one. Election 21 data has not been used. Only tried traditional 22 redistricting criteria has been used. And as I 23 told you, the map before you only splits one 24 more municipality that you absolutely have to 25 anyway under this map. There are two total</p> <p align="right">9</p>	<p>1 that we are offering today was offered in the 2 senate, so it has been in public view for a 3 couple of weeks now. People have had a chance 4 to look at it, they've had a chance to talk 5 about it, to analyze it. 6 So because none of us are using 7 partisan data or anything of that sort, we have 8 to depend on what outside groups have looked at. 9 One of those groups is the Princeton 10 Gerrymandering Project. And the congressional 11 map that we're being asked to vote on today 12 rated an F with that particular process. 13 Specifically, they cite that there's a 14 21.4 percent Republican partisan bias which 15 measures how much Republicans would overperform 16 on this map in a 50/50 race statewide. That 17 clearly would indicate that there is a partisan 18 bias to this congressional map. 19 The map -- the amendment that I'm 20 presenting would get a fairness grade of A. 21 Benefits neither party; it is completely fair. 22 An analysis from the website 23 FiveThirtyEight indicates that the congressional 24 map that is being submitted by the senate 25 results in ten seats leaning wards Republican,</p> <p align="right">11</p>
<p>1 municipality splits, very few VTD splits. 2 However you measure this thing under our 3 criteria, this is a great map that meets our 4 criteria that the committee adopted. I hope 5 you'll support this map. 6 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Reives 7 is recognized to send forth amendment AST-73. 8 The clerk will read. 9 THE CLERK: Representative Reives moves 10 to amend the bill. 11 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman from 12 Chatham, Representative Reives, is recognized to 13 debate the amendment. 14 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you, 15 Mr. Speaker. 16 And again, I will have to repeat, I 17 don't think the lack of submissions on 18 Democrats' part would indicate a lack of desire 19 to be a part of the process. I would bet 20 there's some Democrats that would have loved to 21 have had more opportunity in the process, and I 22 don't think that that opportunity comes from 23 sitting and drawing maps that may not be 24 considered. That is my opinion. 25 With that being said, the amendment</p> <p align="right">10</p>	<p>1 one very competitive seat, and three seats that 2 lean towards Democrats. That generates an 3 efficiency gap of 20.1 percent favoring 4 Republicans which is the difference -- an 5 efficiency gap is the difference between each 6 party's wasted votes. 8 percent is considered a 7 bad sign. 8 On the other hand, this amendment would 9 result in six Republican-leaning seats, four 10 Democratic-leaning seats, and four highly 11 competitive seats, more reflecting of what 12 North Carolina looks like today. And this map 13 would only have a 5.8 percent efficiency gap. 14 So in the sense of what we're trying to 15 do and what we're trying to present -- and I 16 think you can feel good about voting for this 17 amendment because this is a congressional map 18 that came from the Senate, so it's not a 19 situation where the House has been involved. 20 And I know that guys like to vote against the 21 Senate, so this would be a great opportunity to 22 show the Senate that they did the wrong thing 23 here, and I would ask that you support the 24 amendment. 25 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p align="right">12</p>

<p>1 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative</p> <p>2 Quick, rise?</p> <p>3 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To debate the</p> <p>4 amendment.</p> <p>5 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>6 floor.</p> <p>7 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: I stand in</p> <p>8 support of the amendment. As a representative</p> <p>9 from Guilford county, I sat here and heard some</p> <p>10 very curious congratulatory remarks about</p> <p>11 keeping counties whole when the third largest</p> <p>12 county in North Carolina was split into three</p> <p>13 districts on the original bill.</p> <p>14 Guilford county has enough citizens to</p> <p>15 be two-thirds of a congressional district by</p> <p>16 itself and deserves to have representation that</p> <p>17 focuses on the issues of the third largest</p> <p>18 county in this state.</p> <p>19 This amendment would keep Guilford</p> <p>20 county whole, and I ask you to support the</p> <p>21 amendment on behalf of the citizens of the third</p> <p>22 largest county in the state of North Carolina.</p> <p>23 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>24 the gentleman from Caldwell,</p> <p>25 Representative Hall, rise?</p> <p align="right">13</p>	<p>1 House is the adoption of Amendment A1 sent</p> <p>2 forward by Representative Reives. Those in</p> <p>3 favor of the amendment will vote aye. Those</p> <p>4 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the</p> <p>5 vote.</p> <p>6 The clerk will lock the machine and</p> <p>7 record the vote.</p> <p>8 47 having voted in the affirmative and</p> <p>9 67 in the negative, the amendment is not</p> <p>10 adopted.</p> <p>11 For what purpose does the lady from</p> <p>12 Guilford, Representative Harrison, rise?</p> <p>13 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: To debate the</p> <p>14 bill.</p> <p>15 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor</p> <p>16 to debate the bill.</p> <p>17 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: Thank you,</p> <p>18 Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>19 I don't want to repeat too much of what</p> <p>20 I said on Tuesday about the public process, but</p> <p>21 I know we keep bragging about the great public</p> <p>22 process and transparency that went on with</p> <p>23 redistricting, but I think the public did not</p> <p>24 feel like it was a very friendly public process,</p> <p>25 nor did they feel it was very accessible, nor</p> <p align="right">15</p>
<p>1 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: To debate the</p> <p>2 amendment.</p> <p>3 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>4 floor.</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Members, as I</p> <p>6 previously said about the amendment, I didn't</p> <p>7 see it until just a few minutes ago when I came</p> <p>8 in and sat down, so, of course, I haven't had</p> <p>9 time to sit down and analyze the map, but in the</p> <p>10 limited time that I have had, I already notice,</p> <p>11 right off the bat, that this map would split the</p> <p>12 finger counties in the northeast that we heard</p> <p>13 so much about from public comment wanting to</p> <p>14 keep those together. It splits more</p> <p>15 municipalities. Again, the map that I have</p> <p>16 before you splits only two municipalities across</p> <p>17 the state. And this amendment would split more</p> <p>18 counties.</p> <p>19 So again, in a very limited amount of</p> <p>20 time, we can clearly see that this map, the</p> <p>21 amendment, that is, does not comply as well with</p> <p>22 our criteria as our base map does, and I would</p> <p>23 ask you to vote down the amendment.</p> <p>24 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,</p> <p>25 further debate. If not, the question before the</p> <p align="right">14</p>	<p>1 did they feel that it was very transparent.</p> <p>2 The public hearings, we heard some</p> <p>3 strong -- first of all, we didn't have a public</p> <p>4 hearing in Guilford county, the third largest</p> <p>5 county in the state. Those individuals felt</p> <p>6 strongly about how the Guilford county map</p> <p>7 should look went to Forsyth and Alamance and</p> <p>8 other places and online to make their comments</p> <p>9 heard. And what we heard resoundingly was keep</p> <p>10 Guilford county whole, keep the Piedmont Triad</p> <p>11 whole. It's the Piedmont Triad. It's</p> <p>12 High Point. It's Greensboro. It's</p> <p>13 Winston-Salem.</p> <p>14 I heard Senator Daniel say yesterday,</p> <p>15 when he was talking about the fifth district in</p> <p>16 Wake county, this is where the constituents</p> <p>17 there worship, play, commute and work together.</p> <p>18 Well, that's the same thing that you would say</p> <p>19 about the Piedmont Triad, that there's no real</p> <p>20 justification for splitting up that county.</p> <p>21 It's crazy how one part of it runs from</p> <p>22 downtown Greensboro to the Tennessee border,</p> <p>23 picks up Virginia Fox's precinct Blowing Rock.</p> <p>24 And I curiously notice the only thing</p> <p>25 that that district has in common is my great</p> <p align="right">16</p>

<p>1 grandfather Julian Price, the Jefferson Standard 2 building, he hired the architect for that, 3 that's in downtown Greensboro. The district 4 runs by his house in Fisher Park and then it 5 goes out to Price Park in Blowing Rock which 6 used to be his land, but it's now part of the 7 national park service, but there is very little 8 in common about this proposed Congressional 9 District 11.</p> <p>10 And you have this other part that goes 11 from eastern Greensboro, and some of the smaller 12 municipalities in the county, down to Harnett 13 and Lee, and then the other part goes down 14 through Davie and Cabarrus, and there's just 15 very little in common with these areas.</p> <p>16 And I think -- I think this particular 17 congressional grouping is the worst example of 18 not keeping communities of interest together or 19 keeping municipalities together.</p> <p>20 And furthermore, it's worth noting, I 21 know we had some dispute about the necessity of 22 compliance with the Voting Rights Act and the 23 ruling in Covington, but I think that the 24 splitting up of the African American populations 25 in Guilford county into three different</p> <p align="right">17</p>	<p>1 maps and then after the maps were drawn, people 2 came and told us to please keep the Piedmont 3 Triad whole and then we seemed to have ignored 4 that public comment. I feel like this was very 5 arbitrary about how the public comment was 6 important in drawing some congressional 7 districts but not in others, but, boy, they did 8 not listen to the public comment when they were 9 drawing the Guilford county districts.</p> <p>10 I made the point which I thought was 11 interesting when I was reviewing the comments 12 that we had -- that had been made on the days 13 that we heard about the congressional district 14 hearing which I think was Monday, a week ago, 15 which I think are very telling. And I will note 16 that these were bipartisan comments. We heard 17 from Republicans and Democrats. We heard from 18 retirees. I remember there was a farmer in 19 Alamance county who spoke, a retired sheriff.</p> <p>20 These were some of the comments that 21 they made about the congressional map: 22 Ludicrous, racially unfair, grossly partisan, 23 disconnected, scary, undemocratic, dishonest, 24 confusing. That is something that I am not 25 proud of, and I can't believe any of us would be</p> <p align="right">19</p>
<p>1 congressional districts is really problematical, 2 and we were warned of that by the lawyers early 3 on in August, at the very first public hearing, 4 that we needed to take into account these 5 populations when we were drawing these maps. We 6 neither did a racial voting polarization study, 7 nor did we draw these VRA districts first, and I 8 think that's going to be a problem for us.</p> <p>9 There's some statistics -- I can't 10 verify that only -- that 90 percent of 11 Greensboro feels whole. I don't feel like it 12 feels very whole, but I will say the county 13 doesn't feel very whole. We've got 60 percent 14 of it in one district, 26 percent in another 15 district, and then 14 percent in another 16 district. And I think the cracking of the 17 African American vote is a real problem.</p> <p>18 I know that there are other urban 19 counties that were split up and the same thing 20 happened with African American population in 21 those counties, and those were more necessary 22 because of their populations, but we did not 23 need to split up Guilford county.</p> <p>24 So we heard very strong public 25 commentary not to split it up before we drew the</p> <p align="right">18</p>	<p>1 proud of in voting for this map today.</p> <p>2 This is a gross gerrymander. It 3 appears to be a very gross partisan gerrymander. 4 It looks like we have violated the Voting Rights 5 Act in drawing these districts. This is wrong. 6 We can do better. I urge you to vote no. Thank 7 you.</p> <p>8 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 9 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative 10 Quick, rise?</p> <p>11 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To debate the 12 bill.</p> <p>13 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the 14 floor.</p> <p>15 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: Joining in with 16 my colleague from Guilford county and agreeing 17 with everything that she just said, I also would 18 like to keep this body reminded of an earlier 19 court's warning and chastising of us about 20 targeting African Americans with surgical 21 precision.</p> <p>22 I think a reasonable argument can be 23 made in Greensboro and Guilford county that the 24 African American population there again feels 25 targeted with surgical precision, and I would</p> <p align="right">20</p>

<p>1 ask that you vote no.</p> <p>2 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>3 the gentleman from Durham, Representative</p> <p>4 Hawkins, rise?</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: To debate the</p> <p>6 bill.</p> <p>7 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>8 floor.</p> <p>9 REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: I want to</p> <p>10 thank all my colleagues for their remarks. And</p> <p>11 I just want to add on three specifics pieces</p> <p>12 specifically for the Watauga to Guilford county</p> <p>13 congressional draw.</p> <p>14 What is going to stick out to people</p> <p>15 for this, and this is, again, reasons that I</p> <p>16 join my colleagues in asking you to vote no and</p> <p>17 reconsider, is that it seems deliberate that</p> <p>18 those places were -- especially Greensboro was</p> <p>19 chose to be split and there was a deliberate</p> <p>20 choice on who to double-bunk.</p> <p>21 And so if you look at the</p> <p>22 [unintelligible] from Caldwell and, you know,</p> <p>23 maneuvering into Watauga county to go get</p> <p>24 Appalachian State and Blowing Rock, that was a</p> <p>25 deliberate draw so that on the other side of it,</p> <p align="right">21</p>	<p>1 was presenting, that with the use of criteria,</p> <p>2 it seemed that Wake was placed inconsistently,</p> <p>3 but sometimes it seemed like it was strategic</p> <p>4 depending on what district was -- district was</p> <p>5 being drawn.</p> <p>6 And so as a legislator, I want to be</p> <p>7 able to walk my constituents through this map</p> <p>8 and tell them sort of how decisions were made,</p> <p>9 and when I can't have a consistent answer on how</p> <p>10 the criteria were weighed district by district</p> <p>11 or do we use the same sort of weight and system</p> <p>12 in ranking as we went across the state, if I</p> <p>13 can't have that conversation with them and you</p> <p>14 can't walk your constituent through that in how</p> <p>15 that criteria was used, then this map is not</p> <p>16 worth the paper it was printed on.</p> <p>17 And so I want to make sure that, again,</p> <p>18 the goal is is that as a member of the</p> <p>19 redistricting committee, we want to do this</p> <p>20 once, and we will revisit it in 2030, but when</p> <p>21 those -- the things that I've just outlined are</p> <p>22 just crystal clear to the majority of us, we</p> <p>23 need to make sure that we think about this, take</p> <p>24 our time, slow down, and make better maps.</p> <p>25 And so I ask you to join with my</p> <p align="right">23</p>
<p>1 in Guilford county, that particular</p> <p>2 congressional member was double-bunked with</p> <p>3 someone else. And so those intentional</p> <p>4 decisions, those surgical precisions are going</p> <p>5 to stick out to voters. And again, I hope that</p> <p>6 we are not having to redraw multiple times this</p> <p>7 decade, but decisions like that are going to</p> <p>8 lead us down that path.</p> <p>9 Secondly, the largest county in the</p> <p>10 state that borders Durham county, Wake county</p> <p>11 was split multiple times. Wake county, I think</p> <p>12 we all know, has the ability to hold at least</p> <p>13 one congressional district on its own and then</p> <p>14 the remainder of it can be placed alongside</p> <p>15 other counties that are less populated. In</p> <p>16 this, it seems like there was -- the way that</p> <p>17 this was drawn allows for the illusion of the</p> <p>18 impact of that county and one would only have to</p> <p>19 draw the direct correlation that is done for</p> <p>20 partisan reasons. And again, just sharing</p> <p>21 reasons why we should vote no and reconsider</p> <p>22 because, again, we don't want to have do this</p> <p>23 multiple times.</p> <p>24 And lastly, and this was in some of the</p> <p>25 questioning in committee with the senator that</p> <p align="right">22</p>	<p>1 colleagues in voting no, but as always, to</p> <p>2 chairmen, thank you for your hard work.</p> <p>3 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does</p> <p>4 the gentleman from Chatham, Representative</p> <p>5 Reives, rise?</p> <p>6 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you,</p> <p>7 Mr. Speaker. To debate the bill.</p> <p>8 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the</p> <p>9 floor.</p> <p>10 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you.</p> <p>11 I think all of us agree on one thing,</p> <p>12 that the most important result of this vote is</p> <p>13 that folks have faith in this process, that</p> <p>14 voters walk out of here and feel like they were</p> <p>15 represented, that they had their views heard,</p> <p>16 had concerns made clear, and that they feel like</p> <p>17 that they're in a situation where they have fair</p> <p>18 maps.</p> <p>19 I think that we can look at outside</p> <p>20 groups that look to these maps and say that</p> <p>21 there are probably going to be a lot of voters</p> <p>22 who feel like that's not what happened.</p> <p>23 I think to look at the congressional</p> <p>24 map and see what results, according to experts</p> <p>25 that have looked at this map, a map that gives</p> <p align="right">24</p>

<p>1 us ten Republican seats, three Democratic seats,  2 one very competitive seat to me is fairly  3 unbelievable if you say that that represents  4 North Carolina. A map that splits up Wake,  5 Meck, Guilford in the ways that it does I think,  6 again, is fairly unbelievable that people are  7 going to think that that's a fair map.</p> <p>8 We had a group from Duke that looked at  9 this map, and they ran tens of thousands of  10 computer simulations. And according to their  11 simulations, they found that this congressional  12 map was a statistical anomaly. They made tens  13 of thousands of maps just following our  14 criteria, not using racial data, not using  15 partisan data, and after running tens of  16 thousands of simulations, all of those maps that  17 they were running generally elected fewer  18 Republicans than the version that's presented to  19 us today.</p> <p>20 That means something, and that should  21 mean something beyond worrying about who gets  22 what advantage or anything of that sort, but it  23 should mean something in the sense of whatever  24 process we had, whatever intent there was, that  25 we shouldn't want a map that has those type of</p> <p align="right">25</p>	<p>1 All of us are tired of going through this. I  2 understand that, but I think it would be good as  3 one of the accomplishments that we have coming  4 out of this biennium is to serve notice to the  5 rest of the country that this can get done in  6 the right way. We have led on other issues.  7 This would be an outstanding issue for us to  8 lead on, and I think we're missing that  9 opportunity. And I don't know why we're missing  10 that opportunity. I don't know why we're not  11 taking it, but we're not, but I really, really,  12 really personally, I know, would love to see us  13 move in a different direction, change the way  14 that we do things and try to be better.</p> <p>15 Again, going back to the amendment that  16 was offered, that amendment still allowed for a  17 Republican advantage. You can still draw maps  18 that have a Republican advantage without  19 presenting this type of advantage which is going  20 to make the most considerate of us raise an  21 eyebrow in concern, so please consider voting  22 no.</p> <p>23 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does  24 the gentleman from Caldwell,  25 Representative Hall, rise?</p> <p align="right">27</p>
<p>1 problems and has that type of reflection.</p> <p>2 The amendment I offered before actually  3 split fewer voter districts. Instead of 24, it  4 split 14; made the districts more compact, with  5 Reock scores of 45 compared to 42; Polsby-Popper  6 of 36 compared to 30; kept communities of  7 interest together; created a Sandhills  8 congressional district for those of us that are  9 originally from down that way understand how  10 important that is. Again, gave Guilford what it  11 would feel would be true representation.</p> <p>12 So ultimately what I would say is we've  13 got an opportunity just to do things better.  14 House maps are done. Senate maps are done. The  15 congressional map's a whole different ball game.  16 And I would say out of the three maps, what you  17 have seen from outside analysis is the  18 congressional map seems to be the worse at doing  19 the things that people are concerned about. And  20 that has nothing to do with process, that has  21 nothing to do with intent. Ultimately, it's  22 about final result. And because of that final  23 result, this is something we need to go back and  24 revisit.</p> <p>25 All of us are tired of looking at maps.</p> <p align="right">26</p>	<p>1 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Debate the bill a  2 second time.</p> <p>3 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the  4 floor.</p> <p>5 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Members, I'm a  6 bit -- I'm taken aback when I hear folks say  7 that the Democrats wish that they had more  8 involvement in this process.</p> <p>9 I've been here when the maps were drawn  10 outside of this building and they were brought  11 in and you were essentially shown what the map  12 was going to look like and we just voted on it.  13 And that's the way things were done for probably  14 150 years or so under mostly Democrats, but  15 then, of course, Republicans for the first  16 part -- or the last decade. You didn't have  17 much input. You certainly didn't have the  18 ability to sit down in public and draw maps with  19 members of both parties.</p> <p>20 That didn't happen this time around.  21 As we've said, and as everyone knows, we  22 voluntarily chose to do it out in public and not  23 use election data even though the law doesn't  24 require us to do that. We chose to do that  25 because that's the right thing to do. We did</p> <p align="right">28</p>

<p>1 that. This body did that. None of the -- none  2 of the previous bodies in the last 150 or  3 200 years. This general assembly chose to do  4 that.</p> <p>5 And that committee room has been open  6 since October 6th. I've been in there most of  7 the time since October 6th, and so I know who  8 was there, and I didn't see a whole lot of my  9 friends on the Democratic side, and that's  10 unfortunate because in 2019 I did. When we drew  11 those maps in 2019, you saw a lot of computer  12 terminals where Democrats and Republicans were  13 sitting there together. In fact, I got to know  14 some of you that I didn't know very well through  15 that process. That was available to everybody  16 this time around. And I don't know why some  17 didn't -- some chose not to do that. I've got  18 some suspicions, but again, I don't question  19 people's intent.</p> <p>20 We don't have a proposed alternative  21 congressional map from House Democrats, and so  22 ultimately it's a process argument that's being  23 made. And we've heard a whole lot also about  24 outcomes and these outside groups in the way  25 that they rated these maps. I've intentionally</p> <p align="right">29</p>	<p>1 SPEAKER MOORE: He yields.</p> <p>2 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: My question is  3 can you clarify that last statement because I'm  4 confused now. The very last statement that you  5 made about the ideas, so can you just clarify  6 that for me.</p> <p>7 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I will do my best  8 to clarify.</p> <p>9 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: I appreciate it.</p> <p>10 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: And what I said  11 was this is the most transparent process in the  12 history of this state. We voluntarily did not  13 use election data. I do not know the outcome of  14 these maps, but if you don't like that outcome,  15 again, perhaps the problem is not the process of  16 this, perhaps it's not the maps themselves, but  17 perhaps it's the ideas that you're putting forth  18 to the public.</p> <p>19 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Okay. Can I  20 please debate the bill, Mr. Speaker.</p> <p>21 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady is recognized  22 to debate the bill.</p> <p>23 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Okay. So I'm  24 breathing because that's important. I just want  25 to make sure that we're clear. There's been so</p> <p align="right">31</p>
<p>1 not looked at any of that stuff. I'm not  2 considering political data, electoral data in  3 the drafting of these maps, so I have no idea  4 what their outcome is going to be.</p> <p>5 But ultimately, if you have a process  6 where you don't consider election data, a  7 process that's done out in the open, in video  8 with full audio for the world to see and you  9 only consider traditional criteria, like keeping  10 cities and counties whole, and if you still  11 don't like the outcome of what comes out of  12 that, perhaps the problem is not the process or  13 these maps. Perhaps the problem is your ideas.</p> <p>14 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,  15 further debate.</p> <p>16 For what purpose does the lady from  17 Pitt, Representative Smith, rise?</p> <p>18 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: I would rise to  19 ask a question.</p> <p>20 SPEAKER MOORE: Of --</p> <p>21 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Of the bill  22 sponsor.</p> <p>23 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Hall,  24 does the gentleman yield?</p> <p>25 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I yield.</p> <p align="right">30</p>	<p>1 many options of things being put forth to this  2 body throughout this entire session and they  3 have been ignored, and so to hear someone get up  4 and praise themselves for the work they've done  5 independently versus working collectively is  6 already a red flag.</p> <p>7 It appears that there's an attack on  8 the African American vote, but there's no  9 concern for that. It's important to know that  10 people are supposed to elect us and not the  11 other way around, but we see where we're headed.</p> <p>12 When I look at these congressional  13 maps, when I look at the house maps, all of  14 them -- all of them reek of just -- they stink  15 because there's something wrong with them. I've  16 been hearing so much about transparency. If we  17 truly had transparency when we had those  18 meetings ahead of time, with no maps that we  19 wasted the people's time, we would have had  20 those meetings after these maps, but we know  21 what we would have heard. People don't want  22 gerrymandering; that's what we have. People  23 don't want us packing; that's what we're doing.  24 People don't want to separate individuals of the  25 same interest; that's what we're doing. But we</p> <p align="right">32</p>

<p>1 have so many individuals who feel like they're 2 the only ones that's right. 3 So to go into a room and to draw a map 4 that you're going to vote down and to stand on 5 the floor and begin to say everything that I 6 receive was at the last minute. Well, that's 7 really what's happened this entire session. 8 From the budget on down, everything was a last 9 minute, and now we're going to say I am so 10 disappointed in Democrats because of the lack of 11 participation at the last minute. That's what 12 we've been experiencing. That's unfortunate, 13 and to go back and say we're working across 14 aisles, that is untrue. 15 So if we're going to really listen to 16 the people, we should be listening to the 17 people. Transparency of having a camera in a 18 room, that you're not doing the work in that 19 room and you're doing that work in another room 20 and then you come into this room and say, oh, 21 here it is, that's not good. 22 So I urge everyone to please make sure 23 that we vote these down, and then we need to 24 make sure the people do what they need to do to 25 vote on individuals who want to be a voice and</p> <p align="right">33</p>	<p>1 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion, 2 further debate. If not, the question before the 3 House is the passage of Senate Bill 740 on 4 second reading. Those in favor will vote aye. 5 Those opposed will vote no. The clerk will open 6 the vote. 7 The clerk will lock the machine and 8 record the vote. 9 65 having voted in the affirmative and 10 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 740 passes its 11 second reading and will be read a third time. 12 THE CLERK: General Assembly of 13 North Carolina enacts. 14 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion, 15 further debate. If not, the question before the 16 House is the passage of Senate Bill 740 on third 17 reading. Those in favor will vote aye. Those 18 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the 19 vote. 20 The clerk will lock the machine and 21 record the vote. 22 65 having voted in the affirmative and 23 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 740 passes its 24 third reading and the bill is ordered enrolled. 25 (Transcription from audio recording</p> <p align="right">35</p>
<p>1 represent them and listen to them and make sure 2 that we're representing the people. It is not 3 about us. It's about the people. Thank you. 4 Please vote no. 5 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 6 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative 7 Quick, rise? 8 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To speak to the 9 bill a second time. 10 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the 11 floor. 12 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: With all due 13 respect to my friend, Mr. Chairman, in a state 14 with 36 percent of registered voters are 15 Democrats approximately, 33 percent of 16 registered voters are unaffiliated 17 approximately, and 30 percent are registered 18 Republican approximately, and yet a 19 congressional map has the probability of 20 electing ten Republicans and three Democrats, I 21 don't think it's an idea problem. I think it's 22 a map-drawing problem. And I wonder how many 23 Republicans -- you criticize Democrats for not 24 drawing maps. How many Republicans actually 25 drew maps? Please vote no for this map.</p> <p align="right">34</p>	<p>1 stopped at 44:51 and continued again at 46:37.) 2 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does 3 the lady from Guilford, Representative Harrison, 4 rise? 5 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: I would like 6 to be recorded as an aye on the Reives amendment 7 on Senate Bill 740, please. 8 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady will be 9 recorded as having voted aye on the Reives 10 amendment. 11 For what purpose does the gentleman 12 from Mecklenburg, Representative Autry, rise? 13 REPRESENTATIVE AUTRY: Thank you, 14 Mr. Speaker. I would like to be recorded as 15 voting aye on Amendment A1 for Senate Bill 740, 16 please. 17 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman will also 18 be recorded as having voted aye on Amendment A1. 19 For what purpose does the lady from 20 Wake, Representative Dahle, rise? 21 REPRESENTATIVE DAHLE: I would like to 22 object to the last bill being added to the 23 calendar... 24 (Transcription from audio recording 25 stopped at 47:14.)</p> <p align="right">36</p>

1     STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA     )  
  ) C E R T I F I C A T E  
2     COUNTY OF WAKE             )  
3  
4             I, DENISE MYERS BYRD, Stenographic Court  
5     Reporter, CSR 8340, do hereby certify that the  
6     transcription of the audio recorded General Assembly  
7     of North Carolina House Floor Vote on SB 739 and  
8     SB 740, held on November 4, 2021, was taken down by  
9     me stenographically to the best of my ability and  
10    thereafter transcribed under my supervision; and that  
11    the foregoing pages, inclusive, constitute a true and  
12    accurate transcription of said recording.  
13             Signed this the 19th day of December 2021.

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16  
17             Denise Myers Byrd  
18             CSR 8240, RPR, CLR 102409-2  
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I remember reading this when it first published. Need to review again now that we're getting closer to doing it all over! Thanks for re-sharing it



2



### Relevant people

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matter of professio  
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1/1

IN THE NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF )  
NAACP, COMMON CAUSE, MARILYN )  
HARRIS, GARY GRANT, JOYAH BULLUCK, )  
and THOMASINA WILLIAMS, )

Plaintiffs, )

v. )

PHILLIP E. BERGER, in his official )  
capacity as President Pro Tempore )  
of the North Carolina Senate; )  
TIMOTHY K. MOORE, in his official )  
capacity as Speaker of the North )  
Carolina House of Representatives; )  
RALPH E. HISE, JR., WARREN DANIEL, )  
PAUL NEWTON, in their official )  
capacities as Co-Chairmen of the )  
Senate Committee on Redistricting )  
and Elections; DESTIN HALL, in his )  
official capacity as Chairman of )  
the House Standing Committee on )  
Redistricting; THE STATE OF NORTH )  
CAROLINA; THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE )  
BOARD OF ELECTIONS; DAMON CIRCOSTA, )  
in his official capacity as Chair )  
of the State Board of Elections; )  
STELLA ANDERSON, in her official )  
capacity as Secretary of the State )  
Board of Elections; STACY EGGERS )  
IV, in his official capacity as )  
Member of the State Board of )  
Elections; JEFF CARMON III, in his )  
official capacity as Member of the )  
State Board of Elections; TOMMY )  
TUCKER, in his official capacity as )  
Member of the State Board of )  
Elections; KAREN BRINSON BELL, in )  
her official capacity as Executive )  
Director of the State Board of )  
Elections, )

Defendants. )

Wake County  
21-CVS-14476

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1467**

\*\*\*\*\*

TRANSCRIPT, Volume 1 of 1

Pages 1 - 62

Tuesday, November 30, 2021

\*\*\*\*\*

November 30, 2021, Civil Session

The Honorable A. Graham Shirley, II, Judge Presiding

Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction

Legislative Defendants' Motion to Dismiss

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Reported by: Dawn M. Dantschisch, RMR, CRR, CRC  
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Elections

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1 (Superior Court of Wake County convened civil  
2 court session November 30, 2021, before the  
3 Honorable A. Graham Shirley, II. The case of  
4 NC State Conference of NAACP, et al. v.  
5 Berger, et al., was called for hearing at  
6 10:31 a.m.)

7 THE COURT: Good morning, everyone. All right.  
8 We are here in North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP,  
9 et al., v. Phillip E. Berger, et al., in 21-CVS-14476. If  
10:31AM 10 counsel for the parties, starting with the plaintiff, would  
11 introduce themselves for the record.

12 MS. KLEIN: Thank you, Your Honor, and good  
13 morning. My name is Hilary Harris Klein of the Southern  
14 Coalition For Social Justice on behalf of Plaintiffs. I'm  
10:31AM 15 joined by my co-counsel, Allison Riggs, also of the Southern  
16 Coalition For Social Justice, as well as Mitchell Brown and  
17 Katelin Kaiser.

18 I'm also joined by co-counsel from the firm Hogan  
19 Lovells -- they're sitting behind me -- Tom Boer and Olivia  
10:31AM 20 Molodanof.

21 THE COURT: Thank you.

22 MS. KLEIN: I would also introduce the Court to  
23 our client, Bob Phillips of Common Cause, who is the  
24 executive director, who is also here today, Your Honor.

10:31AM 25 THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

1 MR. STRACH: Good morning, Your Honor.

2 Phil Strach with Nelson Mullins here for the Legislative  
3 Defendants.

4 MS. MCKNIGHT: Good morning, Your Honor.

10:32AM 5 Kate McKnight here on behalf of the Legislative Defendants.

6 THE COURT: All right.

7 MR. STEED: Good morning, Your Honor.

8 Terence Steed on behalf of the State Defendants.

9 MR. BRANCH: Good morning, Your Honor.

10:32AM 10 John Branch here on behalf of Legislative Defendants.

11 THE COURT: All right. As a housekeeping matter,  
12 I have one motion for pro hac vice that has been submitted  
13 to me. That is for Ms. McKnight.

14 Is there any objection from the plaintiffs to her  
10:32AM 15 admission?

16 MS. KLEIN: Plaintiffs do not object, Your Honor.

17 THE COURT: All right. I noticed that there were  
18 a number of individuals on the complaint that said -- that  
19 stated pro hac vice motions to be filed. Have those been  
10:33AM 20 filed, and do they need to be acted upon?

21 MS. KLEIN: No, Your Honor, they have not yet  
22 been filed, but they will be imminently. Thank you.

23 THE COURT: All right. So, what -- I see you  
24 have the "backslash S backslash." What is that?

10:33AM 25 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, that is to indicate the

1 signature of attorneys that have appeared in this case, but  
2 we're happy to not do that going forward, if necessary.

3 THE COURT: Well, only -- under North Carolina  
4 General Statute Rule 84.4, or Section 84.4, only attorneys  
10:33AM 5 licensed to practice law in the state, or otherwise admitted  
6 to practice, may sign pleadings; otherwise, it constitutes  
7 the unauthorized practice of law. So, in the future, no one  
8 is to sign a pleading unless they have been admitted pro hac  
9 vice or been admitted to the State Bar of North Carolina,  
10:33AM 10 just as a point of clarification.

11 That breach is observed -- that rule is observed more  
12 in its breach than its rule, but it's something that the  
13 Court places emphasis on, because, of course, when you put a  
14 signature on, you're certifying certain things pursuant to  
10:34AM 15 Rule 11 of the North Carolina Rules of Civil Procedure.

16 All right. Any other administrative matters before we  
17 proceed?

18 MS. KLEIN: No, Your Honor.

19 THE COURT: All right. When counsel is actively  
10:34AM 20 speaking, they will be permitted to take their mask off.  
21 Otherwise, I request that you keep your mask on. Since this  
22 is Plaintiffs' -- we'll proceed with Plaintiffs' motion  
23 first.

24 MS. KLEIN: Thank you, Your Honor, and may it  
10:34AM 25 please the Court. Your Honor, if it's amenable to the

1 Court, because of the overlapping issues and the many  
2 motions, I plan to address our motion, as well as just a few  
3 of the points raised by Legislative Defendants in theirs.

4 THE COURT: That's fine.

10:34AM

5 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, Plaintiffs are here  
6 before you today with a fairly straightforward request, and  
7 that is to declare their rights and the Legislative  
8 Defendants' duties to adhere to the North Carolina  
9 Constitution when undertaking their mandate to redistrict  
10 state legislative maps.

10:35AM

11 Plaintiffs have further requested injunctive relief,  
12 including a preliminary injunction, that would enjoin and  
13 delay the March 2022 primaries and their related deadlines  
14 to protect Plaintiffs from irreparable harm.

10:35AM

15 THE COURT: All right. Just a minute. So you're  
16 not seeking to have the maps invalidated in this action; is  
17 that correct?

18 MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor.

19 THE COURT: So what we're going to end up with is  
20 a set of maps that have been approved by the legislature,  
21 and as a matter of operation by law, until a court  
22 determines otherwise, they are presumed to be  
23 constitutional, and at the same time telling -- asking me to  
24 say you can't proceed on the maps that are presumed to be  
25 constitutional, because we don't want you to invalidate

10:35AM

10:35AM

1       them, and we're going to delay the election; is that  
2       essentially what you're asking this Court to do?

3               MS. KLEIN: Not exactly, Your Honor.

4               THE COURT: Well, would you agree with me that  
10:36AM 5       until those maps are declared invalid they are presumed to  
6       be constitutional? Until a court declares those maps  
7       invalid, that they are presumed as a matter of law to be  
8       constitutional?

9               MS. KLEIN: I would agree with that. And the key  
10:36AM 10       language is until a court declares them invalid. And here,  
11       Plaintiffs' action is under the Declaratory Judgment Act  
12       specifically, which was designed to give the type of  
13       anticipatory relief we have asked for here.

14              THE COURT: But you are not asking me to declare  
10:36AM 15       the maps invalid, are you?

16              MS. KLEIN: We have not yet requested that.

17              THE COURT: Okay. In fact, had you done that,  
18       you would have been required to serve a copy of your  
19       complaint on the senior resident judge of Wake County, who  
10:36AM 20       would then be required to send it to the Chief Justice of  
21       the North Carolina Supreme Court to appoint a three-judge  
22       panel; is that correct?

23              MS. KLEIN: That's my understanding.

24              THE COURT: All right. So, sitting here today, I  
10:36AM 25       cannot, I have no -- absolutely no authority under the

1 general statutes to declare these maps unconstitutional or  
2 invalid, because that power is solely vested in the  
3 three-judge panel constituted under North Carolina General  
4 Statute 1-267; is that correct?

10:37AM

5 MS. KLEIN: Yes. And Plaintiffs have not asked  
6 for that relief.

7 THE COURT: Okay.

10:37AM

8 MS. KLEIN: Plaintiffs have asked for relief  
9 under the Declaratory Judgment Act to resolve an ongoing  
10 controversy as to what the state constitution requires of  
11 Legislative Defendants. And Plaintiffs have separately  
12 alleged harm arising out of that.

10:37AM

13 THE COURT: Well, you're asking me to give an  
14 advisory opinion, aren't you, before an actual act is  
15 passed?

10:37AM

16 MS. KLEIN: We are asking for relief that is  
17 specifically afforded under the Declaratory Judgment Act.  
18 So, the Declaratory Judgment Act was passed in 1931,  
19 Your Honor. And it was -- it was passed, and I can refer  
20 the Court to a Law Review article written by the dean of UNC  
21 at the time talking about that act soon after it had been  
22 passed.

10:38AM

23 And it was passed to give parties the opportunity, when  
24 there is uncertainty and an imminent breach arising out of  
25 that uncertainty, when there is an uncertainty as to duties,

1 as to legal status, as to rights, as there is here, the  
2 parties can ask for judicial review earlier to prevent that  
3 harm. And what that judicial review allows for here,  
4 Your Honor, is for the Court to provide certainty.

10:38AM

5 The parties can go back and do with that what they  
6 wanted, but the argument that we have to also act to enjoin  
7 the maps, which, by the way, were not passed when we filed  
8 this suit, so the argument that we have to enjoin the  
9 maps --

10:38AM

10 THE COURT: But you could have waited. You could  
11 have waited.

12 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, we could have waited.  
13 And at that time, we had no idea how long the process for  
14 enacting maps was going to extend. It could have gone until  
15 Thanksgiving.

10:38AM

16 THE COURT: So --

10:38AM

17 MS. KLEIN: And the declaratory judgment allows  
18 the Court to provide that anticipatory review now, and the  
19 parties get to do what they want. Their position and what  
20 the Court has mentioned about needing to enjoin the final  
21 maps, that's like asking -- in the classic contract  
22 situation, that's like asking for parties to not only bring  
23 a Declaratory Judgment Act, but also bring breach of  
24 contract before that has even happened.

10:39AM

25 And the declaratory judgment does not require that,

1 Your Honor. Everything is possible until the primaries  
2 happen, until voters vote --

3 THE COURT: And just --

4 MS. KLEIN: -- under these new maps.

10:39AM 5 THE COURT: -- as anything was possible until the  
6 maps were enacted, wasn't it?

7 MS. KLEIN: It remains possible, and, in fact --

8 THE COURT: No, everything was possible in terms  
9 of compliance with Stephenson or compliance with the  
10:39AM 10 VHA (sic) up until the time the maps were enacted?

11 MS. KLEIN: And it remains possible, Your Honor.

12 THE COURT: Okay.

13 MS. KLEIN: Legislative Defendants have provided  
14 no reason other than their own unwillingness to comply with  
10:39AM 15 the law.

16 THE COURT: But you could have waited until the  
17 maps were enacted to determine whether there was a violation  
18 of the Whole County Provision or violation of the VRA.

19 MS. KLEIN: We didn't have to, Your Honor,  
10:39AM 20 because at the time --

21 THE COURT: Wait a minute.

22 MS. KLEIN: -- that we filed this suit -- -

23 THE COURT: I didn't ask whether you had to. I  
24 said you could have.

10:40AM 25 MS. KLEIN: We could have, Your Honor.

1 THE COURT: Let me ask you this. Let's say our  
2 legislature -- let's imagine a legislature that is -- either  
3 has a governor who will sign this legislation or they have a  
4 veto-proof majority. And this fictitious legislature in  
10:40AM 5 North Carolina is going to -- is poised to pass legislation  
6 that states no citizen of North Carolina or anyone within  
7 the geographical boundaries of North Carolina can use the  
8 word "north" in the spoken or written word. Now, I hope we  
9 could all agree that that proposed legislation is a  
10:40AM 10 violation of the First Amendment.

11 Could you -- could a court enjoin the legislature from  
12 voting on such an act, or does the act have to pass before  
13 we declare it unconstitutional?

14 MS. KLEIN: To answer your question, Your Honor,  
10:40AM 15 the judicial branch could not enjoin the General Assembly  
16 from voting on that. And that's not what Plaintiffs have  
17 asked for here.

18 But it is the sole responsibility of the judicial  
19 branch, Your Honor, to state what the state constitution  
10:41AM 20 requires and how it's applied in certain situations. And  
21 courts have done this time and time again, to state this is  
22 what the constitution requires --

23 THE COURT: Well --

24 MS. KLEIN: -- and it has to be followed.

10:41AM 25 THE COURT: -- hasn't the Stephenson court

1 already said what the constitution requires?

2 MS. KLEIN: Yes, Your Honor.

3 THE COURT: I mean, this is not -- this is --  
4 what Stephenson says is a well settled matter of law. Why  
10:41AM 5 do you need to come to me to say what the law is? Why  
6 didn't you wait, once they enacted it, and say, you violated  
7 Stephenson and you violated the VRA?

8 MS. KLEIN: We came here because it was very  
9 clear they skipped the first step of Stephenson. They  
10:41AM 10 decided to skip entirely the first step of Stephenson, and  
11 that was apparent when the criteria were passed and  
12 Plaintiffs and Plaintiffs' counsel --

13 THE COURT: When were the criteria passed?

14 MS. KLEIN: The criteria were passed on August --  
10:41AM 15 on August 5th. No, on August 12th, Your Honor. They were  
16 first proposed, I think, around the 5th. They were passed,  
17 and Plaintiffs pointed this out. Plaintiffs wrote a  
18 letter --

19 THE COURT: Why did you wait until October 29th  
10:42AM 20 to file the motion for preliminary -- or motion for  
21 declaratory relief and preliminary injunction?

22 MS. KLEIN: To understand whether this would  
23 actually cause harm, Your Honor --

24 THE COURT: Okay.

10:42AM 25 MS. KLEIN: -- and --

1 THE COURT: So, when did the harm occur? Does  
2 the harm occur when the maps are passed? Or what harm  
3 occurs before the maps are passed?

4 MS. KLEIN: The irreparable harm, Your Honor,  
10:42AM 5 occurs when voters are going to vote under these maps. It  
6 was very clear --

7 THE COURT: Okay. So, when voters -- voters can  
8 only vote under those maps once they're enacted. So, the  
9 harm doesn't occur until the maps are enacted.

10:42AM 10 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, hypothetically, right  
11 now, this legislature, as it has done in the past, could  
12 still comply with Stephenson. There is still time. The  
13 primaries have not taken place, and --

14 THE COURT: Does Stephenson -- does compliance  
10:42AM 15 with Stephenson necessarily mean compliance with the VRA?

16 MS. KLEIN: Yes, Your Honor.

17 THE COURT: It does. So, you can comply with  
18 Stephenson, and if you comply with Stephenson, there will  
19 never be a violation of the VRA?

10:43AM 20 MS. KLEIN: As Stephenson is written.

21 THE COURT: No, it says all you do is create VRA  
22 districts first. But sometimes people create VRA districts  
23 that pack more African-Americans into the district than is  
24 necessary, don't they? And that's not in compliance with  
10:43AM 25 the VRA.

1 MS. KLEIN: So, Legislative Defendants attempted  
2 to do what you're saying last cycle in the Covington matter,  
3 and the court explicitly found not only is this first step  
4 of Stephenson crucial, but it has to be followed properly.  
10:43AM 5 And the court found specifically they had not followed the  
6 requirements of the VRA, specifically.

7 By skipping this step, they're saying, okay, we got  
8 called afoul, we got called afoul in the game last cycle,  
9 but --

10:43AM 10 THE COURT: So, what you're saying is that the  
11 process is wrong, because not only did they create VRA  
12 districts, they failed to create VRA districts that complied  
13 with the constitution and the VRA?

14 MS. KLEIN: The court in the last cycle --

10:44AM 15 THE COURT: No, I'm talking about in this case.

16 MS. KLEIN: In this case?

17 THE COURT: In this case.

18 MS. KLEIN: In this case, Your Honor, they never  
19 made any meaningful attempt --

10:44AM 20 THE COURT: Okay. So --

21 MS. KLEIN: -- to determine what the VRA requires  
22 at all. They never made any meaningful attempt --

23 THE COURT: So, if they --

24 MS. KLEIN: -- no analysis.

10:44AM 25 THE COURT: -- if they made an analysis, but it

1 was wrong, does that violate Stephenson?

2 MS. KLEIN: That would -- that is not this case.  
3 That's not what happened.

4 THE COURT: That's not what I'm asking you. You  
10:44AM 5 need to please answer the questions I ask.

6 MS. KLEIN: Yes, Your Honor.

7 THE COURT: If they misconstrued the VRA or if  
8 they misconstrued Stephenson but make an honest attempt to  
9 comply with the VRA, is Stephenson satisfied?

10:44AM 10 MS. KLEIN: Unless -- no, unless they have  
11 properly -- unless they have properly determined what the  
12 VRA requires.

13 THE COURT: Okay. So, under that analysis, you  
14 would be able to bring a declaratory judgment before any map  
10:44AM 15 is passed anytime you believe they've made a mistake in the  
16 application of the VRA and the Whole County Provision?

17 MS. KLEIN: I'm not sure that's correct,  
18 Your Honor, and this is because in that hypothetical case,  
19 which is very different from this one, that would be a  
10:45AM 20 disagreement between the parties as to whose analysis is  
21 correct. That is not what happened here. In their brief,  
22 Legislative Defendants admit they are not aware of any such  
23 analysis.

24 THE COURT: Why are we sitting here 30 days after  
10:45AM 25 the complaint was filed on a preliminary injunction motion

1 when the harm of the process, you claim, was irreparable?

2 MS. KLEIN: Plaintiffs filed -- I don't know the  
3 answer to that question. Plaintiffs filed a motion for  
4 preliminary injunction the same day the complaint was filed,  
10:45AM 5 Your Honor, and we have acted --

6 THE COURT: Why didn't you request a TRO?  
7 Because a TRO gets you into court quick. TROs have a  
8 tendency to bring the defendants to the table much more  
9 quickly, and TROs are typically brought when there is  
10:46AM 10 irreparable harm, when the parties are screaming that there  
11 is irreparable harm. But here we sit 30 days later.

12 MS. KLEIN: Well, first of all, Your Honor, the  
13 triggering -- the first deadline for the upcoming primaries  
14 is December 6th, and we filed this on October 29th. So, as  
10:46AM 15 far as the TRO, you know, crying imminent harm at that  
16 point, within days, we did not -- we thought that -- we made  
17 the reasoned judgment, Your Honor, that a preliminary  
18 injunction was the more appropriate standard, because --

19 THE COURT: But I thought it was the process that  
10:46AM 20 was causing the harm. And you -- your complaint had not  
21 only originally asked for the Court to enjoin the elections,  
22 you asked this Court to enjoin the process the legislature  
23 was using. So, if -- because that process was causing  
24 imminent harm to the plaintiffs.

10:46AM 25 If that is the case, why was a TRO not requested to

1 stop the process and stop the imminent harm that you claim  
2 here?

3 MS. KLEIN: The ship has not sailed -- because  
4 the ship has not sailed until the primaries take place. And  
10:47AM 5 the first -- and the first deadline related to that,  
6 Your Honor, is December 6th. Plaintiffs seek for the  
7 orderly administration of elections. Unlike last cycle  
8 where several elections were undertaken under unlawful  
9 maps --

10:47AM 10 THE COURT: If you're seeking --

11 MS. KLEIN: -- here --

12 THE COURT: -- for the orderly process of  
13 elections, I still don't understand why the TRO was -- why a  
14 TRO was not sought prior to a preliminary injunction and why  
10:47AM 15 you waited until October 29th, when, in August, you knew the  
16 criteria -- did you doubt that they were going to use the  
17 criteria that they said would be used to create the maps?

18 MS. KLEIN: We did not doubt that, but at that --  
19 perhaps could I go briefly through the --

10:47AM 20 THE COURT: Sure.

21 MS. KLEIN: -- procedural history and how things  
22 played out in this case, Your Honor? Thank you.

23 So, in this matter, that first step, Your Honor, as  
24 we've talked about, happened in August when they proposed  
10:48AM 25 race blind -- what are called race-blind criteria. And at

1 that point, Plaintiffs' counsel provided public comment,  
2 indicating the first step of Stephenson, this is not  
3 required under law, and, in fact, the law requires the  
4 consideration of racial data in order to comply with  
10:48AM 5 Stephenson's requirement that the VRA be -- the requirements  
6 under the VRA be ascertained.

7 After that point, it was not clear. There was plenty  
8 of opportunity for Legislative Defendants to still comply  
9 with Stephenson. They could have performed an analysis.  
10:48AM 10 They could have done several different things at that time.  
11 And, Your Honor, Plaintiffs do not seek judicial  
12 intervention lightly. This is not the first -- this is not  
13 the first option for Plaintiffs. This is a last resort, to  
14 be before Your Honor.

10:49AM 15 So, when --

16 THE COURT: Can you -- can you use a process  
17 other than that set out by Stephenson and come up with a map  
18 that satisfies the VRA and the Whole County Provision of the  
19 constitution?

10:49AM 20 MS. KLEIN: Absolutely.

21 THE COURT: Okay.

22 MS. KLEIN: And court processes -- court  
23 processes have outlined in past cases, in Covington and  
24 Common Cause. The courts ordered briefing, extensive --  
10:49AM 25 there's extensive briefing on what the VRA requires, and

1       that after, the courts ordered remedial processes that  
2       followed -- that followed the other Stephenson requirements.

3               THE COURT: In fact, the VRA doesn't command the  
4       state to adopt any particular map, does it?

10:49AM 5               MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor. And  
6       Plaintiffs --

7               THE COURT: Rather, it prevents the enforcement  
8       of plans, the enforcement of plans, the purpose or effect of  
9       which is to dilute the voting strength of legally protected  
10:49AM 10       minorities. The plan.

11               MS. KLEIN: But the state constitution  
12       requires -- as interpreted by the court in Stephenson, the  
13       state constitution requires a process that requires  
14       consideration of federal law first. Federal law is an  
10:50AM 15       express, not an implied requirement of the state's  
16       constitution. And the court in Stephenson issued a process  
17       requirement. The language in Stephenson, which I'm happy to  
18       walk the Court through --

19               THE COURT: I've read Stephenson numerous times.

10:50AM 20               MS. KLEIN: -- does that. Wonderful, Your Honor.

21               And Dickson v. Rucho, a recent 2015 decision, when they  
22       talk about Stephenson, they even said, again, this is a  
23       process requirement. And it imparts a process --

24               THE COURT: If you don't follow the process, if  
10:50AM 25       you don't follow the process, but the end results are plans

1 that are compliant with the VHA and the Whole County  
2 Provision of the constitution, what is the harm?

3 MS. KLEIN: So, first of all, the harm there  
4 would be the maps. But that is not this case.

10:50AM 5 THE COURT: No, we're assuming that they didn't  
6 follow Stephenson, but we're assuming that the maps comply  
7 with the VHA -- pardon me, the VRA and the Whole County  
8 Provision, and throw in the one-person-one-vote requirement.

9 Because you can create a map that complies with those  
10:51AM 10 three requirements without following Stephenson. It may  
11 take you longer to do it, and it's not what the Supreme  
12 Court has said you should do, but you can create a map that  
13 satisfies all three of those legislative and constitutional  
14 requirements. So, if you do create that map without  
10:51AM 15 following Stephenson, what is the harm?

16 MS. KLEIN: So, the harm there, Your Honor --  
17 first of all, I would say that -- I would start by saying,  
18 Your Honor, that that is a hypothetical that is not this  
19 case here. Plaintiffs have alleged --

10:51AM 20 THE COURT: I know it's a hypothetical.

21 MS. KLEIN: Okay.

22 THE COURT: But we're talking about when you  
23 filed the suit, what was hypothetically going to happen with  
24 these maps. It was hypothetical that the maps would be  
10:52AM 25 enacted. I don't even think it's hypothetical that they

1 violate the VRA or the whole county requirement. All you've  
2 alleged is they violate the procedural requirements of  
3 Stephenson.

10:52AM 4 MS. KLEIN: So, in that case, Your Honor, the  
5 declaratory judgment, I believe, would still allow, still  
6 allow for judicial intervention, and here's why. It's  
7 because the declaratory judgment squarely provides that  
8 plaintiffs and parties can come to the court for  
9 anticipatory relief, whether or not further -- they have --  
10:52AM 10 whether or not further relief could be claimed.

11 THE COURT: So, what do I do -- what do I do if I  
12 grant your preliminary injunction, what do I do with this  
13 plan that is -- these plans that have been passed that are  
14 presumed to be constitutional under our law because no court  
10:52AM 15 has struck them down? What do I do with those plans?

16 MS. KLEIN: Plaintiffs have not asked for the  
17 Court to do anything with them.

18 THE COURT: No, but I've got to deal with them,  
19 because they're plans passed by the legislature that are  
10:53AM 20 presumed to be constitutional. And since they're presumed  
21 to be constitutional, I mean, do I just let them -- it's  
22 almost a pocket veto, is what you're asking me to do with  
23 the plans. Just let them remain there, don't -- we're not  
24 going to attack the constitutionality or the legality of the  
10:53AM 25 plans, don't do anything, but at the same time make them go

1 back and do new plans.

2 MS. KLEIN: Respectfully, Your Honor, I think it  
3 would be helpful to draw an analogy to this case to a  
4 classic contract dispute where the Declaratory Judgment Act  
10:53AM 5 also would apply. So, what we're saying in that dispute,  
6 where parties have a disagreement as to what is required on  
7 an instrument, they come to the court to resolve that  
8 disagreement. After that declaratory judgment ruling, the  
9 parties can go and act accordingly, and one would hope the  
10:54AM 10 parties go and act accordingly to follow what the judge has  
11 declared. And that transforms into this case precisely.

12 Legislative Defendants can take a declaration from this  
13 Court, and they can decide to act accordingly. They have  
14 not pointed to any reason they couldn't do that. And until  
10:54AM 15 the primaries have been elected, that's possible. What  
16 they're saying, by presuming we have to also challenge the  
17 map, that's like saying you have to bring declaratory  
18 judgment and breach of contract at the same time.

19 And the Declaratory Judgment Act was specifically  
10:54AM 20 designed so that parties didn't have to wait for that step.  
21 You don't have to bring declaratory judgment and breach of  
22 contract at the same time. You can ask for the declaratory  
23 judgment, and the parties go back and they act accordingly.

24 Now, Plaintiffs can also, as other parties have already  
10:54AM 25 done, they can also seek further, you know, intervention

1 from a three-judge panel on the maps. I think we know these  
2 maps are problematic, but that's not what Plaintiffs are  
3 doing here. They are asking for this Court to provide badly  
4 and urgently needed certainty as to what the court required  
10:55AM 5 in Stephenson, as to what the state constitution requires.

6 THE COURT: Again, when we start talking about  
7 badly and urgently and we're sitting here almost four months  
8 since the criteria was announced, when I hear badly and  
9 urgently and see that four-month lapse in time, it makes me  
10:55AM 10 wonder how urgent it's needed, if we're going to address in  
11 a three-judge panel whether the maps actually comply with  
12 the -- or whether that there's proof that they comply or  
13 don't comply with the VHA or whether there's permissible or  
14 impermissible political gerrymandering.

10:55AM 15 MS. KLEIN: So here, Your Honor, I think  
16 principles of equity really come in, because Plaintiffs  
17 relied upon specific statements by the Legislative  
18 Defendants that they would consider evidence. They said in  
19 committee -- several times, the committee chair said, hey,  
10:56AM 20 if anybody has evidence of, you know, VRA requirements,  
21 racially polarized voting, if anybody has evidence, you  
22 know, we will consider that. And Plaintiffs did that.

23 Plaintiffs' counsel wrote two letters, one on  
24 October 8th, one again on the 25th when proposed maps were  
10:56AM 25 coming out, saying, this is going to harm votes of color.

1 There are serious VRA issues with these maps. You have to  
2 take a look. And after -- and they repeatedly disregarded  
3 those.

4 And it was only until it became absolutely clear, after  
10:56AM 5 Plaintiff Common Cause had provided racially polarized  
6 voting analyses, saying this is what's going to happen in  
7 these districts that you proposed, when they ignored that,  
8 it was, I believe, days after that that we filed the  
9 complaint and sought judicial intervention.

10:56AM 10 THE COURT: So, they've come out with --

11 MS. KLEIN: It was a last resort.

12 THE COURT: They've come out with proposed maps,  
13 they had come out with the proposed maps, and letters were  
14 written saying you've got problems with these maps. Well,  
10:57AM 15 wasn't there a violation of Stephenson before they even sent  
16 the letters?

17 MS. KLEIN: Stephenson requires them before  
18 setting districts that they do federally -- it says,  
19 districts required by the VRA shall be drawn before.

10:57AM 20 THE COURT: And what --

21 MS. KLEIN: And during the criteria, during the  
22 process, no districts had been drawn yet. And when I say  
23 they had proposed maps, this was on the website. They were  
24 posting what are called member-proposed maps to a specific  
10:57AM 25 place on the website. And those maps were the first

1       indication that they had failed to take the step. They had  
2       drawn all of the other districts --

3               THE COURT: When's the district actually set?

4               MS. KLEIN: -- before --

10:57AM 5               A district would actually be set when the map is  
6       enacted.

7               THE COURT: Okay.

8               MS. KLEIN: And it became very clear when they  
9       started proposing these maps that they had skipped and they  
10:57AM 10       were not going to do the first step of Stephenson. They  
11       actually stated affirmatively in committee during this  
12       process, this was after -- after, you know, the criteria --  
13       this was in October. They stated affirmatively that they  
14       had no intention, the committees had no intention of  
10:58AM 15       commissioning any needed, you know, racial analysis that  
16       would be needed to comply with the VRA.

17               And it was after that process and it was after it was  
18       clear that they had skipped the first step of Stephenson  
19       that -- and after many efforts to ask them to undertake that  
10:58AM 20       step.

21               THE COURT: How soon after you filed your lawsuit  
22       did they enact the maps?

23               MS. KLEIN: It was four days after. But prior to  
24       that, Your Honor, there was no announced schedule, there was  
10:58AM 25       no indication of when those maps would be passed. It could

1 have extended through Thanksgiving. There was no indication  
2 to anyone of how long these maps would take to make their  
3 way through. Or, you know, the House map, for example,  
4 Your Honor, that was filed on the 28th, was a placeholder.  
10:58AM 5 You know, we have that in the binder of exhibits we provided  
6 to the Court.

7 THE COURT: Let me ask you --

8 MS. KLEIN: It didn't even have specific lines,  
9 it was just a blank placeholder. So, it was not clear how  
10:59AM 10 long these maps would take to make their way through the  
11 process. If we had to wait until Thanksgiving, Your Honor,  
12 it would have been -- you know, if that's when this whole  
13 thing had happened and then we had sought to get in front of  
14 a court -- you know, it took five weeks for us to get in  
10:59AM 15 front of the court. There are natural administrative things  
16 that have to happen before getting --

17 THE COURT: You could have gotten in front of the  
18 court within a week on a temporary restraining order.

19 MS. KLEIN: And there, Your Honor, we would have  
10:59AM 20 faced an argument like this one, the other side of this  
21 coin. They would have said there's no deadline until  
22 December 6th. The primary -- you know, the  
23 primaries candidate -- the candidate deadline for the  
24 2020 (sic) election isn't until December 6th, and Plaintiffs  
10:59AM 25 have filed this too early, and the legislature can still

1 decide to do this analysis. If we had -- that's what would  
2 have happened if we had filed.

3           Instead, Your Honor, Plaintiffs came here as a last  
4 resort, after many efforts, after many efforts to convince  
10:59AM 5 the Legislative Defendants to follow the law. And we asked  
6 here to seek minimal -- the minimum relief here that we have  
7 requested is just a declaration of what the state  
8 constitution requires and time. And the schedule that we've  
9 requested, an injunction until May, is the schedule that was  
11:00AM 10 followed in the last cycle when the, you know, primaries  
11 were classically scheduled in May.

12           So, Plaintiffs have really made extreme efforts, first  
13 of all, to resolve this without the need for court  
14 intervention and also to only seek court intervention,  
11:00AM 15 again, with time before those deadlines start happening.

16           But it should be clear that anything is possible until  
17 the primary elections happen. Legislative Defendants can --  
18 upon a declaration of this Court that they violated their  
19 duties, Legislative Defendants can decide to comply. They  
11:00AM 20 have forecasted unwillingness to do so, but that doesn't  
21 change the fact that Plaintiffs are entitled to relief.

22           THE COURT: All right. And you've submitted a  
23 number of affidavits in support of your motion; is that  
24 correct?

11:00AM 25           MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor.

1 THE COURT: All right. Your motion was filed and  
2 served on October 29th, the day the complaint was filed?

3 MS. KLEIN: That's correct.

4 THE COURT: And the affidavits were served on  
11:01AM 5 November 5th; is that correct?

6 MS. KLEIN: Shortly after. And they were served  
7 with a copy of the motion. They were served with a copy of  
8 the motion.

9 THE COURT: All right. But the initial motion  
11:01AM 10 was served on October 29th?

11 MS. KLEIN: That's correct.

12 THE COURT: Is that in compliance with Rule 6(d)?

13 MS. KLEIN: So, I understand it to be, and this  
14 is why, Your Honor. So, that rule provides -- the North  
11:01AM 15 Carolina rules provide that Legislative Defendants have to  
16 have notice of a motion five days -- more than five days  
17 before that hearing. And here, there was much more. There  
18 was many, many weeks of notice.

19 And that rule, Your Honor, I believe, only requires  
11:01AM 20 that the affidavits be served with a copy of the motion.  
21 And I'm not aware that Legislative Defendants have objected  
22 to that.

23 THE COURT: And Mr. Bartlett's affidavit, even  
24 though he signed it on November 3 of 2021, it appears that  
11:02AM 25 he swore to it on January 20th of 2021. I'm not sure how

1       that happens. Is that a typo?

2                   MS. KLEIN: Oh, Your Honor, that is a typo. I'm  
3       sorry.

4                   THE COURT: So, when was he sworn to that?

11:02AM

5                   MS. KLEIN: He swore to that on the 3rd or the  
6       4th. I'm happy to have us submit --

7                   THE COURT: That's all right.

8                   MS. KLEIN: Very, very promptly we can submit a  
9       corrected --

11:02AM

10                  THE COURT: I will consider the affidavit,  
11       understanding that it's a typo. And on your --

12                  MS. KLEIN: Oh, Your Honor, I'm sorry. It says  
13       executed November 3rd at the top of that page. So that  
14       is -- that is just the notary public. And the notary  
15       public -- that's just for the notary public's affirmation.

11:02AM

16                  THE COURT: Well, you can't swear someone to  
17       something in January of 2021 when I don't think the census  
18       data was out then.

19                  MS. KLEIN: Yeah. I'm sorry for that --

11:03AM

20                  THE COURT: So that would be November 3rd?

21                  MS. KLEIN: -- but it is November 3rd, and it  
22       says that. I apologize, Your Honor.

23                  THE COURT: All right. Go ahead.

24                  MS. KLEIN: So, would it be helpful for the Court  
25       if I walked through more of the exhibits here, including the

11:03AM

1 affidavits? I'd like to actually direct the Court's  
2 attention to the letters --

3 THE COURT: Okay.

4 MS. KLEIN: -- that I had. That's in the index  
11:03AM 5 of exhibits, Your Honor, starting with Exhibit M, Tab M.  
6 These are the letters that were written by Plaintiffs'  
7 counsel first. And N and then O is the racially polarized  
8 voting study that was submitted to Legislative Defendants.  
9 That was submitted to Legislative Defendants as a final plea  
11:03AM 10 to get them to comply with Stephenson.

11 And as we've discussed, Your Honor, Stephenson  
12 requires -- it requires that legislators follow a particular  
13 process. And it does this in language that said that  
14 districts required by the VRA shall be formed prior to all  
11:04AM 15 others. That temporal language, Your Honor, mandates a  
16 specific process. As we've described, the Legislative  
17 Defendants not only failed to do this, but the criteria that  
18 they imposed prevented other members from complying with  
19 this.

11:04AM 20 In addition to the race-blind criteria that we've  
21 discussed, Your Honor, the Legislative Defendants also  
22 required other legislators to use specific templates for  
23 their maps. These templates are called county clusters or  
24 county groupings, and they were devised by a set of Duke  
11:04AM 25 professors doing a -- following a mathematical algorithm,

1 and that was reflected in a paper that Legislative  
2 Defendants referred to.

3 But, importantly, Your Honor, that paper -- those  
4 professors admitted, clearly on the first page of that  
11:04AM 5 paper, this paper does not consider the first step of  
6 Stephenson. This paper does not. So, by requiring all  
7 members to use these template maps, Your Honor, the  
8 Legislative Defendants effectively prevented anyone from  
9 drawing districts required by the VRA first. They required  
11:05AM 10 everyone to skip that first step of Stephenson.

11 Each of these steps was done intentionally and  
12 knowingly by the Legislative Defendants. They were warned  
13 several times not just by Plaintiffs and Plaintiffs'  
14 counsel, they were also warned by their fellow legislators  
11:05AM 15 who, in committee, time after time, asked them, how are we  
16 going to comply with Stephenson if we are prohibited from  
17 using racial data?

18 And what did they do after all of this, Your Honor? As  
19 we have seen and as we've discussed, they didn't take heed  
11:05AM 20 of any of those warnings, and after the filing of this  
21 complaint, they rushed to enact the final maps. And all of  
22 the harm -- importantly, all of the harm that Plaintiffs  
23 forecast are included in those final maps. In other words,  
24 this case is not mooted by the final maps, because the harm  
11:06AM 25 that Plaintiffs have alleged still remains.

1 THE COURT: Well, there was no harm until the  
2 final maps were enacted.

3 MS. KLEIN: The harm that Plaintiffs have  
4 forecasted, Your Honor, that will occur when the elections  
11:06AM 5 occur is still -- is still possible with the -- they have  
6 not resolved that issue. They have not mooted this case by  
7 resolving the issues and making the controversy go away.

8 In other words, a declaration of this Court would have  
9 a very practical effect. A declaration of this Court would  
11:06AM 10 provide the certainty to the parties as to what Stephenson  
11 requires, there's an act of controversy of that, and the  
12 additional relief, which the declaratory judgment  
13 specifically provides for. It says, any additional relief  
14 as necessary and proper. And Plaintiffs have asked here for  
11:06AM 15 time. They have asked for a two-month delay in the  
16 primaries set to a schedule they have historically taken,  
17 set to a schedule that the state board actually requested  
18 back in February, a two-month delay in primaries to allow  
19 the parties to act upon that declaration of the Court.

11:07AM 20 That means Legislative Defendants can decide what  
21 they're going to do, and it means that, if needed,  
22 Plaintiffs can further pursue their rights. Plaintiffs --  
23 in addition to the Declaratory Judgment Act, Your Honor,  
24 Plaintiffs have also brought claims that Legislative  
11:07AM 25 Defendants have violated their rights under equal protection

1 and freedom of assembly, and that Legislative Defendants  
2 have done this by intentionally acting. They made this  
3 intentional decision to act and skip the first step of  
4 Stephenson in a way that will dilute the votes of individual  
11:07AM 5 plaintiffs.

6 THE COURT: But to the extent that there is the  
7 violation of those rights, that violation does not occur  
8 until the maps are actually enacted. We can talk all we  
9 want about what we're going to do, we can tell everybody  
11:07AM 10 what our plan is going to do, but nothing really matters  
11 until the plan is executed.

12 MS. KLEIN: When the -- yes, when the --

13 THE COURT: Okay.

14 MS. KLEIN: -- people have to vote under these  
11:08AM 15 maps, there will be irreparable harm. There's no take-back  
16 of votes, can't do over.

17 But the harm I would say to the -- the declaratory  
18 judgment is here to provide certainty. That act of  
19 controversy remains. Legislative Defendants haven't said  
11:08AM 20 they agree with Plaintiffs, and they haven't otherwise acted  
21 in a way that would resolve that uncertainty at all. In  
22 fact, that certainty risks to haunt not just this cycle,  
23 but, you know, it risks to haunt future cycles if it's not  
24 clear that mandates from the state supreme court need be  
11:08AM 25 followed.

1                   THE COURT: The purpose of Stephenson was what,  
2 to harmonize the provisions of the North Carolina  
3 Constitution regarding the whole county requirement and the  
4 VHA?

11:08AM

5                   MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor.

11:09AM

6                   THE COURT: VRA. The plaintiffs in that case  
7 contended -- one party contended you could do it, and one  
8 party said that the Whole County Provisions of the  
9 constitution were violated. It basically violated the  
10 constitution because the constitution incorporates the U.S.  
11 Constitution and federal law, and Chief Justice Lake said  
12 the constitution cannot violate the constitution. And so  
13 they harmonized.

11:09AM

14                  MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor.

15                  THE COURT: And the whole purpose was to  
16 determine how you can -- I mean, the focus of Stephenson was  
17 not necessarily the VRA, the focus of Stephenson was how do  
18 you implement the Whole County Provision requirements of the  
19 constitution in light of the mandate of the VRA.

11:09AM

20                  MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor. And  
21 that's why it's important that the Court specify that the  
22 first step is federal law. And that's when counties are to  
23 be drawn. First, you must draw districts. Sorry, when  
24 districts are to be drawn, Your Honor, you must first take  
25 steps to ascertain what is required by the VRA. It did not

11:10AM

1 say, you know, districts that legislators assume were or  
2 want to draw because of the VRA, it said required by the  
3 VRA, which requires them to ascertain --

4 THE COURT: But federal law doesn't require you  
11:10AM 5 to draft them first. All federal law requires is that you  
6 comply with the VRA. You could draw your maps, and after  
7 the maps are initially drawn, you can go back and do a VRA  
8 analysis to ensure that the maps comply with the VRA, and  
9 then massage them to comply with the VRA, so long as you  
11:10AM 10 still -- or comply with the whole county requirement, but  
11 making sure they comply with the VRA.

12 MS. KLEIN: That might be true under federal law,  
13 but state legislative redistricting is commanded by our  
14 state's constitution. It incorporates federal laws and  
11:10AM 15 express provisions, but the mandate that they had is under  
16 this state's constitution, and the issue before the Court is  
17 a matter of state constitutional law.

18 THE COURT: Well, what Chief Justice Lake was  
19 doing was giving a procedure whereby that the courts -- it  
11:11AM 20 basically provided a safe harbor. Here's how you make sure  
21 you comply with the Whole County Provision. If you follow  
22 this procedure, you're going to be fine. I don't know, I  
23 guess they didn't do it, and that's why we have  
24 Stephenson II.

11:11AM 25 MS. KLEIN: That's correct, Your Honor. And the

1 court further confirmed this reading of Stephenson as  
2 requiring -- saying the state constitution requires certain  
3 procedures in Dickson v. Rucho, where it said, you know,  
4 specifically, this is the procedure that we outlined. This  
5 is the procedure that must be followed.

6 And the record reflects, the evidence shows that not  
7 only did Legislative Defendants fail to do that, but they  
8 effectively prevented any member from -- any member from  
9 doing this, and they -- as a result, they completely were  
10 derelict in their duty to follow the first step of  
11 Stephenson.

12 THE COURT: Let's say I grant your relief. When  
13 do you plan on attacking the validity of the maps that have  
14 been passed?

15 MS. KLEIN: I don't know that that has been  
16 determined yet.

17 THE COURT: Well, you've had -- you've had 30  
18 days to figure that out. I mean, because that's -- that's a  
19 key issue, because those maps are presumed constitutional at  
20 this point.

21 MS. KLEIN: Honestly, Your Honor, that's going to  
22 depend on whether the Legislative Defendants indicate  
23 they're going to follow a declaration of this Court. They  
24 went so far in their brief as to call a declaration of this  
25 Court an advisory, a lobbyist's opinion. And we strongly

1 disagree with that. The judiciary has the sole  
2 responsibility of declaring what the state constitution  
3 requires and how it should be applied. And we would hope,  
4 Your Honor, that a declaration of this Court, a declaration  
11:12AM 5 of this Court would cause Legislative Defendants to change  
6 their course of action.

7 Now, as other -- as others have observed, there may and  
8 probably are additional issues with these maps. And I don't  
9 want to come here before you to say that Plaintiffs aren't  
11:13AM 10 also concerned with those issues, but as it pertains to the  
11 case as it's been filed, Your Honor, as it's been filed  
12 here, Plaintiffs would hope that Legislative Defendants  
13 would follow a declaration of this Court.

14 THE COURT: In the case of Parker v. Raleigh  
11:13AM 15 Savings Bank, that was a case where the parties came before  
16 the Supreme Court asking the court to determine whether said  
17 bonds -- whether certain bonds and coupons were subject to  
18 taxation when they constituted part of the surplus at the  
19 bank. And the Supreme Court noted that decision ultimately  
11:14AM 20 rests with the state Corporation Commission. And only until  
21 the body authorized by statute, the sole body authorized by  
22 statute, makes that decision can the court actually give a  
23 declaratory judgment of whether -- whether the bonds can be,  
24 because the decision is first up to that legislatively  
11:14AM 25 created body to make a decision.

1           So, our constitution gives first crack at redistricting  
2       maps to the legislature. And the undisputed juris prudence,  
3       not only in this state, in this country, is that after that,  
4       they are going to be subject to judicial review.

11:14AM

5           Are you aware of any case in the United States where  
6       something like we're in the procedural posture -- that was  
7       in the procedural posture where we are here, where the  
8       process was attacked and not the maps and the court entered  
9       an injunction?

11:15AM

10           MS. KLEIN: So, Your Honor, first, I would say  
11       I'm not specifically aware of a specific case, but I am  
12       aware of several instances in which this -- the Supreme  
13       Court of this state has explicitly required certain  
14       procedures of the legislature in order to follow  
15       requirements of the state constitutional law. That is very  
16       well established, and we cite to several of those cases,  
17       such as Hoke. And, actually, Legislative Defendants cite to  
18       two other cases in which the courts did that.

11:15AM

19           THE COURT: Here's the Court's concern. Anytime  
20       anyone wants to raise an issue that the legislature is not  
21       following proper procedure, which is -- this Court will see  
22       an onslaught of suits asking us to determine what is the  
23       proper procedure for the legislature to follow in order to  
24       carry out their constitutional and statutory mandate.

11:15AM

11:16AM

25           MS. KLEIN: Thank you, Your Honor. Thanks for

1 that clarification. I understand the Court's concern. I  
2 think that's -- that concern is not -- would -- that concern  
3 would not be implicated here for a couple reasons. First of  
4 all, the procedural requirement in Stephenson is very clear  
11:16AM 5 as to what's required. So, this isn't --

6 THE COURT: Then why do you need a declaration  
7 from this Court if it's so clear?

8 MS. KLEIN: Because they have failed to follow  
9 it. They've taken a contrary view of that.

11:16AM 10 THE COURT: Then what you do -- I mean, the law  
11 is clear as to what they're supposed to follow under  
12 Stephenson. When they enact the maps, you file a lawsuit  
13 and say they didn't comply with what this Court has already  
14 declared is the proper procedure.

11:16AM 15 MS. KLEIN: And the declaratory judgment -- and  
16 if we had done that, if this had taken until Thanksgiving,  
17 they would have been here in court arguing that it's too  
18 late, that the candidate filing's on December 6th and that  
19 there's no chance. If Plaintiffs had waited -- and this  
11:17AM 20 creates -- that would create a loophole, an incredible  
21 loophole to the -- and narrowing of the state's --

22 THE COURT: I couldn't --

23 MS. KLEIN: -- important role --

24 THE COURT: -- guarantee you a court sitting in  
11:17AM 25 equity is not going to consider a loophole like that. I

1 mean, these are extremely important questions that affect  
2 all members of this state. And the fact -- I mean, we're  
3 having a hearing on Friday in a three-judge panel, and we  
4 have to make a decision before Monday.

11:17AM

5 I mean, this Court -- courts are asked all the time to  
6 make decisions in a very quick manner. Sometimes it doesn't  
7 look like we do, but we are faced with that very task. A  
8 three-judge panel is on Friday, and we will not shirk our  
9 duties. And we won't -- you know, the fact that -- I mean,  
10 there are so many factors that have led this to be where we

11:18AM

11 are now, as opposed to other years that, you know, it's --  
12 it can't be -- once the maps were passed, Plaintiffs have to  
13 examine those maps to determine whether they meet Gingles  
14 first, at least the three -- you know, whether they meet  
15 Stephenson, whether they meet the first three criteria of  
16 Gingles, and that takes time, and the courts understand  
17 that.

11:18AM

18 And so, the fact that we are here today less than a  
19 week before the primary, or the filing period, and the fact  
20 that on Friday we will be less than a business day away from  
21 the filing period, I do not believe is determinative of the  
22 legal issue. The legal issue is whether the plaintiffs in  
23 that case can prove or can prove a substantial likelihood of  
24 success on the merits, and then whether, at that point,  
25 injunctive relief is required to protect the status quo.

11:18AM

11:19AM

1 And I don't think the Court's going to say, well, since this  
2 is going Monday, we're just going to automatically go and  
3 let it go. That's not the analysis the Court goes through  
4 or will go through, I can assure you of that.

11:19AM

5 MS. KLEIN: And I feel very assured and thankful  
6 for that fact and very thankful for the Court's time today  
7 as well.

11:19AM

8 And I would say two things. If the Court -- as the  
9 Court rightly observed, it takes time to consider those  
10 enacted maps. And, here, if the Court were to take the  
11 position that the process -- and this would be contrary to  
12 Stephenson v. Bartlett's express language, but if the Court  
13 were to take the position that in redistricting, it cannot  
14 look to process, then that would be an unprecedented  
15 narrowing of the Court's important role in redistricting to  
16 protect voters' rights.

11:20AM

17 In other words, this whole -- this whole issue that  
18 you've just raised, Your Honor, begs the question of why  
19 Legislative Defendants didn't do as the state board  
20 requested in February, knowing about the census delay and  
21 moving the primaries back to where they have been in prior  
22 years. That was a specific request by the executive  
23 director that was not followed, and, instead, they drew out  
24 the process and only rushed to enact the maps, quite  
25 frankly, after this case was filed.

11:20AM

11:20AM

1           Stephenson specifically addresses what Your Honor  
2       raised in your initial question, saying that although the  
3       respective state legislators maintain primary responsibility  
4       for redistricting and reapportionment of legislative  
11:20AM 5       districts, such procedures must comport with federal law.  
6       Stephenson said such procedures must comport with federal  
7       law, and then it provided the procedure that must be  
8       followed.

9           And in that procedure, going back this case, back to  
11:21AM 10       that language, it said VRA -- districts required by the VRA  
11       must be formed prior to it. It used temporal language. And  
12       the "required by the VRA" is important, Your Honor, because  
13       that requires them to ascertain what the VRA requires.  
14       That's exactly what they failed and adamantly refused to do  
11:21AM 15       in this case. They skipped that entire step entirely.

16           THE COURT: Process is important. The ultimate  
17       result is more important, because that's ultimately what the  
18       process is designed, and here you're not attacking the  
19       ultimate result, at least yet.

11:21AM 20           Anything further?

21           MS. KLEIN: If Your Honor will give me indulgence  
22       of just one minute.

23           (Pause in proceedings.)

24           MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, I have nothing further at  
11:22AM 25       this moment. Thank you so much.

1 THE COURT: We're going to take -- we're going to  
2 be in recess until 11:30.

3 THE BAILIFF: Court's in recess until 11:30.

4 (A recess was taken from 11:22 a.m. to  
11:33AM 5 11:33 a.m.)

6 THE COURT: All right. I'll hear from the  
7 plaintiffs. Pardon me, defendants. I'll hear from the  
8 Legislative Defendants first.

9 MR. STRACH: Thank you, Your Honor. Phil Strach  
11:33AM 10 for the Legislative Defendants. I just want to make a few  
11 points, Your Honor.

12 I think when we're talking about what Stephenson did or  
13 didn't do, the Plaintiffs, I think, are conflating two  
14 issues. Stephenson set up a set of rules, the Court  
11:33AM 15 referenced them as a safe harbor, which I think is correct,  
16 for complying with the Whole County Provision. Those rules  
17 go to how you actually construct districts, how do you  
18 actually go in and construct the districts. Those are  
19 not -- those are different, distinguishable from the  
11:34AM 20 legislative process itself.

21 The constitution doesn't speak to that, except by  
22 saying bills have to be read in each house three times  
23 before they can be enacted. But constructing districts,  
24 having rules and following rules for constructing districts  
11:34AM 25 is one thing; the legislative process is another. I think

1 the Plaintiffs were conflating those two issues and thinking  
2 that Stephenson said that there's some part of the  
3 legislative process that's impacted by Stephenson.

11:34AM 4 And I think particularly when it comes to the VRA,  
5 Stephenson itself says, "Interpretation of the federal  
6 limitations upon the redistricting process is unnecessary to  
7 the resolution of the instant case." So the court made it  
8 pretty clear, we're not speaking to that. They also  
9 acknowledge that the VRA does not command a state to adopt  
11:34AM 10 any particular legislative reapportionment.

11 THE COURT: But does it command a legislature  
12 that's redistricting to assess whether the new districts it  
13 contemplates are in compliance with the VRA?

14 MR. STRACH: Section 2 of the VRA does not.

11:35AM 15 THE COURT: But Cooper v. Harris, the United  
16 States Supreme Court case, does, doesn't it?

17 MR. STRACH: No.

18 THE COURT: "True enough, a legislature  
19 undertaking a redistricting case must assess whether the new  
11:35AM 20 districts it contemplates, not the old one it sheds, conform  
21 to the VRA requirements." That's coming right out of  
22 Cooper v. Harris. So, tell me why -- why -- well, let me  
23 ask this.

24 The VRA is not a safe harbor for using -- it was not  
11:35AM 25 enacted as a safe harbor for using racial criteria in

1       redistricting, was it?

2               MR. STRACH: No. Because if you use it in the  
3 wrong way, and that line is not clear, you might violate the  
4 equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution.

11:35AM

5               THE COURT: And, in fact, it was enacted to  
6 protect the dilution of the minority vote.

7               MR. STRACH: Correct.

8               THE COURT: And is there not a duty on the  
9 legislative body to comply with the VRA?

11:35AM

10              MR. STRACH: They have to comply with it because  
11 it's federal law. They don't have to undertake some sort of  
12 analysis to assess whether they're complying with it.  
13 That's not an affirmative command. The court is simply  
14 saying, look, if you don't want your map struck down because  
15 of VRA issues, then you might want to look at this. And it  
16 does not say you have to undertake any particular kind of  
17 analysis to do that.

11:36AM

18              Now, under Section 5 of the VRA, which was in effect  
19 when -- in the 2011 round of redistricting, the burden was  
20 on the legislature to demonstrate that the plan did not  
21 cause any retrogression of minority rights. So, in that  
22 case, the legislature certainly did have to examine racial  
23 issues on the front end to be able to meet their burden of  
24 proof, but that's not the case under VRA Section 2.

11:36AM

25              THE COURT: So, there's an obligation on the

11:36AM

1 legislature to comply with Section 2?

2 MR. STRACH: There is.

3 THE COURT: All right.

4 MR. STRACH: And we believe they have.

11:36AM 5 THE COURT: And, so, how do you do that without  
6 looking at race?

7 MR. STRACH: Well, Your Honor, once the districts  
8 are drawn, then the legislators can look at those districts  
9 and racial data, obviously, becomes known. People post it  
11:37AM 10 out there. And one can look at that and say, huh, do we  
11 have any issues here? No, don't think we do.

12 THE COURT: Does the census data not inform you  
13 of race in districts?

14 MR. STRACH: So, the legislature, in drawing the  
11:37AM 15 districts, did not use the racial demographic data provided  
16 by the census.

17 THE COURT: I understand that. But you don't  
18 have to wait for people to post it, do you? Can't you get  
19 racial data after you draw your districts from the census?

11:37AM 20 MR. STRACH: How the legislature chooses to do  
21 any sort of back-end analysis is not dictated by anything.  
22 You could certainly get the census data if you wanted to.  
23 You could wait for it to get posted on Dave's Redistricting  
24 App. There's lots of ways you could do it.

11:37AM 25 THE COURT: Well, why is it doing a back-end

1 analysis when Stephenson seems to state that you need to  
2 create -- I don't know how you create a VRA district first  
3 without considering racial data.

4 MR. STRACH: Right. We don't believe that that's  
11:37AM 5 what Stephenson requires. Even the Covington court dropped  
6 a footnote acknowledging that it was unclear whether what  
7 Stephenson required was to draw VRA districts first in time,  
8 like literally chronologically, or just first in priority in  
9 the sense that federal law supersedes the state law.

11:38AM 10 And, so, we believe that the map that was enacted by  
11 the legislature does comply with Section 2 of the VRA, and I  
12 think it's notable that no one -- of all the lawsuits that  
13 have been filed, no one has said that the map violates the  
14 Voting Rights Act. So, no one's come forward with any  
11:38AM 15 evidence whatsoever that says we're wrong that our maps  
16 comply with the Voting Rights Act.

17 So, we did comply with Stephenson. What the  
18 legislature did conclude was there were no, quote, required  
19 VRA districts. Even if you -- even if you say that  
11:38AM 20 Stephenson requires VRA districts to be drawn first  
21 chronologically, it only speaks to districts that are  
22 required by the VRA. And we've taken the position in this  
23 litigation and in the legislative process that VRA districts  
24 were not required because of the long litigation history  
11:39AM 25 that preceded this redistricting.

1 THE COURT: And that long litigation history  
2 dealt with data from the 2010 census, not the 2020 census,  
3 correct?

4 MR. STRACH: It did. But there's an order as  
11:39AM 5 recent as 2020 that examined districts drawn in 2019, using  
6 the 2010 data, of course.

7 THE COURT: Okay. But there's been -- the 2020  
8 census takes into account immigration and migration to and  
9 from North Carolina, correct?

11:39AM 10 MR. STRACH: Correct.

11 THE COURT: And logic would tell me that because  
12 we had -- we have one new congressional district, we have  
13 more people coming to this state than leaving the state.

14 MR. STRACH: Correct.

11:39AM 15 THE COURT: And, so, shouldn't we know where  
16 those people are going and what their racial makeup is in  
17 order to be VHA compliant?

18 MR. STRACH: There's no requirement that we  
19 inform ourselves of that data to comply with the VRA. And  
11:39AM 20 we believe the maps do comply with the VRA, and no one has  
21 said otherwise to date.

22 THE COURT: So, what you're telling me is you  
23 all threw -- someone threw a dart and it hit the intended  
24 target even though they had a blindfold on, and it just --  
11:40AM 25 and because of that, it complies?

1 MR. STRACH: Well, Your Honor, in 2019, we drew  
2 legislative maps, in part, using a lottery machine. So,  
3 yeah, I mean, that happens. And what I --

11:40AM

4 THE COURT: You know, a blind squirrel finds a  
5 nut every now and then.

6 MR. STRACH: Exactly. Exactly. So, yes, we  
7 believe that the maps are VRA compliant. And if the Court  
8 tells us otherwise, we'll modify them.

11:40AM

9 THE COURT: And what analysis has been done to  
10 determine whether they're VRA compliant?

11 MR. STRACH: There's been no formal -- there's  
12 been no -- the legislature hasn't had a hearing or done  
13 anything like that. They're not required to.

11:40AM

14 THE COURT: Explain to me the relationship  
15 between Section 2 and Section 5 of the VRA.

11:41AM

16 MR. STRACH: So, they're really two sides of the  
17 same coin, because VRA Section 5 put the burden of proof on  
18 the legislature to show that their redistricting plan did  
19 not retrogress the voting rights of minority voters. So, in  
20 order to comply with that, the legislature had to go to DOJ  
21 and say, hey, we've looked at the racial data, here's why we  
22 did not retrogress, engage in retrogression.

11:41AM

23 Under VRA Section 2, the burden of proof is on any  
24 plaintiff who believes that the map dilutes the votes of  
25 minority voters or intentionally violates the VRA to go to

1 court, and the burden of proof is on them to examine the  
2 racial data themselves and make a claim and prove a claim  
3 that the maps violate the VRA. And that's where the Gingles  
4 preconditions come into play and all that.

11:41AM

5 So, they're actually very different. And, of course,  
6 Section 5 is not operative right now. And, so, the burden  
7 of proof would be on any group of plaintiffs that say the  
8 current maps violate the VRA, dilute the votes of minority  
9 voters. They would need to get the census demographic data,  
10 they would have to prove the three Gingles preconditions and  
11 make their case in court.

11:42AM

12 THE COURT: So, there's no burden or duty of any  
13 kind of the state legislature to comply with the VRA?

11:42AM

14 MR. STRACH: Well, the map has to be compliant,  
15 otherwise it could be enjoined. There's no affirmative duty  
16 on the legislature to engage in any particular process to  
17 get to a compliant VRA map.

18 THE COURT: But is there an affirmative duty to  
19 have a VRA compliant map?

11:42AM

20 MR. STRACH: I don't know if I would describe it  
21 that way. The map has to comply with the VRA or it could be  
22 enjoined, is the way I would describe it.

11:43AM

23 Your Honor, I have another topic to go to, but I'll  
24 wait if the Court has any other questions on this particular  
25 topic.

1 THE COURT: All right. Under Stephenson v.  
2 Bartlett, the court stated, "Section 2 of the VRA generally  
3 provides that states or their political subdivisions may not  
4 impose any voting qualification or prerequisite that impairs  
11:43AM 5 or dilutes, on account of race or color, a citizen's  
6 opportunity to participate in the political process and to  
7 elect representatives of his or her choice"; is that  
8 correct?

9 MR. STRACH: That's what the VRA says, correct.

11:43AM 10 THE COURT: So, it places the prohibition on the  
11 state. It prohibits the state from doing certain things  
12 that cause certain harms to -- well, on account of someone's  
13 race or color.

14 MR. STRACH: On pain of being enjoined. It  
11:44AM 15 doesn't require an affirmative process, but it's correct  
16 that if the map -- if it dilutes the votes of minority  
17 voters, then it could be enjoined under the VRA.

18 THE COURT: All right. Go on to your next topic.

19 MR. STRACH: All right, Your Honor. I just  
11:44AM 20 wanted to briefly address the Declaratory Judgment Act that  
21 points -- that counsel was raising an analogy about a breach  
22 of contract case. And I just wanted to point out that if  
23 you thought the contract was going to be breached and you  
24 file a dec action to have the court address that, if the  
11:44AM 25 contract was then breached, obviously, what you would do is

1       amend the complaint and allege a breach of the contract and  
2       have the court address the breach of contract.

3               Effectively, that's the posture of this case. The maps  
4       have been passed. They've been enacted. And, frankly,  
11:45AM 5       surprisingly to me, the Plaintiffs have made no move to  
6       amend their complaint and actually attack the maps, which  
7       would then flesh out all these issues, these VRA issues,  
8       because there would actually be evidence and data to look  
9       at.

11:45AM 10              So, without an amended complaint -- and it's -- to me,  
11       it's just seems to be a strange procedure to say a single  
12       judge should make a declaration, but then nothing could be  
13       done with the map unless it's actually enjoined, and that  
14       would have to be done later by a three-judge panel. So, it  
11:45AM 15       would seem to -- it would seem to just further delay things  
16       and create a very unusual posture for a case like this.

17              So, to the extent that the theory is it's an  
18       anticipatory breach, then there's already been an alleged  
19       breach, and so, a request should have been made of the Court  
11:46AM 20       to amend the complaint actually seeking injunction.

21              THE COURT: All right. Anything else?

22              MR. STRACH: No, Your Honor. We are -- we think  
23       for the reasons we've briefed and the reasons that have been  
24       discussed here today, the motion should be denied.

11:46AM 25              THE COURT: Go ahead.

1 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, I didn't know if the  
2 Court wanted to hear from the State Defendants first --

3 THE COURT: Sure.

4 MS. KLEIN: -- or Plaintiffs. If I may, just a  
11:46AM 5 few points in rebuttal, Your Honor. And the first is that  
6 the interpretation that my colleague has put forward is  
7 contravened by the Supreme Court of North Carolina itself.

8 In Dickson v. Rucho -- I have that decision, I can hand  
9 it to the parties and to the Court -- the court specifically  
11:47AM 10 said the process established by this court in Stephenson and  
11 its progeny requires that, in establishing legislative  
12 districts, the General Assembly first must create all  
13 necessary VRA districts.

14 There's nothing in there about safe harbor, doing the  
11:47AM 15 analysis later. There's nothing. And I don't think -- they  
16 have not cited any case, from the Supreme Court or  
17 otherwise, that adopts that interpretation. Adopting their  
18 view of Stephenson, Your Honor, would render Stephenson  
19 advisory and dicta. That's not what was intended, and that  
11:47AM 20 would have disastrous results. It would be a narrowing of  
21 this -- the court's, the judiciary's role in stating what  
22 the state constitution requires.

23 And I'm happy to hand that opinion up to the Court and  
24 the other parties with the highlighted section if that would  
11:48AM 25 be helpful --

1 THE COURT: That would be fine.

2 MS. KLEIN: -- for the Court. May I approach?

3 THE COURT: Yes.

4 MS. KLEIN: Thank you, Your Honor.

11:48AM 5 Second, Your Honor, I'd like to -- my colleague,  
6 Ms. Riggs, rightly reminded me that the Court asked about  
7 the unique procedural posture of this and a concern that  
8 this would create ripple effects of allowing people to  
9 inject themselves in the legislative process, and I was  
11:48AM 10 rightly reminded that in all prior redistricting cycles,  
11 there was preclearance. And, in fact, in preclearance,  
12 while parties were seeking preclearance, before the maps  
13 could be finalized, while they were seeking preclearance,  
14 litigants did, courts did consider VRA requirements.

11:49AM 15 In other words, just like this case, courts did peer  
16 into what the VRA would require. And I can give a specific  
17 citation. For example, in the Perez v. Perry case, this is  
18 out of the Western District of Texas, that's 891 F.Supp. 2d,  
19 2012, in that matter -- in that matter -- thank you. In  
11:49AM 20 that matter, Your Honor, the court did, while also  
21 considering issues of preclearance, took evidence on  
22 Section 2 compliance. Now, we no longer have preclearance,  
23 but the courts weighing in at this stage is not  
24 unprecedented, and I wanted to make sure the Court  
11:49AM 25 understood that.

1 THE COURT: But you're asking -- your lawsuit was  
2 essentially asking for preclearance or seeking  
3 pre-non-clearance. Instead of the defendant seeking  
4 preclearance, you're seeking pre-denial of something that --

11:50AM

5 MS. KLEIN: No, Your Honor.

6 THE COURT: -- has not been enacted. In  
7 preclearance, do they enact the maps and then go get  
8 clearance?

9 MS. KLEIN: That was how it worked.

11:50AM

10 THE COURT: Okay. So, even preclearance required  
11 maps to be enacted before the Department of Justice would  
12 look at it. And then if no one -- if someone was displeased  
13 with how the Department of Justice saw it, it would go to  
14 court?

11:50AM

15 MS. KLEIN: Your Honor, it would -- the  
16 preclearance required them to get an affirmative approval,  
17 either from a district court or a declaratory -- from the  
18 district court or from the DOJ. And further issues could  
19 still be litigated after that, and certainly were.

11:50AM

20 But that actually leads into the third point I wanted  
21 to make, Your Honor, which is this is not a Section 2 case.  
22 It is not incumbent upon Plaintiffs as an element of any of  
23 their claims to plead the Gingles requirements, these  
24 preconditions. This is not a Section 2 case. This is about  
11:51AM 25 their obligations to follow our state constitution's law, as

1       stated in Stephenson by the highest court of this land, to  
2       ascertain what the VRA requires first. And this case is  
3       rooted in state constitutional law.

11:51AM 4           And as the Court just heard, Legislative Defendants  
5       can't affirmatively say -- they can't affirmatively say no  
6       VRA districts are required. They can't affirmatively say  
7       they did that step. They made a legal assumption. They  
8       have made a legal assumption based on past cases. They've  
9       made a legal assumption on their erroneous reading of  
11:51AM 10       Stephenson. And I think that exchange highlights why the  
11       declaratory relief in this case is so needed to relieve that  
12       uncertainty.

13           THE COURT: All right. So, if a legislature  
14       departs from Stephenson, the process set forth in  
11:52AM 15       Stephenson, and draws maps that are compliant with the VHA,  
16       the Whole County Provision of the constitution, does someone  
17       have a right to come and challenge the process and then ask  
18       the legislature to go back and follow that process and draw  
19       maps?

11:52AM 20           MS. KLEIN: Not necessarily. And that's  
21       different from this, because Plaintiffs have alleged harm.  
22       Plaintiffs not only in those letters told all -- told the  
23       Legislative Defendants of the harm, but they've alleged harm  
24       in the claim. And for the purpose of the motion to dismiss  
11:52AM 25       and the complaint, Your Honor, those allegations are assumed

1 true.

2 The Plaintiffs have alleged vote dilution. They  
3 actually provided proof in Exhibit O, that's the letter sent  
4 by Common Cause, of racially polarized voting. They sent  
11:52AM 5 proof that voters of color were going to be denied their  
6 ability to elect candidates of choice, and the Legislative  
7 Defendants ignored it despite --

8 THE COURT: If the maps were passed.

9 MS. KLEIN: Yeah. And the Legislative  
11:53AM 10 Defendants -- so, here, this case, the process matters. And  
11 this case shows why. The process in Stephenson matters.  
12 And courts in other matters have looked in and -- looked in  
13 and said, during the legislative process, did the  
14 legislature comply with notice requirements? Did the  
11:53AM 15 legislature comply with notice requirements for public  
16 hearings? There are a host of procedural requirements from  
17 the state constitution.

18 The right to instruct has these requirements. That's  
19 the Common Cause v. Forest case that they have cited to. In  
11:53AM 20 that case, the court explicitly said, we're going to look at  
21 what process the state constitution requires, that includes  
22 notice, that includes ability of the public to actually  
23 instruct their members while in session. And they stated  
24 affirmatively that's what the constitution requires. They  
11:53AM 25 didn't decline -- they didn't step back and decline

1 entirely. That's what Legislative Defendants are asking you  
2 to do here.

3 THE COURT: All right. Anything more from the  
4 Legislative Defendants?

11:54AM 5 MR. STRACH: No, Your Honor.

6 MR. STEED: Your Honor, from the State  
7 Defendants, I would only add that we've briefed the reasons  
8 why we agree that the point is moot at this point. We've  
9 also laid out the administrative concerns in our briefing.  
10 And if Your Honor would like to hear about them, I'm  
11 prepared to answer any questions.

12 THE COURT: That's all right. I have read your  
13 brief.

14 MR. STEED: Thank you, Your Honor.

11:54AM 15 THE COURT: And I have a motion for permission to  
16 file an amicus brief, which I will grant. Although, it  
17 doesn't really address the issues before the Court. It's  
18 probably more suited for the North Carolina League of  
19 Conservation Voters case, but I will -- at least for  
20 purposes of this hearing, I've read it, I'll grant the  
21 motion and accept the brief.

22 UNIDENTIFIED MALE AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thank you,  
23 Your Honor. I'm glad to provide a copy if you care for one.

24 THE COURT: I've got a copy already.

11:54AM 25 All right. We're going to take a 15-minute recess.

1 THE BAILIFF: Court's in recess 15 minutes.

2 (A recess was taken from 11:55 a.m. to  
3 12:15 p.m.)

4 THE COURT: All right. As to the preliminary  
12:15PM 5 injunction requiring Plaintiffs to go back and follow the  
6 process set out in Stephenson I, the Court finds that's  
7 essentially asking this Court to undo what has already been  
8 done without attacking the validity of the maps. And under  
9 the longstanding case law of this state, asking the Court to  
12:16PM 10 undo what has already been done does not form the basis for  
11 preliminary injunction, because the issue is moot, and the  
12 Court denies a preliminary injunction as to that issue.

13 As to a preliminary injunction delaying the filing  
14 period and the primary, as long as the maps have not been  
12:16PM 15 declared unconstitutional or violative of federal law,  
16 there's no harm to address in this case, and, therefore, the  
17 motion for preliminary injunction as it relates to delaying  
18 the filing period or primary is denied in this case.

19 The Court is going to dismiss the action as moot and  
12:16PM 20 for lack of subject matter jurisdiction as it essentially  
21 asks the Court to interfere with the process of the General  
22 Assembly prior to the completion of that process, which  
23 would violate the principle of separation of power.  
24 Certainly, once the process is complete, the Court can pass  
12:17PM 25 upon the end result of that process.

1           Nothing I have said, nor should this order be construed  
2           as any opinion of the Court on the constitutionality or  
3           validity of the maps that have been passed. This is a very  
4           narrow issue, and it is not in any way reflective of  
5           whatever opinion I may hold or I may form as to what will be  
6           presented to the Court on the three-judge panel that will  
7           occur this Friday.

8           We will draft an order, and once the order is drafted,  
9           we will have it filed. Court will be in recess.

10           THE BAILIFF: Court's in recess.

11                   (Proceedings concluded at 12:18 p.m.)  
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CERTIFICATION OF TRANSCRIPT

This is to certify that the foregoing transcript of proceedings taken the November 30, 2021, Session of Wake County Superior Court is a true and accurate transcript of the proceedings as reported by me and transcribed by me or under my supervision. I further certify that I am not related to any party or attorney, nor do I have any interest whatsoever in the outcome of this action.

This, the 2nd day of December, 2021.



Dawn M. Dantschisch, RMR, CRR, CRC  
Official Court Reporter  
Tenth Judicial District  
(919) 792-5202  
Dawn.M.Dantschisch@nccourts.org

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION  
21 CVS 015426

NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF  
CONSERVATION VOTERS, INC., et al.,

REBECCA HARPER, et al.,

COMMON CAUSE,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his  
official capacity as Chair of the House Standing  
Committee on Redistricting, et al.

*Defendants.*

**AFFIDAVIT OF TYLER DAYE**

I, Tyler Daye, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:

*Background and Experience*

1. I am over the age of 18 years old and am competent to give this affidavit.
2. I work at Common Cause North Carolina, where I serve as the Redistricting Community Engagement Specialist. I started in this role in May 2021. Before starting at Common Cause, I worked extensively in different democracy advocacy organizations as a community advocate since graduating with a degree in Political Science and Sociology from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in May 2017. I worked on a wide variety of issues in these roles, with a particular focus on redistricting.
3. In my work at Common Cause as the Redistricting Community Engagement Specialist, I have been responsible for working with other Common Cause staff to conduct redistricting outreach and education workshops to help community members participate in the redistricting process, as well as helping to monitor the North Carolina General Assembly's 2021 redistricting process. I also work to engage community groups and elected officials in the redistricting process, research and identify state-level trends in redistricting, and help coalition partners conduct their own trainings on the redistricting process.

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1468**

4. I have completed several trainings on redistricting and using map-drawing applications. In May 2020, I attended the CROWD Academy Redistricting School, where I learned how to analyze and draw maps in Dave’s Redistricting App (DRA),<sup>1</sup> a free online web application that allows anyone to simulate redistricting congressional and legislative districts.<sup>2</sup> This training was non-partisan and intended to educate members of the public about the redistricting process. This training taught me about the redistricting process and provided me with the technical skills necessary to understand how lines are drawn during redistricting. I also received training in June 2021 on using Districtr,<sup>3</sup> another free, public web tool for districting and identifying communities of interest. This training was also non-partisan and geared toward teaching individuals how to identify and map communities of shared interest.

#### *Redistricting Process in 2021*

5. During the General Assembly’s 2021 statewide redistricting process, I was part of the Common Cause team monitoring state legislative map drawing. I observed many hearings and meetings in person and by watching the General Assembly’s live-stream and/or on the NCGA redistricting YouTube channel, where all of the live-streamed videos were uploaded afterwards. In particular, when the House and Senate redistricting committees first met in August 2021, I monitored the meetings and observed what was discussed while the committees determined the structure of this year’s redistricting process. During the public hearings in September 2021, my colleagues at Common Cause and I live-streamed several of the hearings on Common Cause NC’s Facebook page. We did this because the legislature did not offer live streams of the hearings held before the maps were drawn. Many people expressed appreciation to us for doing this. Recorded videos of the hearings were made available on the NCGA’s redistricting YouTube channel only after the hearings had taken place. I attended the hearings held in Forsyth County on September 14, 2021, Durham County on September 15, 2021, and Alamance County on September 16, 2021. I spoke at the public hearing held in Alamance County, where I urged legislators to prioritize keeping communities together as they drew the maps. When legislators started drawing maps in October 2021, I closely monitored the redistricting live-streams made available on ncleg.gov and on the NCGA YouTube redistricting channel. During my observations of the live-streams and YouTube videos, I tracked the maps being drawn, who was drawing the maps, and the possible impacts of the maps on communities throughout the state to the best of my ability. I also worked to facilitate public education regarding the process.
6. On October 5, 2021, the House and Senate Chairs of the Redistricting Committees announced in their respective Committee meetings that they would be making computer stations available to legislators to draw maps starting the following morning, with four stations available to the House (in Room 643 of the Legislative Office Building) and the Senate (in Room 544 of the Legislative Office Building) each. These stations were open

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<sup>1</sup> See Dave’s Redistricting, <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#home> (last visited Dec. 22, 2021).

<sup>2</sup> I have observed that Dave’s Redistricting App is one of the most used and well-known applications for redistricting that is publicly available and free. For example, I have read an excerpt of the hearing transcript from the November 30, 2021 hearing in the matter *N.C. NAACP v. Berger*, Case No. 21CVS014476 (Wake Cty Super. Ct) in which counsel for the Legislative Defendants acknowledged that census data is publicly available through Dave’s Redistricting App and would be an acceptable resource for legislators.

<sup>3</sup> Districtr.org, <https://districtr.org/> (last visited Dec. 22, 2021).

during business hours, and it was announced that the screens of the station computers and the overall rooms would be live-streamed while the stations were open.

7. I encountered several aspects of the Chairs’ map-drawing process that made it very difficult for me and my colleagues at Common Cause to actually monitor that process.
8. First, there was no public announcement of how long the map-drawing process would extend for, so we did not know how long the live-streams would continue. Overall, from October 6 going forward, there were at least 10 streams (one for each station, and one of the whole room in each chamber) to monitor for approximately 40 hours per week, with no way to know exactly when legislators would decide to come draw maps. There was no notice as to when a legislator or legislators would physically be in the room drawing, just when the stations would be available generally.
9. At least one time (that I am aware of), legislators drew maps during times that were not properly noticed beforehand. On the morning of October 28, I checked the NCGA calendar and did not see a meeting scheduled for the Senate redistricting committee. I only saw a committee meeting scheduled in the House. Later in the evening of October 28, while looking at past video live-streams I came across a video labeled “2021-10-28 Map Drawing Station 04 (544),” available at [https://youtu.be/ID\\_z9TjlXTQ?t=970](https://youtu.be/ID_z9TjlXTQ?t=970). This video had been streamed earlier in the day from the Senate Committee map-drawing room at Station 4. The feed begins at timestamp 16:11 (1:34pm), indicating that, unlike other videos which generally extended 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM, the livestream of this station began around 1:19 PM and extended less than an hour and a half. At timestamp 16:56, Senator Hise directed the staff member who was assisting him to “switch the pods” for Senate Districts 1 and 3 in the map. Based on my monitoring of the process, I believe Senator Hise was referring to switching between the county grouping options for the northeast part of the state between the county groupings for “Z1” and “Y1” illustrated in Duke\_Senate 03 to those illustrated in Duke\_Senate 04.<sup>4</sup> At timestamp 19:25, Senator Hise told the staff member, “We’ve not decided which will be filed but we want to be prepared to file either one.” The next day, I checked the NCGA’s legislative calendar again and it showed a Senate redistricting map drawing had been scheduled for 1:30 PM on October 28. I am not sure when exactly this was posted on the NCGA website, but I did not see it when I had checked earlier in the morning of October 28, 2021.
10. In addition to this issue, every terminal had long periods where no one was using it, but given the lack of any reliable means of knowing in advance when these periods of inactivity would occur or how long they would last, my colleague and I were forced to monitor all 10 video feeds simultaneously. Some days, while I watched the NCLEG live-stream and the NCGA YouTube channel, there were multiple people in the room, drawing for hours at a time; other days I saw virtually no use of the terminals. Given the sheer number of video feeds to monitor simultaneously, our team at Common Cause split up the task. I assumed primary responsibility for monitoring the Senate. I also spent time monitoring the House. Our team at Common Cause worked together to ensure coverage over both legislative chambers. We

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<sup>4</sup> Available at <https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/10-05-2021/Duke%20Senate%20Groupings%20Maps%2011x17.pdf#page=6>.

found it necessary to split up video monitoring in order to effectively monitor all 8 different map-drawing stations (4 in the House, 4 in the Senate) at which legislators could be drawing at any time. To keep track of who was drawing the districts, I usually kept two displays open: one showing the station camera (with just the screen of the map-drawing station) that I was focusing on, and the other to show the wide camera view of the room, allowing me to see the actual people who were standing at the map-drawing stations. I felt this was necessary because the NCLEG live-stream did not provide any close camera view of the people at each individual map-drawing station – or any other way to identify map-drawers. My use of dual displays also helped me keep track as legislators came and went out of the map-drawing room.

11. After extensive observation of the NCLEG live-stream and NCGA YouTube channel, I have identified the periods during which certain maps were drawn that were eventually enacted, as described below. This was incredibly time-consuming, as there are a total of 213 “map-drawing” videos posted on the [ncleg.gov](https://ncleg.gov) website,<sup>5</sup> each with a varying amount of footage, but many of which contain eight hours or more. These are listed in **Exhibit A** to this affidavit. Overall, the amount of time and number of livestreams that our Common Cause team had to monitor felt overwhelming given how unpredictable it was to know when a map would be drawn.
12. Second, in addition to the sheer volume and unpredictable nature of the Chairs’ map-drawing process, it was very difficult to know *who* was engaged in drawing maps and whether the maps they were working on would end up being proposed or enacted. In the House, it was difficult to see on the NCLEG live-stream which legislators were drawing the districts because the camera in the map-drawing room was physically placed so far back from where the legislators were drawing. While I watched the live-stream in both the House and Senate chambers, there was no information posted about who was drawing the districts. While legislators do have public profiles available with their picture, they often brought other, similarly unidentified, individuals to work with them, without publicly disclosing the identities of these individuals. Relying on legislators’ public profiles as a resource did allow me to identify the legislators I saw on the livestreams, but I was unable to identify other individuals accompanying them.
13. For example, I watched the NCLEG live-stream of an October 7, 2021 map-drawing session in the Senate, and observed Senator Newton (seated in the below screen shot, wearing a white shirt) sitting with an individual (seated on the far left, wearing a beige jacket) who I observed assisting him in drawing the Senate map that would eventually be enacted.

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<sup>5</sup> N.C. Gen. Assembly, <https://ncleg.gov/Documents/493#Video> (last visited Dec. 22, 2021).

14. Below is the relevant portion of the livestream video “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate),” available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q), at timestamp 1:50:29 of the video. I have been unable to identify this individual using the public information on the NCLEG website.



15. When I watched the NCLEG live-stream, I observed this unidentified person and others frequently accompanying legislators to draw maps in the House and Senate rooms and consulting with them, without the public knowing who they are. Another example from a House drawing session is described below in Paragraph 53. Some of these issues could have been resolved easily, for example if mapmakers had been required to sign-up publicly or at least announce who they were and what they were working on before they started drawing, or even if forward-facing cameras had been mounted on the computer monitors. None of these steps were taken, even though I am aware that Common Cause and other advocacy groups asked specifically for this type of transparency early on in the process.
16. Third, I watched the NCLEG live-stream and observed legislators and individuals accompanying them bring papers and communications devices, such as cell phones, with them during the process. There was no way for those of us trying to monitor the process to know what those papers were, what map-drawers were looking at on their phones, or who they might be communicating with while they were drawing. If, for example, map-drawers were communicating on their phones with others watching the livestream and were receiving feedback or additional information during the process from others, there would be no way for the public to know about that, much less know what was being communicated. Given that the Chairs’ expressly prohibited the use of racial data and chose to exclude it from the data made available at map-drawing stations, I believe the public had an interest in knowing whether any such data was being accessed by legislators who brought additional materials and communication devices with them to the map-drawing stations. Unfortunately, the Chairs chose not to monitor this themselves and provided no means by which we could take it upon ourselves to do so on behalf of the public.

17. An example of this issue is shown below, where I observed that Senator Newton had brought with him papers that he referenced when drawing the Senate enacted map, in the video “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 1:44:47 of the video, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q). The relevant portion of the video feed is shown below:



18. While I watched the same video, I observed Senator Hise come into the room to continue drawing the Senate map that Senator Daniel started. During this time, I observed the unidentified individual he was with was looking at his phone and assisting Senator Hise. I believe that this was the same unidentified individual who assisted Senator Newton on October 7. The below is the relevant portion from the video feed of the video “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate),” at timestamp 5:35:18 of the video, available at the same link as above:



19. As a member of the public, I do not know who this individual was or what communications he was having while helping to draw maps.

20. The fourth challenge presented by the Chairs’ process was that the audio on the live streams was very low quality; at times while I was watching the live-streams, it was difficult for me to understand what was being said. To follow the conversation, I often had to turn the volume up on my computer or TV to a high level. Although YouTube offers the ability to allow viewers to access an automatically generated transcript of a video, this feature was not made available for recordings at the map-drawing stations.
21. Fifth, while I watched the NCLEG live-streams, I also saw legislators ask for print-outs of draft maps which they would take out of the room, and there was of course no way of knowing how those print-outs were used or what type of analysis of those printouts might be happening out of the public view. It is hard for me to understand why printouts would have been necessary unless legislators were conducting analysis and consideration of the draft maps outside of the public view and behind closed doors.
22. For example, on October 8, 2021, an aide asked legislative staff member Erika Churchill for a printout of the Senate map that the Senate Co-Chairs had been working on (called “SBR-3 at the time”). I observed this aide specifically ask for “county-level printouts so we can see the precinct numbers in a few counties” and the ability to see “precinct lines and names potentially?” for several areas. The audio of this is available in the video “2021-10-08 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 2:30:57, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dL4wM6O\\_vA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dL4wM6O_vA). The visual of this is in the video “2021-10-08 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 2:43:16, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMXPG3PuxPs>. Based upon my map-drawing knowledge gained from the trainings I have completed and observations of the 2021 map-drawing process, the level of detail on those map printouts would allow map-drawers to re-draw the maps outside of the room, which would enable them to conduct analysis using data not available on the House and Senate station computers (and specifically election and racial data that were not on these computers).
23. When Senator Newton came back to work on the same map on October 11, 2021, I observed him and his aide walk into the room with a large volume of papers, which they used during the map-drawing. Below is the relevant portion of the video feed where I observed this from the video “2021-10-11 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 5:05:22, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZkD7shJmnA>.



24. While watching the NCLEG live-streams and the NCGA YouTube videos, I observed similar instances of aides and staff members printing and taking papers outside of the room during the drawing in the House as well.
25. Overall, I observed issues raising a lack of transparency consistently throughout the map-drawing process in both the House and Senate rooms.

*Sequence of Drawing Senate Districts*

26. I spent several days closely monitoring the Senate Co-Chairs' Senate plan, which I observed being drafted on Senate Station 4 at the far side of the Senate drafting room and to the left of the room camera. I monitored the start and end times of their sessions and which county cluster or area of the map they worked on, as well as which Senators worked on the map during each session. I also monitored the changes in the plan's name. The name of the plan changed every time a new staff person assisted the Senators in drawing the plans (this was also true for Congressional plans and House plans). I closely monitored all of these details in order to compile a summary timeline of the drawing of a single Senate map.<sup>6</sup>
27. It was really only possible to compile a timeline of the drawing of a single map by closely monitoring the name of the plan during each session, since there was no public disclosure of map drafts or who was working on a particular version or map at a particular station or time. I compiled all of the plans by watching the parts of the video where a new staff member happened to take over for a prior one (or a new session started) and the map was re-named. As far as I am aware, the system for naming different map drafts was not published anywhere. Monitoring this process took a great deal of time and attention to detail.
28. The sub-sections below include a description with screen shots from the video that I watched of Senate Station 4 during various sessions in which legislators were drawing what would eventually become the proposed Senate map. I have confirmed that this eventually became the enacted Senate map by following the draft map titles over the weeks of drafting in October and by combing through dozens of hours of video of both the Senate Station 4 feed and the Senate room feed. These sequences were not published anywhere publicly for the Senate (or any other) map as far as I am aware. Overall, I observed the following by watching the NCGA redistricting YouTube videos:
  - a. On October 7, Senators Newton and Hise alternated working with an unidentified man to draw draft maps starting with SCC-1 and ending with SBR-3.<sup>7</sup>
  - b. On October 8, 2021, an unidentified aide requested detailed printouts of 8 different counties in SBR-3as described above, including Mecklenburg County and Wake County.

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<sup>6</sup> This process can be seen on October 7, in the video "2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04," at timestamp 2:19:19, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-I>. Whenever a staff person assisted Senators in drawing the Senate plan, they would find the most recent version of the plan, copy it, rename it, and begin making changes.

<sup>7</sup> The version sequence on October 7, 2021 is as follows: SCC-1 → SCC-2 → SCG-1 → SCG-2 → SMT-3 → SBR-3.

- c. On October 11-14, 2021, Senators Newton and Hise alternated working with an unidentified aide at Senate Station 4 on the draft map starting with version SBR-3 and ending with SST-4.<sup>8</sup>
  - d. On October 14, 2021, a statistical “stat pack” for SST-4 was generated,<sup>9</sup> and the map was printed and posted on the NCGA website on or around October 18, 2021.<sup>10</sup>
  - e. On October 27-28, 2021, Senators Hise and Newton and an unidentified man began work at Senate Station 4 starting with version SST-4 and ending with SST-13,<sup>11</sup> which was filed as SB739 on October 28, 2021.<sup>12</sup> After it was amended in Committee on November 2, 2021, the map name was changed yet again, this time to SBK-7.<sup>13</sup>
29. Using Dave’s Redistricting App (DRA), I have overlaid DRA’s election and racial data on the draft districts displayed in the NCGA’s public process at the time stamps indicated below. I did this by inputting information about each step the legislative map-drawers made on the map-drawing terminals in DRA, with election and racial data visible in the manner displayed in the screenshots below. All DRA data information can be found at <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#aboutdata> and is appended to this Affidavit as **Exhibit B**. DRA’ demographic (including race) data is from the 2020 Census. DRA combines recent election data (from elections listed in Exhibit B) into a composite score that averages those election results to give a composite partisan performance/“partisan lean” for each precinct.<sup>14</sup>

Mecklenburg/Iredell Senate Cluster

30. I watched the NCGA YouTube video from the October 7, 2021 live-stream, where I observed Senator Newton and an unidentified aide draw the six districts within the Mecklenburg/Iredell Senate cluster. This is visible in the video “2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 2:28:00, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-I>.

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<sup>8</sup> The version sequence on October 11-14, 2021 is as follows: SBR-3 → SCG-3 → SCG-4 → STU-2 → SST-1 → SST-2 → SST-3 → SST-4.

<sup>9</sup> See <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4%20-%20StatPack.pdf> (“modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM”)

<sup>10</sup> See [https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4\\_19x36.pdf](https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4_19x36.pdf) (“NC General Assembly, October 18, 2021”)

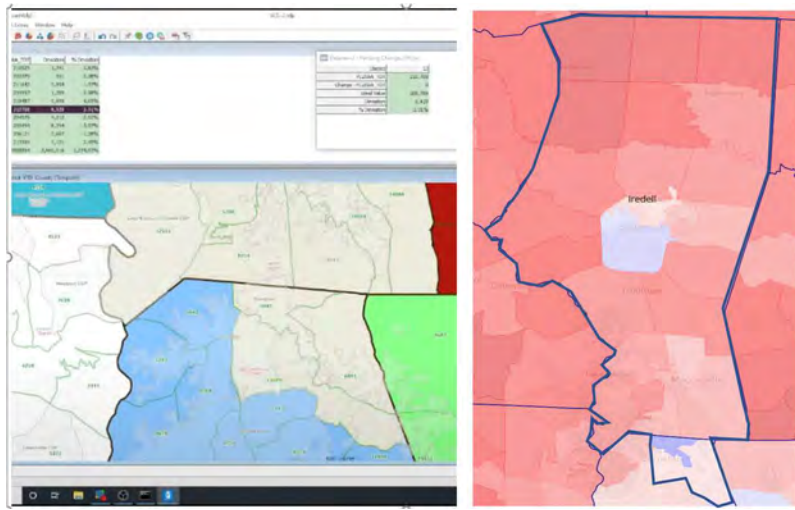
<sup>11</sup> The version sequence on October 27-28, 2021, is as follows: SST-4 → SST-11 → SCH-3 → SST-13

<sup>12</sup> See <https://ncleg.gov/BillLookUp/2021/S739>.

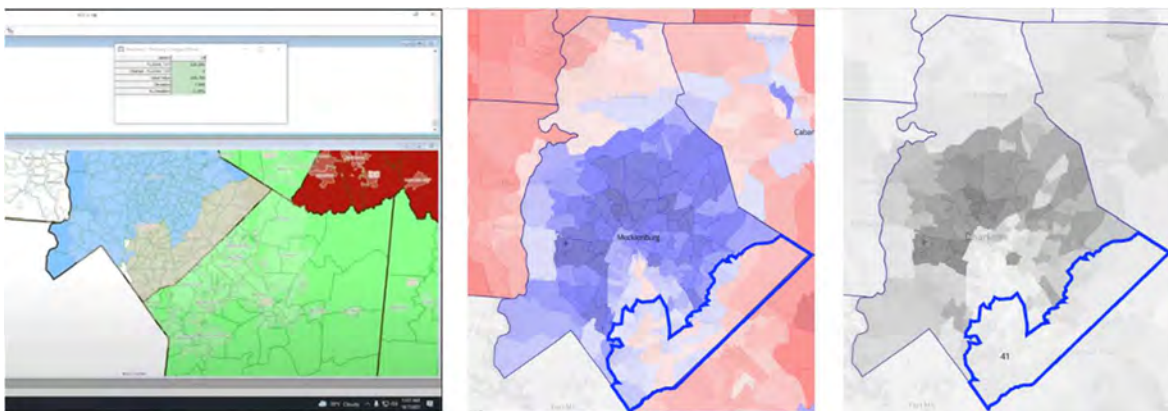
<sup>13</sup> <https://webservices.ncleg.gov/ViewBillDocument/2021/53320/0/S739-PCS15347-ST-38>

<sup>14</sup> According to DRA, the election composite “gives a measure of partisanship over different contests and years, which we prefer, because individual elections can be skewed by various factors. We use the latest available elections, and those not available are simply left out. We also exclude uncontested elections and those that have a significant third-party vote percentage (usually > 10%). The formula is the following: Composite = Mean(Pres, Sen, GovAg), where Pres = Mean(1 or 2 Presidential elections), Sen = Mean(1 or 2 Senate elections) and GovAg = Mean(Governor and Attorney General elections).” See Exhibit B.

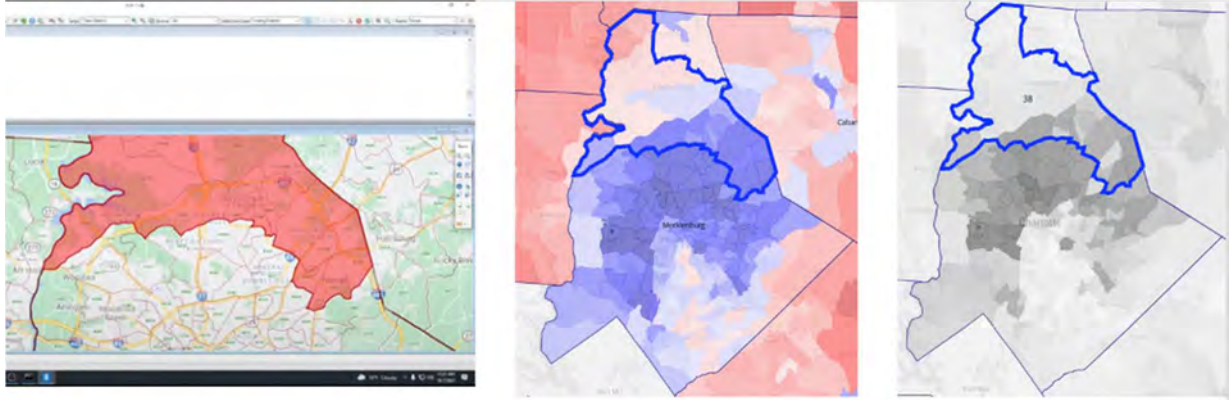
31. At timestamp 2:30:09, I observed Senator Newton and an unidentified aide begin with selecting Iredell County in its entirety. Then I observed them include portions of the northern part of Mecklenburg.
32. Below is the first completed draft district in this cluster, visible at timestamp 2:30:09 (left), as well as a DRA overlay of this figure with partisan lean color-coding by VTD (Voter Tabulation District)/Precinct, where the blue indicates Democratic-leaning and red indicates Republican-leaning areas. These screenshots show that the portion of Mecklenburg County paired with Iredell captures a Democratic area on the border between the two counties.



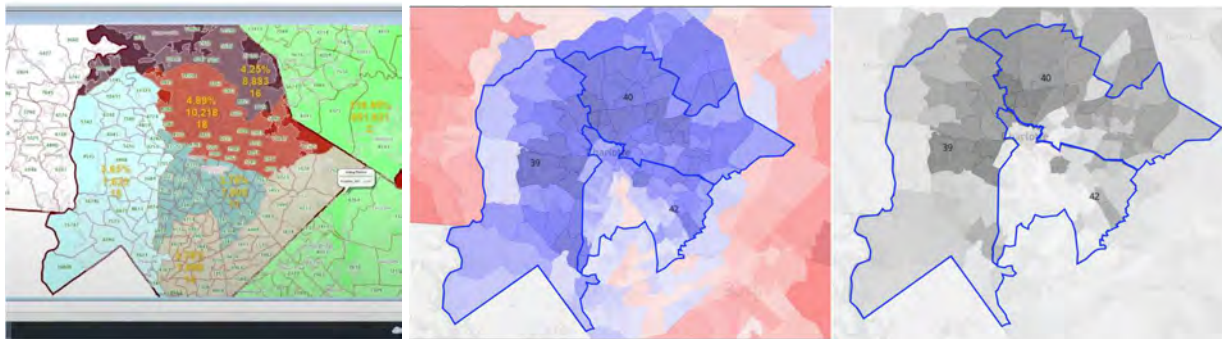
33. Instead of continuing in the northern area of Mecklenburg County adjacent to this first draft district, I observed Senator Newton and the unidentified man next draw a district on the southernmost area of Mecklenburg County. Specifically, at timestamp 2:39:30, I observed Senator Newton and the unidentified man do this by first grouping together areas with relatively low Democratic partisan lean and low Black Voting Age Population (BVAP) areas.
34. A view of this completed second district is visible at timestamp 2:39:30 (left). Below is also the DRA overlay with partisan color coding (center) as well as a DRA overlay with color-coding for Black Voting Age Population (BVAP), in which darker colors indicating higher BVAPs (right):



35. I then observed Senator Newton and the unidentified man go back to the northern part of Mecklenburg County and draw another district to ensure they kept the remaining Republican-leaning and white areas together. Due to population equality requirements, this district had to take in some of northeastern Charlotte. This sequence is visible at timestamp 2:52:48:



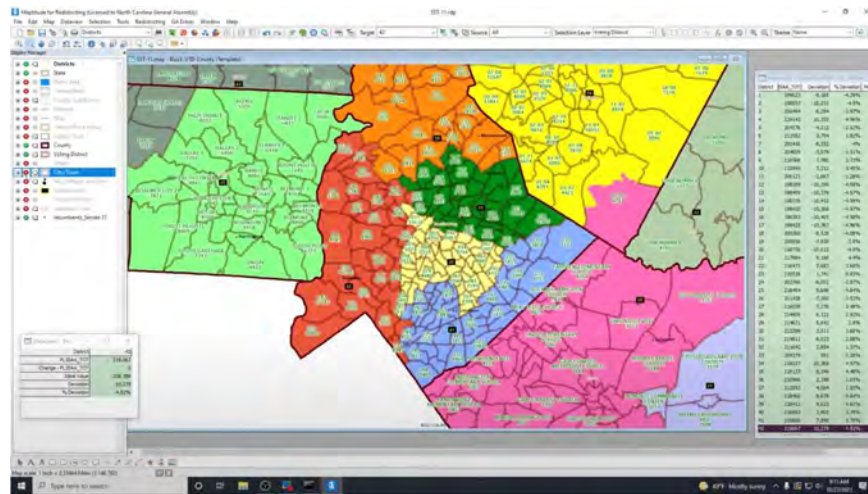
36. I then observed Senator Newton and the unidentified man complete the remaining three districts using the remaining heavily Democratic and non-white districts, and a view of this can be seen at timestamp 3:09:35 (left) with the partisan (center) and BVAP (right) color-coded overlays below:



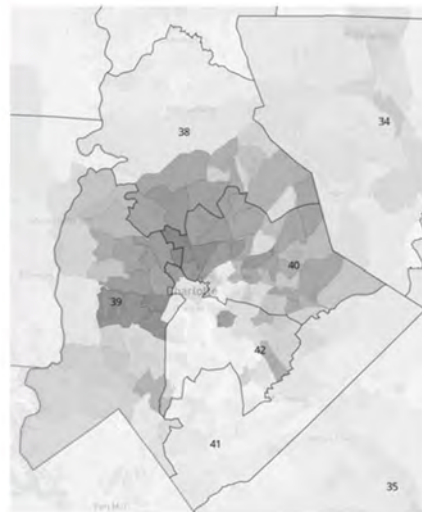
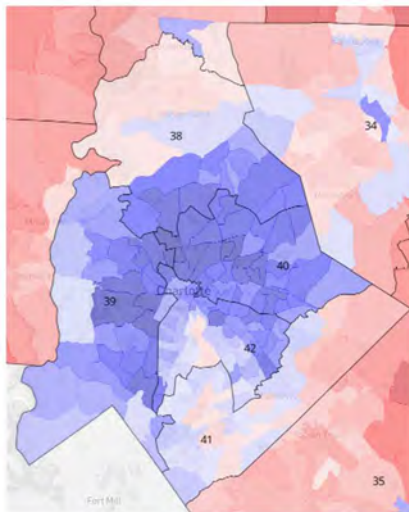
37. On October 27, 2021, I observed Senator Daniel and an unidentified man return to make modifications to the draft districts in Mecklenburg/Iredell at Senate Station 4.<sup>15</sup>
38. In the video, I observed Senator Daniel and the unidentified man discuss reducing “splits” throughout the map, including municipality splits. However, I observed that their edits retained the overall shape of the map that was completed on October 7, 2021. The video “2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” shows these changes at timestamp 46:32, and is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DARoI9MG3p8>.

<sup>15</sup> This is visible in the video “2021-10-27 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” at timestamp 54:00, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A44AbmkAkrq>.

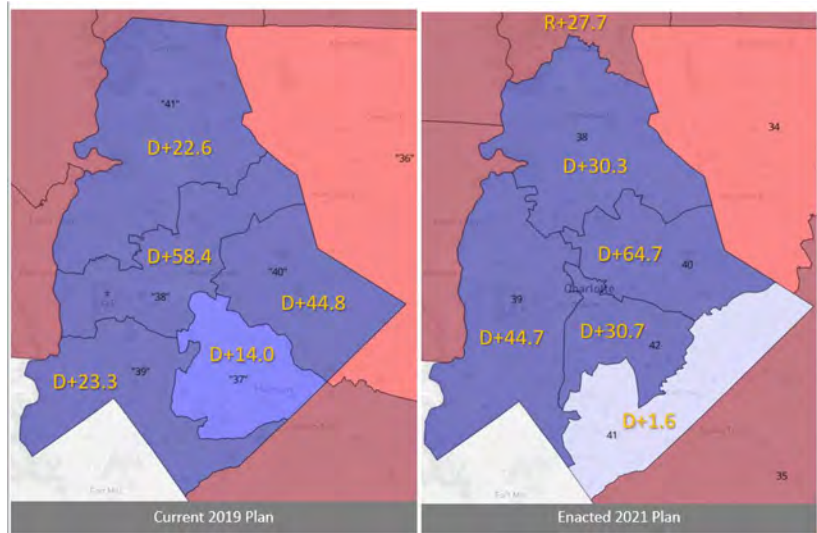
39. A wide view of the overall county near completion is available at timestamp 54:40 and shown below:



40. The below figures show the 2021 enacted Senate plan in this cluster with DRA's partisan (left) and BVAP (right) color coding visible:



41. The below figures show the 2019 and 2021 enacted plans with the DRA partisan lean for each district overall visible, with the “D+##” indicating the percentage lean of the district using the DRA election composite described above. For example, District 41 in the 2021 enacted plan has an estimated Democratic vote share of 49.5% and an estimated Republican vote share of 47.9%. Therefore, the Democratic lean of the district is 1.6%, and it is displayed as D+1.6:

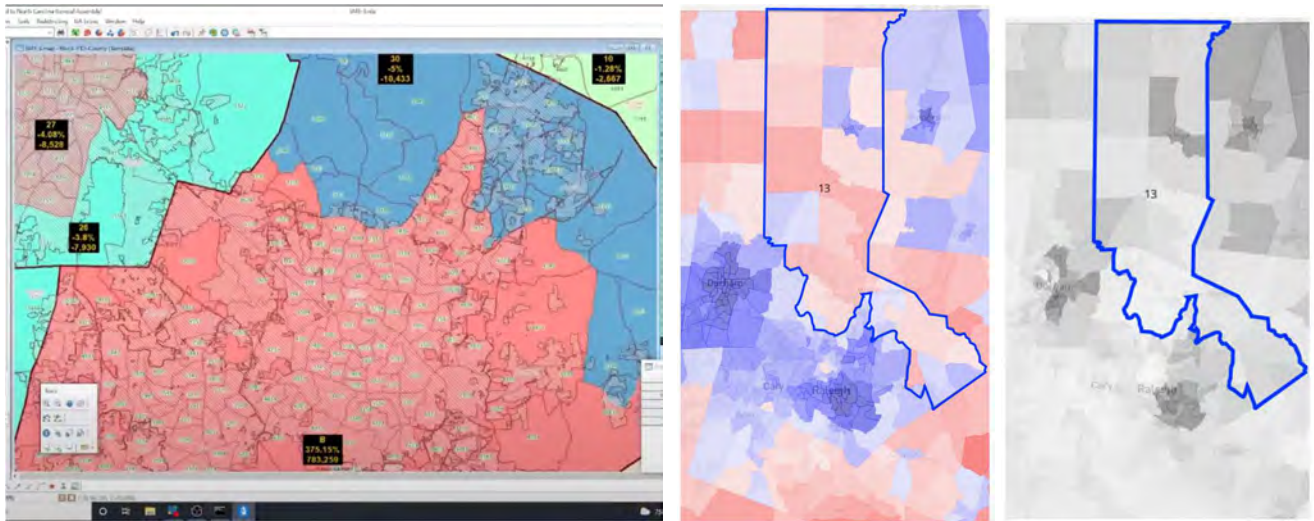


#### Wake/Granville Senate Cluster

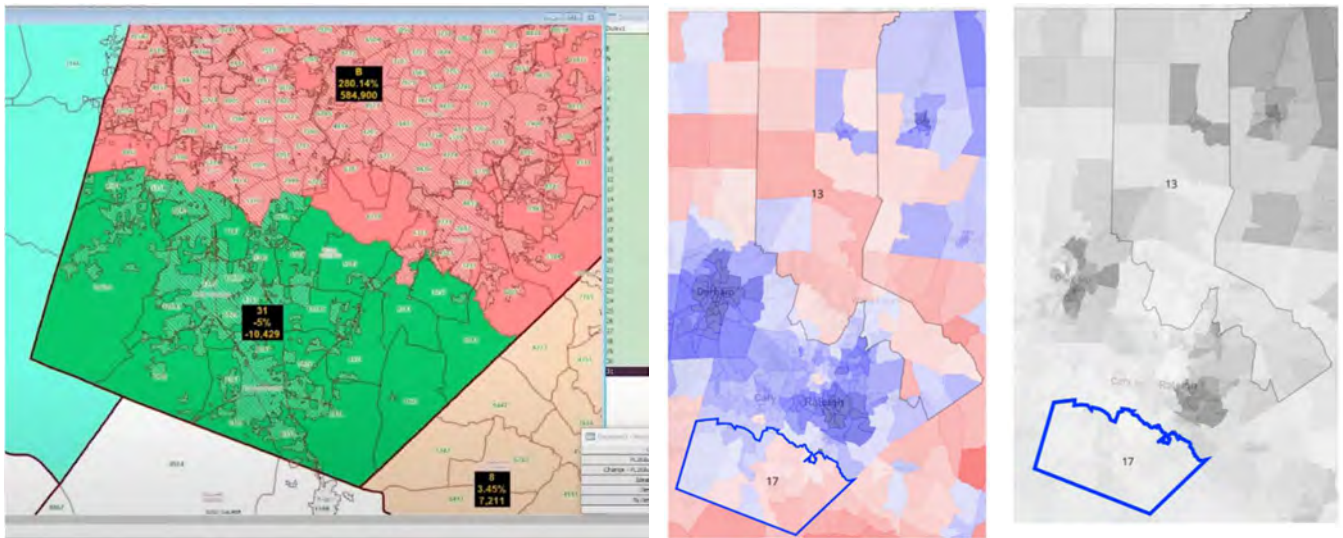
42. While watching the NCGA YouTube video from the October 7, 2021 live-stream, I observed Senator Hise and an unidentified aide follow a similar process when drawing six districts in the Wake/Granville Cluster.<sup>16</sup> They began drawing on Station 4 on October 7, 2021. This is visible in the video “2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 6:00:15, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-I>.
43. Like in the Mecklenburg/Iredell cluster, I observed Senator Hise and the unidentified aide begin with the northern rural whole county of Granville, and then add in the part of northern Wake County with a greater Republican partisan lean and lower non-white population.

<sup>16</sup> The video “2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” displays Senator Hise and the unidentified aide working on Station 4 at approximately timestamp 6:00:24, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q). The station feeds and room feed do not always line up exactly because the video streams were live for different lengths of time. This was yet another difficulty with trying to confirm which legislators were working on what maps, and at which times.

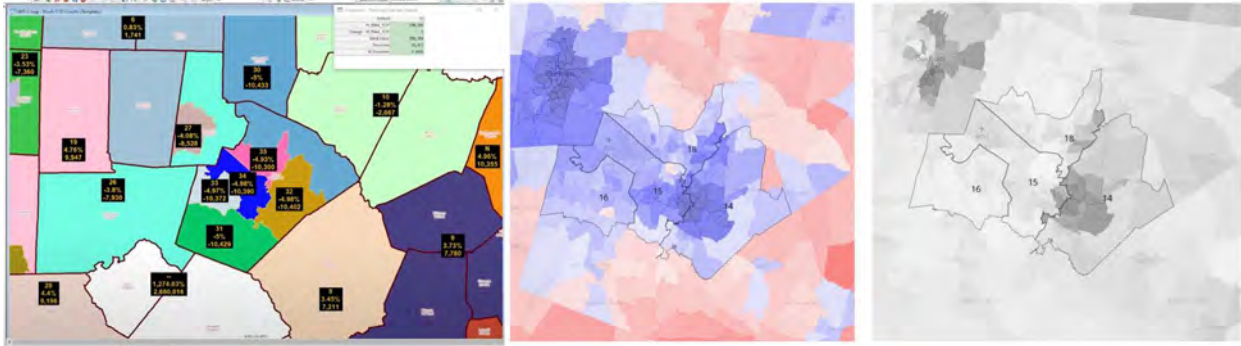
44. This detailed first draft district can be viewed at timestamp 6:13:18 (left), with the DRA partisan lean (center) and BVAP (right) overlays of the entire district below:



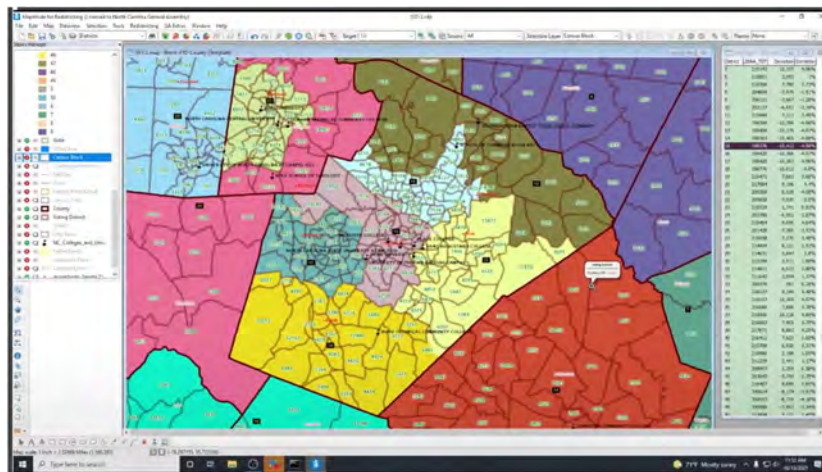
45. After forming this northern district, I observed that the map drawers did not continue to draw within adjacent areas. Instead, I observed that they started from the southernmost part of Wake County to draw another district formed of relatively low Democratic partisan lean and non-BVAP populations.
46. A detailed view of this second draft district can be seen at timestamp 6:20:54 below (left) with the DRA overlay showing partisan lean (center) and BVAP (right) color-coding below:



47. Then, I observed the map drawers proceed to draw four districts from the remaining heavily Democratic partisan lean areas in the middle of Wake County. A view of the completed draft districts can be seen at timestamp 7:02:27 (left), with the partisan lean (center) and BVAP color coding visible (right):



48. When watching the NCGA YouTube video from the October 13, 2021 live-stream,<sup>17</sup> I observed Senator Newton and an unidentified man working at Station 4 make some modifications to these districts but retain their overall core locations.<sup>18</sup> These modifications can be seen in the video “2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 2:41:25, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OW8o8P8OLhs>. A screen shot of the draft districts when they finished working on October 13, 2021 can be seen at timestamp 3:33:16 of this video:

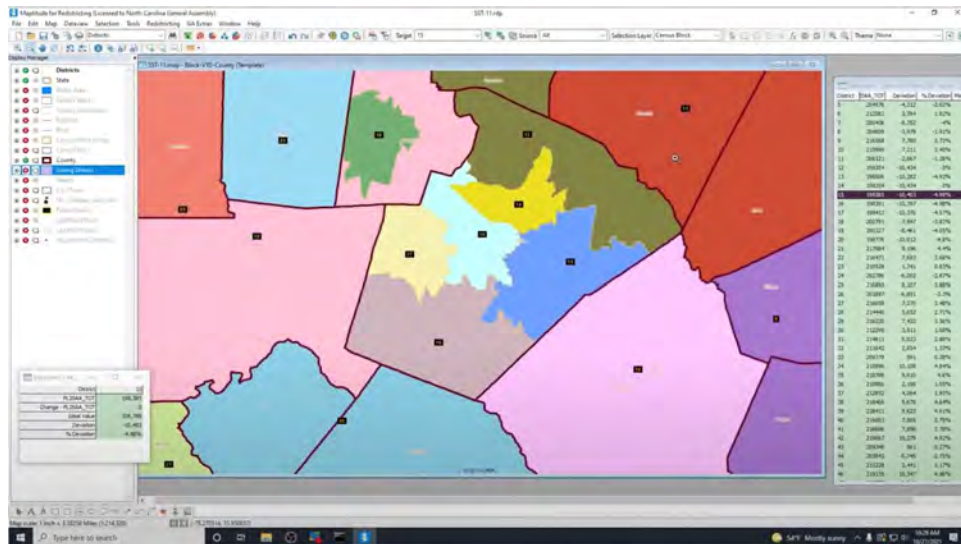


49. While watching the NCGA YouTube video from the October 27, 2021 live-stream, I observed Senator Daniel and an unidentified aide make additional small changes to the maps,

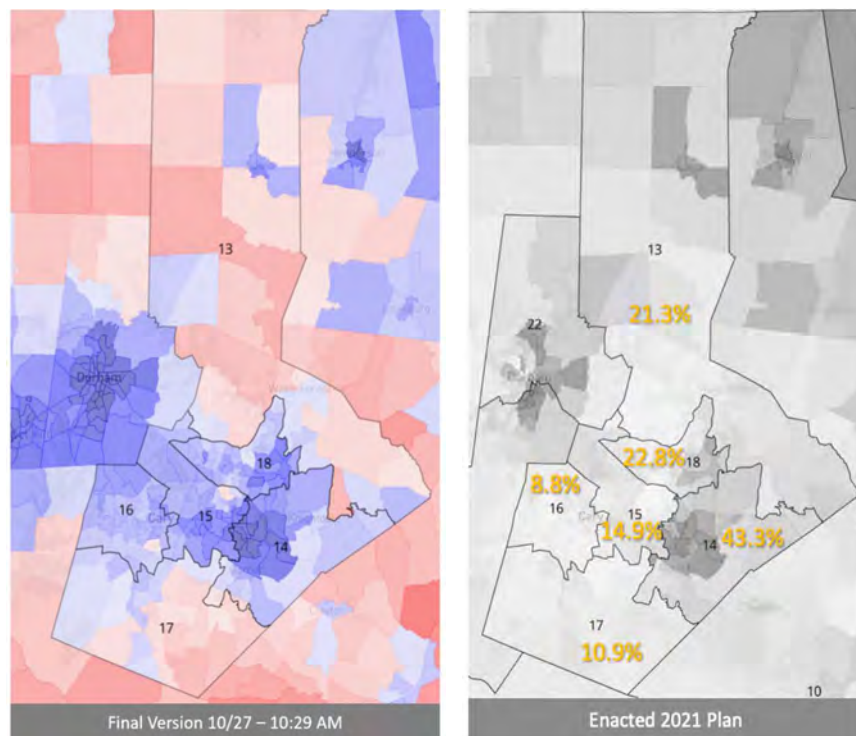
<sup>17</sup> I believe that the videos for October 13 are mislabeled on YouTube as duplicate October 14 videos. The ncleg.gov website links for the October 13 videos links to a set of videos labeled as October 14, but which show different recordings than the second set of October 14 videos (which are properly labeled on both ncleg.gov and YouTube).

<sup>18</sup> The video “2021-10-14 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)” available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpkla8tOka4> (on information and belief, I believe this was mislabeled on YouTube as a duplicate 10/14 entry rather than 10/13) displays Senator Newton and the unidentified aide at approximately timestamp 2:42:02.

including in Wake County.<sup>19</sup> A wide view of the finished Wake County districts can be seen in the video “2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)” at timestamp 2:09:01, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DARoI9MG3p8>:

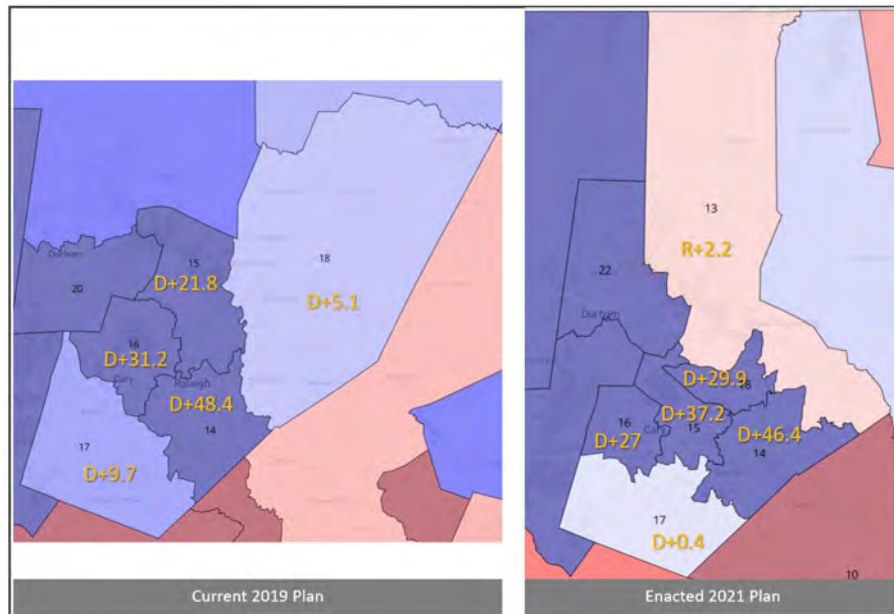


50. The below shows the 2021 enacted Senate plan in this cluster with DRA’s partisan and BVAP color coding visible:



<sup>19</sup> The video “2021-10-27 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate),” available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A44AbmkAkrq>, displays Senator Daniel and the unidentified aide at approximately timestamp 1:54:00.

51. The below figures show the 2019 and 2021 enacted plans with the DRA partisan lean for each district overall visible. The partisan lean for each district accurately reflects the values generated by the DRA election composite described above:

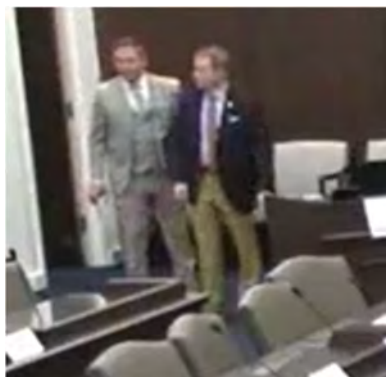


#### *Sequence of Drawing House Districts*

52. I have also reviewed sequences of how the House map was drawn using the process described above for the state Senate map, and below is a similar description with screen shots provided in the same manner as used above for the state Senate map of certain areas.

#### Buncombe County House Districts

53. While watching the NCGA YouTube video from the October 14, 2021 live-stream, I observed Representative Hall and an unidentified man begin drawing House districts at House Station 1. I observed them walking into the room in the video “2021-10-14 Redistricting Map Drawing (House)” at timestamp 2:18:43, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=os7hNbXoBmE>. A screenshot of the relevant portion of the video feed is shown below:

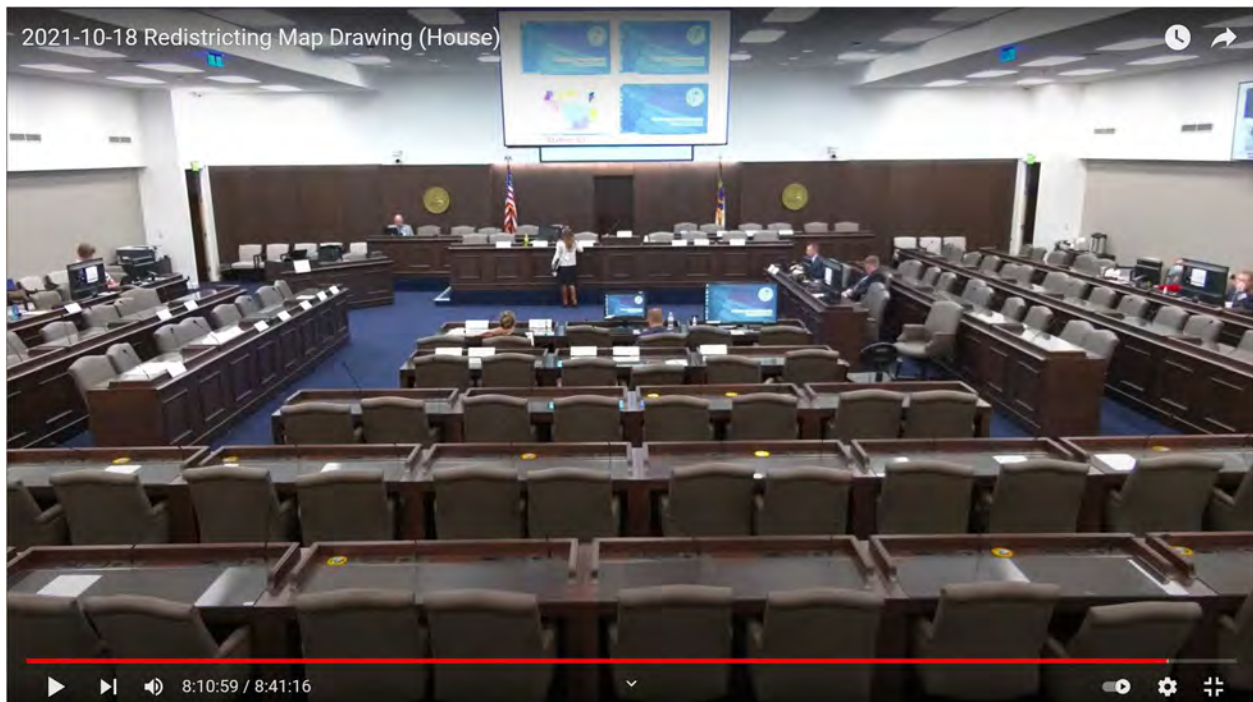


54. During their time drawing at House Station 1 on October 14, 2021, I observed Representative Hall and the unidentified aide using their phones while at the map-drawing station. This can be seen at timestamp 2:20:50, and the screen shot of this portion of the video feed is below. It is impossible for me to tell from any of the publicly available feeds whom they may be communicating with while drawing the maps.



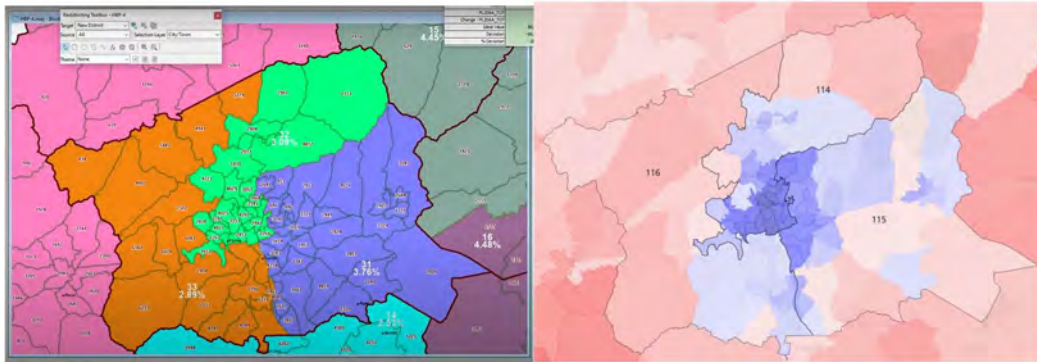
55. I observed Representative Hall and the unidentified aide begin drawing the three House districts within Buncombe County in the video “2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 01 (643)” at timestamp 2:51:02, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XEsgnuK3YUU>. I observed them finish a version titled HAS-1. A screen shot of the initial draft districts are visible below from timestamp 3:03:27 (left) with the DRA overlay showing partisan lean (right):
56. At this time, I observed Representative Hall ask staff for a print-out of the Buncombe cluster along with the previous cluster they were working on. I observed the staff member proceed to print out a copy of the newly drawn districts in the Buncombe cluster with population numbers labeled for each precinct, and provide it to the individual assisting Representative Hall (who I observed had left the room).
57. While watching the NCGA YouTube video from the October 18, 2021, I observed a man I believe to be Representative Hall and another unidentified man begin to work in House Station 3 and revisit the Buncombe County House districts, stating a desire to “make these districts more compact.” This is audible in the video “2021-10-18 Map Drawing Station 03 (643)” at timestamp 7:53:30, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1zeRpCwCes>. In my observations of the video, I am unable to confirm their identities definitively because I am unable to see who is sitting at House Station 3 (on the far right), but I recognize Representative Hall’s voice from other recordings and believe I observed him make this statement.

58. A screen shot from shortly after they sat down at the station camera is below from the video “2021-10-18 Redistricting Map Drawing (House)” at timestamp 8:10:59, available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f\\_3wg3jg0k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f_3wg3jg0k):

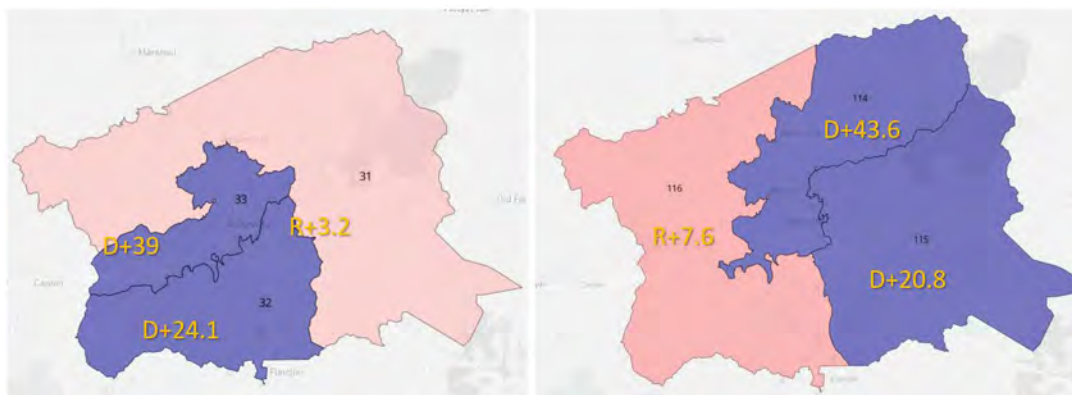


59. I then observed who I believe to be Representative Hall and another unidentified man, after reviewing the draft House districts in Buncombe County, decide to discard the entire draft and start drafting anew. I observed this happen in the video “2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 01 (643)” from timestamps 7:53:21 to 8:01:00, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XEsgnuK3YUU>.
60. Later, when they started again with this county, I observed Representative Hall and the unidentified man begin by first drawing a House district in the southeastern portion of Buncombe County, then moving to a second district encompassing areas of Asheville and running to the northeastern corner of Buncombe County, leaving a third district of the remaining unassigned areas in Buncombe County, wrapping from the area north of Asheville, around the city to the west, and around Asheville again to the south. After minor modifications, I observed them finish.
61. A view of the finalized districts is visible at timestamp 8:11:00 (left), and my DRA overlay with partisan lean is included below (right) as well. Again, I observed Representative Hall

and the unidentified man immediately ask for detailed printouts of this county, with VTD data visible.



62. Below is a comparison of the partisan lean (explanation of D+ numbers) on the DRA overlays of the Buncombe House districts drawn and abandoned by the legislature on October 14, 2021 (left) and the enacted Buncombe House districts drawn by the legislature on October 18, 2021 (right):



#### *Public Posting of Member Submitted Maps*

63. On or around October 18, I observed “Member Submitted Maps” begin to be posted on the redistricting website, <https://ncleg.gov/Redistricting>. When I viewed these “Member Submitted Maps,” there was no information on the face of these documents about who had worked on these maps, when they had been worked on, what the goals or priorities of these maps reflected, nor even when or if they would be submitted for consideration.
64. However, not all maps that were considered or even enacted were posted beforehand. Based on my review of the website, the House map debated by the House Redistricting Committee during the meeting on November 1, 2021, titled “HBK-12”, was not posted with the other Member Submitted Maps in the House. When the proposed bill, House Bill 976, was first filed, I observed that it was filed without any district lines specified at all, which made it difficult for me to find the proposed map. I checked the Member Submitted Maps page multiple times and never saw it. Instead, I eventually found it posted on a different page entirely, inside a folder on the House Redistricting Committee’s page entitled “11-01-21 2nd”. The folder can be found at

<https://www.ncleg.gov/Committees/CommitteeInfo/HouseStanding/182#2021\11-01-21%202nd>.

*Public Comments*


65. During the 2021 redistricting process, I reviewed a substantial number of the public comments submitted online or given during the public hearings. I counted more than three dozen comments which asked legislators to keep the Triad or at least Guilford County in one Congressional district. Other comments that I reviewed included several people explaining the deep ties between the cities of Greensboro, High Point and Winston-Salem. I also read comments where many people talked about how Guilford County had been split in previous Congressional plans and how it negatively impacted their ability to be represented.
66. The final enacted map adopted during this redistricting cycle splits Guilford County into three Congressional districts. This map also places Winston-Salem and High Point in separate districts and splits Greensboro between three districts. When asked during a Senate Redistricting Committee meeting on November 1, 2021 if he believed people in Greensboro and High Point shared a common interest, I observed Senator Daniel – one of the Senate Redistricting Co-Chairs who helped draw the map – respond that he did not know.<sup>20</sup>
67. I can also say, as a lifelong resident of Guilford County and a member of the League of Women Voters of the Piedmont Triad, many people in the Triad are displeased with how Guilford County was split in the final version of the Congressional map. For years, Guilford County and Greensboro have been split in Congressional plans. The plan enacted in 2019 kept Guilford County in one Congressional district for the first time in my life. I believe this issue goes to the heart of what redistricting is all about: creating districts so that communities can be represented. I expressed this in public comments I gave at the NCGA redistricting public hearing held earlier this year in Alamance County.

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<sup>20</sup> See video titled “2021-11-01 Committee (Senate)” starting timestamp 1:04:10, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&t=3848&v=KgSkfFY7r7g&feature=youtu.be>.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on December 23, 2021.



Tyler Daye

Sworn and subscribed before me this 23<sup>rd</sup> day of December, 2021.



Notary Public

Name: Talia Ray

My commission expires: 11/6/2024



**DAYE AFFIDAVIT - EXHIBIT A:**

List of Video Files referencing “Map Drawing” on <https://ncleg.gov/Documents/493#Video:>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 2021-10-06_544_Map_Drawing-Station_01        | 52. 2021-10-13_544_Map_Drawing_Station_02        |
| 2. 2021-10-06_544_Map_Drawing-Station_03        | 53. 2021-10-13_544_Map_Drawing_Station_03        |
| 3. 2021-10-06_544_Map_Drawing-Station_04        | 54. 2021-10-13_544_Map_Drawing_Station_04        |
| 4. 2021-10-06_544_Map_Drawing-Station-02        | 55. 2021-10-13_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01        |
| 5. 2021-10-06_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01        | 56. 2021-10-13_643_Map_Drawing_Station_02        |
| 6. 2021-10-06_643_Map_Drawing_Station_02        | 57. 2021-10-13_643_Map_Drawing_Station_03        |
| 7. 2021-10-06_643_Map_Drawing_Station_03        | 58. 2021-10-13_643_Map_Drawing_Station_04        |
| 8. 2021-10-06_643_Map_Drawing_Station_04        | 59. 2021-10-13_House_Redistricting_Map_Drawing   |
| 9. 2021-10-06_House_Redistricting_Map_Drawing   | 60. 2021-10-13_Senate_Redistricting_Map_Drawing  |
| 10. 2021-10-06_Senate_Redistricting_Map_Drawing | 61. 2021-10-14_544_Map_Drawing_Station_01        |
| 11. 2021-10-07_544_Map_Drawing_Station_01       | 62. 2021-10-14_544_Map_Drawing_Station_02        |
| 12. 2021-10-07_544_Map_Drawing_Station_02       | 63. 2021-10-14_544_Map_Drawing_Station_03        |
| 13. 2021-10-07_544_Map_Drawing_Station_03       | 64. 2021-10-14_544_Map_Drawing_Station_04        |
| 14. 2021-10-07_544_Map_Drawing_Station_04       | 65. 2021-10-14_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01        |
| 15. 2021-10-07_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01       | 66. 2021-10-14_643_Map_Drawing_Station_02        |
| 16. 2021-10-07_643_Map_Drawing_Station_02       | 67. 2021-10-14_643_Map_Drawing_Station_03        |
| 17. 2021-10-07_643_Map_Drawing_Station_03       | 68. 2021-10-14_643_Map_Drawing_Station_04        |
| 18. 2021-10-07_643_Map_Drawing_Station_04       | 69. 2021-10-14_House_Redistricting_Map_Drawing   |
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| 44. 2021-10-12_544_Map_Drawing_Station_04       | 95. 2021-10-19_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01        |
| 45. 2021-10-12_643_Map_Drawing_Station_01       | 96. 2021-10-19_643_Map_Drawing_Station_02        |
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| 48. 2021-10-12_643_Map_Drawing_Station_04       | 99. 2021-10-19_House_Redistricting_Map_Drawing   |
| 49. 2021-10-12_House_Redistricting_Map_Drawing  | 100. 2021-10-19_Senate_Redistricting_Map_Drawing |
| 50. 2021-10-12_Senate_Redistricting_Map_Drawing | 101. 2021-10-20_544_Map_Drawing_Station_01       |
| 51. 2021-10-13_544_Map_Drawing_Station_01       | 102. 2021-10-20_544_Map_Drawing_Station_02       |

103. 2021-10-20\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
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110. 2021-10-20\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
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113. 2021-10-21\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
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117. 2021-10-21\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
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119. 2021-10-21\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
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123. 2021-10-22\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
124. 2021-10-22\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
125. 2021-10-22\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
126. 2021-10-25\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
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129. 2021-10-25\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
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131. 2021-10-25\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
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136. 2021-10-25\_Public-Hearing-Virtual\_Joint
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161. 2021-10-28\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
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163. 2021-10-28\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
164. 2021-10-28\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
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171. 2021-10-29\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
172. 2021-10-29\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
173. 2021-10-29\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
174. 2021-10-29\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
175. 2021-10-29\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
176. 2021-10-29\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
177. 2021-10-29\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
178. 2021-10-30\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
179. 2021-10-30\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
180. 2021-10-30\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
181. 2021-10-30\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
182. 2021-10-30\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
183. 2021-11-01\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
184. 2021-11-01\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
185. 2021-11-01\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
186. 2021-11-01\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
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188. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
189. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
190. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
191. 2021-11-01\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
192. 2021-11-01\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
193. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
194. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01\_Part-2
195. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
196. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
197. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
198. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
199. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
200. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
201. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
202. 2021-11-02\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
203. 2021-11-02\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
204. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
205. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
206. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
207. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
208. 2021-11-03\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
209. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
210. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
211. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
212. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
213. 2021-11-04\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing

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### Shapes

DRA 2020 has 2020 Shapes. For most states, maps that use 2020 Shapes allow you to work with *Precincts (Voting Districts or VTDs)*, as the main unit for making redistricting maps. For four states (CA, HI, OR and WV), you use *Block Groups* instead. For all states, you can *shatter* a precinct or block group into census blocks, and work with them individually.

DRA 2020 also has 2010 Shapes. These are *Precincts* for most states, and *Block Groups* for CA, MT, OR and RI. Census block editing is **not** available with 2010 Shapes. Maps that use 2010 Shapes can be converted to 2020 Shapes, yielding an approximation of the source map.

Precinct-level demographic and election data can be downloaded from our public repository [vtd\\_data](#).

### Demographic Data

DRA 2020 has demographic data from the 2020 and 2010 Censuses and from the 2018 and 2019 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates. The 2020 and 2010 data include total population and voting age population data (VAP), and was obtained directly from the Census Bureau. The 2018 and 2019 data include total population and citizen voting age population data (CVAP).

For 2020 Shapes, 2010, 2018 and 2019 data was disaggregated using [Voting and Election Science Team's](#) method as described [here](#). More detail is in the *Disaggregation* section below. All data that has been disaggregated contains some margin of error, and should be treated accordingly.

For all years the following ethnic and racial categories are included. **Because the categories overlap, their sum will be greater than the total population for the same area.** Note that for CVAP data, the racial categories are estimates calculated from other fields, because the Census Bureau does not provide them directly in those datasets, and they tend to underrepresent the Asian and Pacific categories.

- White (alone, not Hispanic)
- Hispanic (all Hispanics regardless of race)
- Black (Black alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Asian (Asian alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Native (American Indian and Alaska Native alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Pacific (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)

For some states we provide additional 2020 VAP data with Non-Hispanic Race Alone categories.

- White (alone, not Hispanic)
- Hispanic (all Hispanics regardless of race)
- Black (Black alone, not Hispanic)
- Asian (Asian alone, not Hispanic)
- Native (American Indian and Alaska Native alone, not Hispanic)
- Pacific (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander alone, not Hispanic)
- Other (Other race alone, not Hispanic)
- TwoOrMore (Two or more races, not Hispanic)

Some states adjust their 2020 Total Population numbers to count incarcerated individuals in their home precincts, to be used for congressional and/or legislative redistricting. See [Reallocating Inmate Data for Redistricting](#), [Prison Gerrymandering Project](#) and state pages for more details. Adjusted data can have negative population values for some blocks.

### Election Data

DRA 2020 has election data for a range of elections, varying by state.

In addition to data for individual elections, we construct an Election Composite of two or more elections. The Composite gives a measure of partisanship over different contests and years, which we prefer, because individual elections can be skewed by various factors. We use the latest available elections, and those not available are simply left out. We also exclude uncontested elections and those that have a significant third-party vote percentage (usually > 10%). The formula is the following:

Composite = Mean(Pres, Sen, GovAg), where  
Pres = Mean(1 or 2 Presidential elections),  
Sen = Mean(1 or 2 Senate elections) and  
GovAg = Mean(Governor and Attorney General elections).

All of our election data has come from partners who have done the work to obtain the data, marry it to some geography (e.g. precincts), and process necessary changes, such as distributing absentee votes that are not allocated to precincts. We thank them for their valuable work. The following table shows the data we have for each state, along with attributions for each election dataset. We continue to add election data as it becomes available.

- CSDB=[California State Database](#)
- MGGG=[Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group](#)
- MIT=[MIT Election Data Science Lab](#)
- OP=[Open Precincts](#)

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- PVI=Cook PVI data from Ryne Rohla/Decision Desk HQ; See also [Atlas of Redistricting](#).
- SA=[Stephen Ansolabehere](#), [Jonathan Rodden](#)
- SG=Steve Gerontakis, with John Mifflin
- TC=Tyler Chafee
- VE=[Voting and Election Science Team](#)
- ★ This election is part of the Election Composite.

### Election Data By State/Shapes

State	2020 Shapes	2010 Shapes
Alabama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2017 Senator (Special) (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Alaska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>
Arizona	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Arkansas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (OP) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (OP) *</li> </ul>
California	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (CSDB) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (CSDB) *</li> </ul>
Colorado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (TC)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (MGGG,OP) *</li> </ul>
Connecticut	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Delaware	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>



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District of Columbia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li></ul>
Florida	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Georgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Special) (VE)</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Runoff) (VE)</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Special Runoff) (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>
Hawaii	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Idaho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Illinois	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Indiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SA)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
Iowa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li></ul>

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Kansas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (VE)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Kentucky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Louisiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Senator (Runoff) (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2019 Governor (Runoff) (VE)</li><li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Maine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE)</li></ul>
Maryland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Massachusetts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Michigan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Minnesota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li><li>• 2014 Attorney General (MGGG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li><li>• 2014 Attorney General (MGGG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>



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2020 Senator (VE)		
Mississippi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
Missouri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>
Montana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Nebraska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li></ul>
Nevada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (OP)</li></ul>
New Hampshire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li></ul>
New Jersey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
New Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SA)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li></ul>

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New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
North Carolina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SA)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>
North Dakota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Ohio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (MGGG) *</li> </ul>
Oklahoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Oregon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li> </ul>
Pennsylvania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>
Rhode Island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>

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Rhode Island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
South Carolina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
South Dakota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Tennessee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li></ul>
Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG,OP)</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG,OP)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SA)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG,OP) *</li><li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li></ul>
Utah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Vermont	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>

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Vermont	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Washington	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (MIT,OP) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (MIT,OP) *</li> </ul>
West Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Wisconsin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Wyoming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>

## Disaggregation

To map election results and demographic data from a source geography (shape set) to a destination geography (shape set), we disaggregate the data from the source geography to census blocks and then aggregate from those to the destination geography. For example, 2016 election data for many states is presented in terms of each state's 2016 precincts (or voting districts), which typically differ from their 2010 and 2020 precincts. Our algorithm determines the geographic mapping between the source geography and 2010 or 2020 census blocks and then distributes the results for each precinct among the blocks in that precinct, according to the population of each block. (That's disaggregation.) The Census Bureau provides the geographic mapping between 2010 census blocks and 2010 precincts, and between 2020 census blocks and 2020 precincts. Using that we add the results from all the blocks in each precinct. (That's aggregation.)

For 2020 shapes, all demographic data (2010, 2018 and 2019) has been disaggregated using [Voting and Election Science Team's method](#). All 2020 block population estimates were calculated by VEST using their method. To disaggregate we used these block population numbers and the Hare Quota (Hamilton) largest remainder method.

All election data presented in DRA 2020 has been disaggregated to census blocks, because election results are never reported to the block level. For 2020 shapes, for states having 2020 election data, disaggregation of 2016-2020 data uses VEST's method. For other states our older method was used; when we get 2020 election data, we will update all 2016-2020 election data to use VEST's method. Disaggregation necessarily introduces some error. In addition, ACS/CVAP data are estimates and thus have some error even before disaggregation.

All election data and all ACS/CVAP data contain some margin of error at both the census block and precinct levels, and should be treated accordingly.

# Population Deviation Report

## District Plan: SST-4

District	Seats	Ideal Pop	Actual Pop	Deviation	Deviation %
1	1	208,788	199,623	-9,165	-4.39%
2	1	208,788	198,557	-10,231	-4.90%
3	1	208,788	200,494	-8,294	-3.97%
4	1	208,788	219,143	10,355	4.96%
5	1	208,788	204,576	-4,212	-2.02%
6	1	208,788	212,582	3,794	1.82%
7	1	208,788	200,436	-8,352	-4.00%
8	1	208,788	204,809	-3,979	-1.91%
9	1	208,788	216,568	7,780	3.73%
10	1	208,788	215,999	7,211	3.45%
11	1	208,788	206,121	-2,667	-1.28%
12	1	208,788	198,389	-10,399	-4.98%
13	1	208,788	198,409	-10,379	-4.97%
14	1	208,788	198,376	-10,412	-4.99%
15	1	208,788	198,420	-10,368	-4.97%
16	1	208,788	198,383	-10,405	-4.98%
17	1	208,788	198,425	-10,363	-4.96%
18	1	208,788	200,260	-8,528	-4.08%
19	1	208,788	200,858	-7,930	-3.80%
20	1	208,788	198,776	-10,012	-4.80%
21	1	208,788	217,984	9,196	4.40%
22	1	208,788	216,471	7,683	3.68%
23	1	208,788	210,529	1,741	0.83%
24	1	208,788	202,786	-6,002	-2.87%
25	1	208,788	218,484	9,696	4.64%
26	1	208,788	201,428	-7,360	-3.53%
27	1	208,788	216,058	7,270	3.48%
28	1	208,788	214,909	6,121	2.93%
29	1	208,788	214,631	5,843	2.80%
30	1	208,788	212,299	3,511	1.68%
31	1	208,788	214,811	6,023	2.88%
32	1	208,788	211,642	2,854	1.37%
33	1	208,788	209,379	591	0.28%
34	1	208,788	219,157	10,369	4.97%
35	1	208,788	218,137	9,349	4.48%
36	1	208,788	210,986	2,198	1.05%
37	1	208,788	215,708	6,920	3.31%
38	1	208,788	217,671	8,883	4.25%
39	1	208,788	219,006	10,218	4.89%
40	1	208,788	216,693	7,905	3.79%
41	1	208,788	216,686	7,898	3.78%
42	1	208,788	216,411	7,623	3.65%
43	1	208,788	209,997	1,209	0.58%
44	1	208,788	203,043	-5,745	-2.75%

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM  
 Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File.



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# Population Deviation Report

## District Plan: SST-4

District	Seats	Ideal Pop	Actual Pop	Deviation	Deviation %
45	1	208,788	211,229	2,441	1.17%
46	1	208,788	218,487	9,699	4.65%
47	1	208,788	200,614	-8,174	-3.91%
48	1	208,788	200,053	-8,735	-4.18%
49	1	208,788	200,986	-7,802	-3.74%
50	1	208,788	213,909	5,121	2.45%
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>50</b>		<b>10,439,388</b>		

# County - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Alamance	25	171,415	218,484	171,415	100.00 %	78.46 %
Alexander	36	36,444	210,986	36,444	100.00 %	17.27 %
Alleghany	46	10,888	218,487	10,888	100.00 %	4.98 %
Anson	29	22,055	214,631	22,055	100.00 %	10.28 %
Ashe	46	26,577	218,487	26,577	100.00 %	12.16 %
Avery	46	17,806	218,487	17,806	100.00 %	8.15 %
Beaufort	3	44,652	200,494	44,652	100.00 %	22.27 %
Bertie	1	17,934	199,623	17,934	100.00 %	8.98 %
Bladen	8	29,606	204,809	29,606	100.00 %	14.46 %
Brunswick	7	136,693	200,436	136,693	100.00 %	68.20 %
Buncombe	47	269,452	200,614	68,466	25.41 %	34.13 %
	49	269,452	200,986	200,986	74.59 %	100.00 %
Burke	47	87,570	200,614	87,570	100.00 %	43.65 %
Cabarrus	34	225,804	219,157	219,157	97.06 %	100.00 %
	35	225,804	218,137	6,647	2.94 %	3.05 %
Caldwell	43	80,652	209,997	49,387	61.23 %	23.52 %
	46	80,652	218,487	31,265	38.77 %	14.31 %
Camden	1	10,355	199,623	10,355	100.00 %	5.19 %
Carteret	2	67,686	198,557	67,686	100.00 %	34.09 %
Caswell	23	22,736	210,529	22,736	100.00 %	10.80 %
Catawba	43	160,610	209,997	160,610	100.00 %	76.48 %
Chatham	19	76,285	200,858	76,285	100.00 %	37.98 %
Cherokee	50	28,774	213,909	28,774	100.00 %	13.45 %
Chowan	2	13,708	198,557	13,708	100.00 %	6.90 %
Clay	50	11,089	213,909	11,089	100.00 %	5.18 %
Cleveland	44	99,519	203,043	99,519	100.00 %	49.01 %
Columbus	7	50,623	200,436	50,623	100.00 %	25.26 %
Craven	3	100,720	200,494	100,720	100.00 %	50.24 %
Cumberland	21	334,728	217,984	118,257	35.33 %	54.25 %
	22	334,728	216,471	216,471	64.67 %	100.00 %
Currituck	1	28,100	199,623	28,100	100.00 %	14.08 %
Dare	1	36,915	199,623	36,915	100.00 %	18.49 %
Davidson	32	168,930	211,642	168,930	100.00 %	79.82 %
Davie	32	42,712	211,642	42,712	100.00 %	20.18 %
Duplin	8	48,715	204,809	48,715	100.00 %	23.79 %
Durham	18	324,833	200,260	200,260	61.65 %	100.00 %
	19	324,833	200,858	124,573	38.35 %	62.02 %
Edgecombe	4	48,900	219,143	48,900	100.00 %	22.31 %
Forsyth	30	382,590	212,299	167,779	43.85 %	79.03 %
	31	382,590	214,811	214,811	56.15 %	100.00 %
Franklin	11	68,573	206,121	68,573	100.00 %	33.27 %

## County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Gaston	44	227,943	203,043	16,714	7.33 %	8.23 %
	45	227,943	211,229	211,229	92.67 %	100.00 %
Gates	1	10,478	199,623	10,478	100.00 %	5.25 %
Graham	50	8,030	213,909	8,030	100.00 %	3.75 %
Granville	12	60,992	198,389	60,992	100.00 %	30.74 %
Greene	9	20,451	216,568	20,451	100.00 %	9.44 %
Guilford	26	541,299	201,428	110,332	20.38 %	54.77 %
	27	541,299	216,058	216,058	39.91 %	100.00 %
	28	541,299	214,909	214,909	39.70 %	100.00 %
Halifax	2	48,622	198,557	48,622	100.00 %	24.49 %
Harnett	20	133,568	198,776	133,568	100.00 %	67.20 %
Haywood	46	62,089	218,487	23,299	37.53 %	10.66 %
	50	62,089	213,909	38,790	62.47 %	18.13 %
Henderson	48	116,281	200,053	116,281	100.00 %	58.13 %
Hertford	1	21,552	199,623	21,552	100.00 %	10.80 %
Hoke	24	52,082	202,786	52,082	100.00 %	25.68 %
Hyde	2	4,589	198,557	4,589	100.00 %	2.31 %
Iredell	37	186,693	215,708	186,693	100.00 %	86.55 %
Jackson	50	43,109	213,909	43,109	100.00 %	20.15 %
Johnston	10	215,999	215,999	215,999	100.00 %	100.00 %
Jones	8	9,172	204,809	9,172	100.00 %	4.48 %
Lee	20	63,285	198,776	63,285	100.00 %	31.84 %
Lenoir	3	55,122	200,494	55,122	100.00 %	27.49 %
Lincoln	44	86,810	203,043	86,810	100.00 %	42.75 %
Macon	50	37,014	213,909	37,014	100.00 %	17.30 %
Madison	46	21,193	218,487	21,193	100.00 %	9.70 %
Martin	2	22,031	198,557	22,031	100.00 %	11.10 %
McDowell	47	44,578	200,614	44,578	100.00 %	22.22 %
Mecklenburg	37	1,115,482	215,708	29,015	2.60 %	13.45 %
	38	1,115,482	217,671	217,671	19.51 %	100.00 %
	39	1,115,482	219,006	219,006	19.63 %	100.00 %
	40	1,115,482	216,693	216,693	19.43 %	100.00 %
	41	1,115,482	216,686	216,686	19.43 %	100.00 %
	42	1,115,482	216,411	216,411	19.40 %	100.00 %
Mitchell	46	14,903	218,487	14,903	100.00 %	6.82 %
Montgomery	29	25,751	214,631	25,751	100.00 %	12.00 %
Moore	21	99,727	217,984	99,727	100.00 %	45.75 %
Nash	11	94,970	206,121	94,970	100.00 %	46.07 %
New Hanover	6	225,702	212,582	212,582	94.19 %	100.00 %
	7	225,702	200,436	13,120	5.81 %	6.55 %
Northampton	1	17,471	199,623	17,471	100.00 %	8.75 %
Onslow	5	204,576	204,576	204,576	100.00 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

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## County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
Orange	23	148,696	210,529	148,696	100.00 %	70.63 %
Pamlico	2	12,276	198,557	12,276	100.00 %	6.18 %
Pasquotank	1	40,568	199,623	40,568	100.00 %	20.32 %
Pender	8	60,203	204,809	60,203	100.00 %	29.39 %
Perquimans	1	13,005	199,623	13,005	100.00 %	6.51 %
Person	23	39,097	210,529	39,097	100.00 %	18.57 %
Pitt	4	170,243	219,143	170,243	100.00 %	77.69 %
Polk	48	19,328	200,053	19,328	100.00 %	9.66 %
Randolph	25	144,171	218,484	47,069	32.65 %	21.54 %
	29	144,171	214,631	97,102	67.35 %	45.24 %
Richmond	29	42,946	214,631	42,946	100.00 %	20.01 %
Robeson	24	116,530	202,786	116,530	100.00 %	57.46 %
Rockingham	26	91,096	201,428	91,096	100.00 %	45.23 %
Rowan	33	146,875	209,379	146,875	100.00 %	70.15 %
Rutherford	48	64,444	200,053	64,444	100.00 %	32.21 %
Sampson	8	59,036	204,809	57,113	96.74 %	27.89 %
	20	59,036	198,776	1,923	3.26 %	0.97 %
Scotland	24	34,174	202,786	34,174	100.00 %	16.85 %
Stanly	33	62,504	209,379	62,504	100.00 %	29.85 %
Stokes	30	44,520	212,299	44,520	100.00 %	20.97 %
Surry	36	71,359	210,986	71,359	100.00 %	33.82 %
Swain	50	14,117	213,909	14,117	100.00 %	6.60 %
Transylvania	50	32,986	213,909	32,986	100.00 %	15.42 %
Tyrrell	1	3,245	199,623	3,245	100.00 %	1.63 %
Union	29	238,267	214,631	26,777	11.24 %	12.48 %
	35	238,267	218,137	211,490	88.76 %	96.95 %
Vance	11	42,578	206,121	42,578	100.00 %	20.66 %
Wake	12	1,129,410	198,389	137,397	12.17 %	69.26 %
	13	1,129,410	198,409	198,409	17.57 %	100.00 %
	14	1,129,410	198,376	198,376	17.56 %	100.00 %
	15	1,129,410	198,420	198,420	17.57 %	100.00 %
	16	1,129,410	198,383	198,383	17.57 %	100.00 %
	17	1,129,410	198,425	198,425	17.57 %	100.00 %
Warren	2	18,642	198,557	18,642	100.00 %	9.39 %
Washington	2	11,003	198,557	11,003	100.00 %	5.54 %
Watauga	46	54,086	218,487	54,086	100.00 %	24.75 %
Wayne	9	117,333	216,568	117,333	100.00 %	54.18 %
Wilkes	36	65,969	210,986	65,969	100.00 %	31.27 %
Wilson	9	78,784	216,568	78,784	100.00 %	36.38 %
Yadkin	36	37,214	210,986	37,214	100.00 %	17.64 %
Yancey	46	18,470	218,487	18,470	100.00 %	8.45 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>10,439,388</b>		

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

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## County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

County	District	Total County Population	Total District Population	County Pop in District	Percent of County Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in County
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Number of split counties: 15

Display: all counties

# District - County Report

## District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
1	Bertie	199,623	17,934	17,934	8.98 %	100.00 %
	Camden	199,623	10,355	10,355	5.19 %	100.00 %
	Currituck	199,623	28,100	28,100	14.08 %	100.00 %
	Dare	199,623	36,915	36,915	18.49 %	100.00 %
	Gates	199,623	10,478	10,478	5.25 %	100.00 %
	Hertford	199,623	21,552	21,552	10.80 %	100.00 %
	Northampton	199,623	17,471	17,471	8.75 %	100.00 %
	Pasquotank	199,623	40,568	40,568	20.32 %	100.00 %
	Perquimans	199,623	13,005	13,005	6.51 %	100.00 %
	Tyrrell	199,623	3,245	3,245	1.63 %	100.00 %
2	Carteret	198,557	67,686	67,686	34.09 %	100.00 %
	Chowan	198,557	13,708	13,708	6.90 %	100.00 %
	Halifax	198,557	48,622	48,622	24.49 %	100.00 %
	Hyde	198,557	4,589	4,589	2.31 %	100.00 %
	Martin	198,557	22,031	22,031	11.10 %	100.00 %
	Pamlico	198,557	12,276	12,276	6.18 %	100.00 %
	Warren	198,557	18,642	18,642	9.39 %	100.00 %
	Washington	198,557	11,003	11,003	5.54 %	100.00 %
3	Beaufort	200,494	44,652	44,652	22.27 %	100.00 %
	Craven	200,494	100,720	100,720	50.24 %	100.00 %
	Lenoir	200,494	55,122	55,122	27.49 %	100.00 %
4	Edgecombe	219,143	48,900	48,900	22.31 %	100.00 %
	Pitt	219,143	170,243	170,243	77.69 %	100.00 %
5	Onslow	204,576	204,576	204,576	100.00 %	100.00 %
6	New Hanover	212,582	225,702	212,582	100.00 %	94.19 %
7	Brunswick	200,436	136,693	136,693	68.20 %	100.00 %
	Columbus	200,436	50,623	50,623	25.26 %	100.00 %
	New Hanover	200,436	225,702	13,120	6.55 %	5.81 %
8	Bladen	204,809	29,606	29,606	14.46 %	100.00 %
	Duplin	204,809	48,715	48,715	23.79 %	100.00 %
	Jones	204,809	9,172	9,172	4.48 %	100.00 %
	Pender	204,809	60,203	60,203	29.39 %	100.00 %
	Sampson	204,809	59,036	57,113	27.89 %	96.74 %
9	Greene	216,568	20,451	20,451	9.44 %	100.00 %
	Wayne	216,568	117,333	117,333	54.18 %	100.00 %
	Wilson	216,568	78,784	78,784	36.38 %	100.00 %
10	Johnston	215,999	215,999	215,999	100.00 %	100.00 %
11	Franklin	206,121	68,573	68,573	33.27 %	100.00 %
	Nash	206,121	94,970	94,970	46.07 %	100.00 %
	Vance	206,121	42,578	42,578	20.66 %	100.00 %
12	Granville	198,389	60,992	60,992	30.74 %	100.00 %
	Wake	198,389	1,129,410	137,397	69.26 %	12.17 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

[G20-DistCnty] - Generated 10/14/2021

## District - County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
13	Wake	198,409	1,129,410	198,409	100.00 %	17.57 %
14	Wake	198,376	1,129,410	198,376	100.00 %	17.56 %
15	Wake	198,420	1,129,410	198,420	100.00 %	17.57 %
16	Wake	198,383	1,129,410	198,383	100.00 %	17.57 %
17	Wake	198,425	1,129,410	198,425	100.00 %	17.57 %
18	Durham	200,260	324,833	200,260	100.00 %	61.65 %
19	Chatham	200,858	76,285	76,285	37.98 %	100.00 %
	Durham	200,858	324,833	124,573	62.02 %	38.35 %
20	Harnett	198,776	133,568	133,568	67.20 %	100.00 %
	Lee	198,776	63,285	63,285	31.84 %	100.00 %
	Sampson	198,776	59,036	1,923	0.97 %	3.26 %
21	Cumberland	217,984	334,728	118,257	54.25 %	35.33 %
	Moore	217,984	99,727	99,727	45.75 %	100.00 %
22	Cumberland	216,471	334,728	216,471	100.00 %	64.67 %
23	Caswell	210,529	22,736	22,736	10.80 %	100.00 %
	Orange	210,529	148,696	148,696	70.63 %	100.00 %
	Person	210,529	39,097	39,097	18.57 %	100.00 %
24	Hoke	202,786	52,082	52,082	25.68 %	100.00 %
	Robeson	202,786	116,530	116,530	57.46 %	100.00 %
	Scotland	202,786	34,174	34,174	16.85 %	100.00 %
25	Alamance	218,484	171,415	171,415	78.46 %	100.00 %
	Randolph	218,484	144,171	47,069	21.54 %	32.65 %
26	Guilford	201,428	541,299	110,332	54.77 %	20.38 %
	Rockingham	201,428	91,096	91,096	45.23 %	100.00 %
27	Guilford	216,058	541,299	216,058	100.00 %	39.91 %
28	Guilford	214,909	541,299	214,909	100.00 %	39.70 %
29	Anson	214,631	22,055	22,055	10.28 %	100.00 %
	Montgomery	214,631	25,751	25,751	12.00 %	100.00 %
	Randolph	214,631	144,171	97,102	45.24 %	67.35 %
	Richmond	214,631	42,946	42,946	20.01 %	100.00 %
	Union	214,631	238,267	26,777	12.48 %	11.24 %
30	Forsyth	212,299	382,590	167,779	79.03 %	43.85 %
	Stokes	212,299	44,520	44,520	20.97 %	100.00 %
31	Forsyth	214,811	382,590	214,811	100.00 %	56.15 %
32	Davidson	211,642	168,930	168,930	79.82 %	100.00 %
	Davie	211,642	42,712	42,712	20.18 %	100.00 %
33	Rowan	209,379	146,875	146,875	70.15 %	100.00 %
	Stanly	209,379	62,504	62,504	29.85 %	100.00 %
34	Cabarrus	219,157	225,804	219,157	100.00 %	97.06 %
35	Cabarrus	218,137	225,804	6,647	3.05 %	2.94 %
	Union	218,137	238,267	211,490	96.95 %	88.76 %

## District - County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Total District Population	Total County Population	District Pop in County	Percent of District Pop in County	Percent of County Pop in District
36	Alexander	210,986	36,444	36,444	17.27 %	100.00 %
	Surry	210,986	71,359	71,359	33.82 %	100.00 %
	Wilkes	210,986	65,969	65,969	31.27 %	100.00 %
	Yadkin	210,986	37,214	37,214	17.64 %	100.00 %
37	Iredell	215,708	186,693	186,693	86.55 %	100.00 %
	Mecklenburg	215,708	1,115,482	29,015	13.45 %	2.60 %
38	Mecklenburg	217,671	1,115,482	217,671	100.00 %	19.51 %
39	Mecklenburg	219,006	1,115,482	219,006	100.00 %	19.63 %
40	Mecklenburg	216,693	1,115,482	216,693	100.00 %	19.43 %
41	Mecklenburg	216,686	1,115,482	216,686	100.00 %	19.43 %
42	Mecklenburg	216,411	1,115,482	216,411	100.00 %	19.40 %
43	Caldwell	209,997	80,652	49,387	23.52 %	61.23 %
	Catawba	209,997	160,610	160,610	76.48 %	100.00 %
44	Cleveland	203,043	99,519	99,519	49.01 %	100.00 %
	Gaston	203,043	227,943	16,714	8.23 %	7.33 %
	Lincoln	203,043	86,810	86,810	42.75 %	100.00 %
45	Gaston	211,229	227,943	211,229	100.00 %	92.67 %
46	Alleghany	218,487	10,888	10,888	4.98 %	100.00 %
	Ashe	218,487	26,577	26,577	12.16 %	100.00 %
	Avery	218,487	17,806	17,806	8.15 %	100.00 %
	Caldwell	218,487	80,652	31,265	14.31 %	38.77 %
	Haywood	218,487	62,089	23,299	10.66 %	37.53 %
	Madison	218,487	21,193	21,193	9.70 %	100.00 %
	Mitchell	218,487	14,903	14,903	6.82 %	100.00 %
	Watauga	218,487	54,086	54,086	24.75 %	100.00 %
	Yancey	218,487	18,470	18,470	8.45 %	100.00 %
47	Buncombe	200,614	269,452	68,466	34.13 %	25.41 %
	Burke	200,614	87,570	87,570	43.65 %	100.00 %
	McDowell	200,614	44,578	44,578	22.22 %	100.00 %
48	Henderson	200,053	116,281	116,281	58.13 %	100.00 %
	Polk	200,053	19,328	19,328	9.66 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford	200,053	64,444	64,444	32.21 %	100.00 %
49	Buncombe	200,986	269,452	200,986	100.00 %	74.59 %
50	Cherokee	213,909	28,774	28,774	13.45 %	100.00 %
	Clay	213,909	11,089	11,089	5.18 %	100.00 %
	Graham	213,909	8,030	8,030	3.75 %	100.00 %
	Haywood	213,909	62,089	38,790	18.13 %	62.47 %
	Jackson	213,909	43,109	43,109	20.15 %	100.00 %
	Macon	213,909	37,014	37,014	17.30 %	100.00 %
	Swain	213,909	14,117	14,117	6.60 %	100.00 %
	Transylvania	213,909	32,986	32,986	15.42 %	100.00 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>10,439,388</b>		

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Data Source: 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File - North Carolina

[G20-DistCnty] - Generated 10/14/2021

# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Aberdeen	21	8,516	217,984	8,516	100.00 %	3.91 %
Ahoskie	1	4,891	199,623	4,891	100.00 %	2.45 %
Alamance	25	988	218,484	988	100.00 %	0.45 %
Albemarle	33	16,432	209,379	16,432	100.00 %	7.85 %
Alliance	2	733	198,557	733	100.00 %	0.37 %
Andrews	50	1,667	213,909	1,667	100.00 %	0.78 %
Angier	16	5,265	198,383	556	10.56 %	0.28 %
	20	5,265	198,776	4,709	89.44 %	2.37 %
Ansonville	29	440	214,631	440	100.00 %	0.21 %
Apex	16	58,780	198,383	34,326	58.40 %	17.30 %
	17	58,780	198,425	24,454	41.60 %	12.32 %
Arapahoe	2	416	198,557	416	100.00 %	0.21 %
Archdale	28	11,907	214,909	380	3.19 %	0.18 %
	29	11,907	214,631	11,527	96.81 %	5.37 %
Archer Lodge	10	4,797	215,999	4,797	100.00 %	2.22 %
Asheboro	25	27,156	218,484	925	3.41 %	0.42 %
	29	27,156	214,631	26,231	96.59 %	12.22 %
Asheville	49	94,589	200,986	94,589	100.00 %	47.06 %
Askewville	1	184	199,623	184	100.00 %	0.09 %
Atkinson	8	296	204,809	296	100.00 %	0.14 %
Atlantic Beach	2	1,364	198,557	1,364	100.00 %	0.69 %
Aulander	1	763	199,623	763	100.00 %	0.38 %
Aurora	3	455	200,494	455	100.00 %	0.23 %
Autryville	8	167	204,809	167	100.00 %	0.08 %
Ayden	4	4,977	219,143	4,977	100.00 %	2.27 %
Badin	33	2,024	209,379	2,024	100.00 %	0.97 %
Bailey	11	568	206,121	568	100.00 %	0.28 %
Bakersville	46	450	218,487	450	100.00 %	0.21 %
Bald Head Island	7	268	200,436	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Banner Elk	46	1,049	218,487	1,049	100.00 %	0.48 %
Bath	3	245	200,494	245	100.00 %	0.12 %
Bayboro	2	1,161	198,557	1,161	100.00 %	0.58 %
Bear Grass	2	89	198,557	89	100.00 %	0.04 %
Beaufort	2	4,464	198,557	4,464	100.00 %	2.25 %
Beech Mountain	46	675	218,487	675	100.00 %	0.31 %
Belhaven	3	1,410	200,494	1,410	100.00 %	0.70 %
Belmont	45	15,010	211,229	15,010	100.00 %	7.11 %
Belville	7	2,406	200,436	2,406	100.00 %	1.20 %
Belwood	44	857	203,043	857	100.00 %	0.42 %
Benson	10	3,967	215,999	3,967	100.00 %	1.84 %
	20	3,967	198,776	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Bermuda Run	32	3,120	211,642	3,120	100.00 %	1.47 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Bessemer City	44	5,428	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	5,428	211,229	5,428	100.00 %	2.57 %
Bethania	30	344	212,299	344	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bethel	4	1,373	219,143	1,373	100.00 %	0.63 %
Beulaville	8	1,116	204,809	1,116	100.00 %	0.54 %
Biltmore Forest	49	1,409	200,986	1,409	100.00 %	0.70 %
Biscoe	29	1,848	214,631	1,848	100.00 %	0.86 %
Black Creek	9	692	216,568	692	100.00 %	0.32 %
Black Mountain	47	8,426	200,614	8,426	100.00 %	4.20 %
Bladenboro	8	1,648	204,809	1,648	100.00 %	0.80 %
Blowing Rock	46	1,376	218,487	1,376	100.00 %	0.63 %
Boardman	7	166	200,436	166	100.00 %	0.08 %
Bogue	2	695	198,557	695	100.00 %	0.35 %
Boiling Spring Lakes	7	5,943	200,436	5,943	100.00 %	2.97 %
Boiling Springs	44	4,615	203,043	4,615	100.00 %	2.27 %
Bolivia	7	149	200,436	149	100.00 %	0.07 %
Bolton	7	519	200,436	519	100.00 %	0.26 %
Boone	46	19,092	218,487	19,092	100.00 %	8.74 %
Boonville	36	1,185	210,986	1,185	100.00 %	0.56 %
Bostic	48	355	200,053	355	100.00 %	0.18 %
Brevard	50	7,744	213,909	7,744	100.00 %	3.62 %
Bridgeton	3	349	200,494	349	100.00 %	0.17 %
Broadway	20	1,267	198,776	1,267	100.00 %	0.64 %
Brookford	43	442	209,997	442	100.00 %	0.21 %
Brunswick	7	973	200,436	973	100.00 %	0.49 %
Bryson City	50	1,558	213,909	1,558	100.00 %	0.73 %
Bunn	11	327	206,121	327	100.00 %	0.16 %
Burgaw	8	3,088	204,809	3,088	100.00 %	1.51 %
Burlington	25	57,303	218,484	55,481	96.82 %	25.39 %
	26	57,303	201,428	1,822	3.18 %	0.90 %
Burnsville	46	1,614	218,487	1,614	100.00 %	0.74 %
Butner	12	8,397	198,389	8,397	100.00 %	4.23 %
Cajah's Mountain	43	2,722	209,997	2,722	100.00 %	1.30 %
	46	2,722	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Calabash	7	2,011	200,436	2,011	100.00 %	1.00 %
Calypso	8	327	204,809	327	100.00 %	0.16 %
Cameron	21	244	217,984	244	100.00 %	0.11 %
Candor	21	813	217,984	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	29	813	214,631	813	100.00 %	0.38 %
Canton	46	4,422	218,487	4,422	100.00 %	2.02 %
Cape Carteret	2	2,224	198,557	2,224	100.00 %	1.12 %
Carolina Beach	6	6,564	212,582	6,564	100.00 %	3.09 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Carolina Shores	7	4,588	200,436	4,588	100.00 %	2.29 %
Carrboro	23	21,295	210,529	21,295	100.00 %	10.11 %
Carthage	21	2,775	217,984	2,775	100.00 %	1.27 %
Cary	15	174,721	198,420	4,080	2.34 %	2.06 %
	16	174,721	198,383	11,113	6.36 %	5.60 %
	17	174,721	198,425	155,819	89.18 %	78.53 %
	19	174,721	200,858	3,709	2.12 %	1.85 %
Casar	44	305	203,043	305	100.00 %	0.15 %
Castalia	11	264	206,121	264	100.00 %	0.13 %
Caswell Beach	7	395	200,436	395	100.00 %	0.20 %
Catawba	43	702	209,997	702	100.00 %	0.33 %
Cedar Point	2	1,764	198,557	1,764	100.00 %	0.89 %
Cedar Rock	43	301	209,997	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	46	301	218,487	301	100.00 %	0.14 %
Cerro Gordo	7	131	200,436	131	100.00 %	0.07 %
Chadbourn	7	1,574	200,436	1,574	100.00 %	0.79 %
Chapel Hill	18	61,960	200,260	2,322	3.75 %	1.16 %
	19	61,960	200,858	584	0.94 %	0.29 %
	23	61,960	210,529	59,054	95.31 %	28.05 %
Charlotte	38	874,579	217,671	121,442	13.89 %	55.79 %
	39	874,579	219,006	210,910	24.12 %	96.30 %
	40	874,579	216,693	216,685	24.78 %	100.00 %
	41	874,579	216,686	153,144	17.51 %	70.68 %
	42	874,579	216,411	172,398	19.71 %	79.66 %
Cherryville	44	6,078	203,043	6,078	100.00 %	2.99 %
Chimney Rock Village	48	140	200,053	140	100.00 %	0.07 %
China Grove	33	4,434	209,379	4,434	100.00 %	2.12 %
Chocowinity	3	722	200,494	722	100.00 %	0.36 %
Claremont	43	1,692	209,997	1,692	100.00 %	0.81 %
Clarkton	8	614	204,809	614	100.00 %	0.30 %
Clayton	10	26,307	215,999	26,307	100.00 %	12.18 %
	13	26,307	198,409	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Clemmons	30	21,163	212,299	21,163	100.00 %	9.97 %
Cleveland	33	846	209,379	846	100.00 %	0.40 %
Clinton	8	8,383	204,809	8,383	100.00 %	4.09 %
Clyde	46	1,368	218,487	1,368	100.00 %	0.63 %
Coats	20	2,155	198,776	2,155	100.00 %	1.08 %
Cofield	1	267	199,623	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Colerain	1	217	199,623	217	100.00 %	0.11 %
Columbia	1	610	199,623	610	100.00 %	0.31 %
Columbus	48	1,060	200,053	1,060	100.00 %	0.53 %
Como	1	67	199,623	67	100.00 %	0.03 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Concord	34	105,240	219,157	105,240	100.00 %	48.02 %
Conetoe	4	198	219,143	198	100.00 %	0.09 %
Connelly Springs	47	1,529	200,614	1,529	100.00 %	0.76 %
Conover	43	8,421	209,997	8,421	100.00 %	4.01 %
Conway	1	752	199,623	752	100.00 %	0.38 %
Cooleemee	32	940	211,642	940	100.00 %	0.44 %
Cornelius	37	31,412	215,708	12,415	39.52 %	5.76 %
	38	31,412	217,671	18,997	60.48 %	8.73 %
Cove City	3	378	200,494	378	100.00 %	0.19 %
Cramerton	45	5,296	211,229	5,296	100.00 %	2.51 %
Creedmoor	12	4,866	198,389	4,866	100.00 %	2.45 %
Creswell	2	207	198,557	207	100.00 %	0.10 %
Crossnore	46	143	218,487	143	100.00 %	0.07 %
Dallas	45	5,927	211,229	5,927	100.00 %	2.81 %
Danbury	30	189	212,299	189	100.00 %	0.09 %
Davidson	37	15,106	215,708	15,106	100.00 %	7.00 %
Dellview	44	6	203,043	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Denton	32	1,494	211,642	1,494	100.00 %	0.71 %
Dillsboro	50	213	213,909	213	100.00 %	0.10 %
Dobbins Heights	29	687	214,631	687	100.00 %	0.32 %
Dobson	36	1,462	210,986	1,462	100.00 %	0.69 %
Dortches	11	1,082	206,121	1,082	100.00 %	0.52 %
Dover	3	349	200,494	349	100.00 %	0.17 %
Drexel	47	1,760	200,614	1,760	100.00 %	0.88 %
Dublin	8	267	204,809	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Duck	1	742	199,623	742	100.00 %	0.37 %
Dunn	20	8,446	198,776	8,446	100.00 %	4.25 %
Durham	14	283,506	198,376	269	0.09 %	0.14 %
	15	283,506	198,420	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	18	283,506	200,260	195,933	69.11 %	97.84 %
	19	283,506	200,858	87,160	30.74 %	43.39 %
	23	283,506	210,529	144	0.05 %	0.07 %
Earl	44	198	203,043	198	100.00 %	0.10 %
East Arcadia	8	418	204,809	418	100.00 %	0.20 %
East Bend	36	634	210,986	634	100.00 %	0.30 %
East Laurinburg	24	234	202,786	234	100.00 %	0.12 %
Eastover	21	3,656	217,984	3,656	100.00 %	1.68 %
East Spencer	33	1,567	209,379	1,567	100.00 %	0.75 %
Eden	26	15,421	201,428	15,421	100.00 %	7.66 %
Edenton	2	4,460	198,557	4,460	100.00 %	2.25 %
Elizabeth City	1	18,631	199,623	18,631	100.00 %	9.33 %
Elizabethtown	8	3,296	204,809	3,296	100.00 %	1.61 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Elkin	36	4,122	210,986	4,122	100.00 %	1.95 %
Elk Park	46	542	218,487	542	100.00 %	0.25 %
Ellenboro	48	723	200,053	723	100.00 %	0.36 %
Ellerbe	29	864	214,631	864	100.00 %	0.40 %
Elm City	9	1,218	216,568	1,218	100.00 %	0.56 %
	11	1,218	206,121	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Elon	25	11,336	218,484	11,336	100.00 %	5.19 %
Emerald Isle	2	3,847	198,557	3,847	100.00 %	1.94 %
Enfield	2	1,865	198,557	1,865	100.00 %	0.94 %
Erwin	20	4,542	198,776	4,542	100.00 %	2.28 %
Eureka	9	214	216,568	214	100.00 %	0.10 %
Everetts	2	150	198,557	150	100.00 %	0.08 %
Fair Bluff	7	709	200,436	709	100.00 %	0.35 %
Fairmont	24	2,191	202,786	2,191	100.00 %	1.08 %
Fairview	35	3,456	218,137	3,456	100.00 %	1.58 %
Faison	8	784	204,809	784	100.00 %	0.38 %
Faith	33	819	209,379	819	100.00 %	0.39 %
Falcon	8	324	204,809	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	21	324	217,984	324	100.00 %	0.15 %
Falkland	4	47	219,143	47	100.00 %	0.02 %
Fallston	44	627	203,043	627	100.00 %	0.31 %
Farmville	4	4,461	219,143	4,461	100.00 %	2.04 %
Fayetteville	21	208,501	217,984	24,573	11.79 %	11.27 %
	22	208,501	216,471	183,928	88.21 %	84.97 %
Flat Rock	48	3,486	200,053	3,486	100.00 %	1.74 %
Fletcher	48	7,987	200,053	7,987	100.00 %	3.99 %
Fontana Dam	50	13	213,909	13	100.00 %	0.01 %
Forest City	48	7,377	200,053	7,377	100.00 %	3.69 %
Forest Hills	50	303	213,909	303	100.00 %	0.14 %
Fountain	4	385	219,143	385	100.00 %	0.18 %
Four Oaks	10	2,158	215,999	2,158	100.00 %	1.00 %
Foxfire	21	1,288	217,984	1,288	100.00 %	0.59 %
Franklin	50	4,175	213,909	4,175	100.00 %	1.95 %
Franklinton	11	2,456	206,121	2,456	100.00 %	1.19 %
Franklinville	25	1,197	218,484	1,197	100.00 %	0.55 %
Fremont	9	1,196	216,568	1,196	100.00 %	0.55 %
Fuquay-Varina	16	34,152	198,383	34,152	100.00 %	17.22 %
	20	34,152	198,776	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Gamewell	43	3,702	209,997	3,702	100.00 %	1.76 %
	46	3,702	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Garland	8	595	204,809	595	100.00 %	0.29 %

## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Garner	13	31,159	198,409	26,967	86.55 %	13.59 %
	15	31,159	198,420	490	1.57 %	0.25 %
	16	31,159	198,383	3,702	11.88 %	1.87 %
Garysburg	1	904	199,623	904	100.00 %	0.45 %
Gaston	1	1,008	199,623	1,008	100.00 %	0.50 %
Gastonia	44	80,411	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	80,411	211,229	80,411	100.00 %	38.07 %
Gatesville	1	267	199,623	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Gibson	24	449	202,786	449	100.00 %	0.22 %
Gibsonville	25	8,920	218,484	4,278	47.96 %	1.96 %
	26	8,920	201,428	4,642	52.04 %	2.30 %
Glen Alpine	47	1,529	200,614	1,529	100.00 %	0.76 %
Godwin	21	128	217,984	128	100.00 %	0.06 %
Goldsboro	9	33,657	216,568	33,657	100.00 %	15.54 %
Goldston	19	234	200,858	234	100.00 %	0.12 %
Graham	25	17,157	218,484	17,157	100.00 %	7.85 %
Grandfather Village	46	95	218,487	95	100.00 %	0.04 %
Granite Falls	43	4,965	209,997	4,965	100.00 %	2.36 %
Granite Quarry	33	2,984	209,379	2,984	100.00 %	1.43 %
Grantsboro	2	692	198,557	692	100.00 %	0.35 %
Greenevers	8	567	204,809	567	100.00 %	0.28 %
Green Level	25	3,152	218,484	3,152	100.00 %	1.44 %
Greensboro	26	299,035	201,428	12,873	4.30 %	6.39 %
	27	299,035	216,058	204,686	68.45 %	94.74 %
	28	299,035	214,909	81,476	27.25 %	37.91 %
Greenville	4	87,521	219,143	87,521	100.00 %	39.94 %
Grifton	3	2,448	200,494	147	6.00 %	0.07 %
	4	2,448	219,143	2,301	94.00 %	1.05 %
Grimesland	4	386	219,143	386	100.00 %	0.18 %
Grover	44	802	203,043	802	100.00 %	0.39 %
Halifax	2	170	198,557	170	100.00 %	0.09 %
Hamilton	2	306	198,557	306	100.00 %	0.15 %
Hamlet	29	6,025	214,631	6,025	100.00 %	2.81 %
Harmony	37	543	215,708	543	100.00 %	0.25 %
Harrells	8	160	204,809	160	100.00 %	0.08 %
Harrellsville	1	85	199,623	85	100.00 %	0.04 %
Harrisburg	34	18,967	219,157	18,967	100.00 %	8.65 %
Hassell	2	49	198,557	49	100.00 %	0.02 %
Havelock	3	16,621	200,494	16,621	100.00 %	8.29 %
Haw River	25	2,252	218,484	2,252	100.00 %	1.03 %
Hayesville	50	461	213,909	461	100.00 %	0.22 %
Hemby Bridge	35	1,614	218,137	1,614	100.00 %	0.74 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Henderson	11	15,060	206,121	15,060	100.00 %	7.31 %
Hendersonville	48	15,137	200,053	15,137	100.00 %	7.57 %
Hertford	1	1,934	199,623	1,934	100.00 %	0.97 %
Hickory	43	43,490	209,997	43,411	99.82 %	20.67 %
	47	43,490	200,614	79	0.18 %	0.04 %
Highlands	50	1,072	213,909	1,072	100.00 %	0.50 %
High Point	28	114,059	214,909	107,321	94.09 %	49.94 %
	29	114,059	214,631	8	0.01 %	0.00 %
	30	114,059	212,299	84	0.07 %	0.04 %
	32	114,059	211,642	6,646	5.83 %	3.14 %
High Shoals	44	595	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	595	211,229	595	100.00 %	0.28 %
Hildebran	47	1,679	200,614	1,679	100.00 %	0.84 %
Hillsborough	23	9,660	210,529	9,660	100.00 %	4.59 %
Hobgood	2	268	198,557	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Hoffman	29	418	214,631	418	100.00 %	0.19 %
Holden Beach	7	921	200,436	921	100.00 %	0.46 %
Holly Ridge	5	4,171	204,576	4,171	100.00 %	2.04 %
Holly Springs	16	41,239	198,383	41,239	100.00 %	20.79 %
Hookerton	9	413	216,568	413	100.00 %	0.19 %
Hope Mills	21	17,808	217,984	15,215	85.44 %	6.98 %
	22	17,808	216,471	2,593	14.56 %	1.20 %
Hot Springs	46	520	218,487	520	100.00 %	0.24 %
Hudson	43	3,780	209,997	3,780	100.00 %	1.80 %
	46	3,780	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Huntersville	37	61,376	215,708	117	0.19 %	0.05 %
	38	61,376	217,671	61,259	99.81 %	28.14 %
Indian Beach	2	223	198,557	223	100.00 %	0.11 %
Indian Trail	35	39,997	218,137	39,997	100.00 %	18.34 %
Jackson	1	430	199,623	430	100.00 %	0.22 %
Jacksonville	5	72,723	204,576	72,723	100.00 %	35.55 %
Jamestown	28	3,668	214,909	3,668	100.00 %	1.71 %
Jamesville	2	424	198,557	424	100.00 %	0.21 %
Jefferson	46	1,622	218,487	1,622	100.00 %	0.74 %
Jonesville	36	2,308	210,986	2,308	100.00 %	1.09 %
Kannapolis	33	53,114	209,379	10,268	19.33 %	4.90 %
	34	53,114	219,157	42,846	80.67 %	19.55 %
Kelford	1	203	199,623	203	100.00 %	0.10 %
Kenansville	8	770	204,809	770	100.00 %	0.38 %
Kenly	9	1,491	216,568	198	13.28 %	0.09 %
	10	1,491	215,999	1,293	86.72 %	0.60 %

## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Kernersville	26	26,449	201,428	94	0.36 %	0.05 %
	28	26,449	214,909	408	1.54 %	0.19 %
	30	26,449	212,299	25,947	98.10 %	12.22 %
Kill Devil Hills	1	7,656	199,623	7,656	100.00 %	3.84 %
King	30	7,197	212,299	7,197	100.00 %	3.39 %
Kings Mountain	44	11,142	203,043	10,032	90.04 %	4.94 %
	45	11,142	211,229	1,110	9.96 %	0.53 %
Kingstown	44	656	203,043	656	100.00 %	0.32 %
Kinston	3	19,900	200,494	19,900	100.00 %	9.93 %
Kittrell	11	132	206,121	132	100.00 %	0.06 %
Kitty Hawk	1	3,689	199,623	3,689	100.00 %	1.85 %
Knightdale	12	19,435	198,389	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	13	19,435	198,409	19,435	100.00 %	9.80 %
Kure Beach	6	2,191	212,582	2,191	100.00 %	1.03 %
La Grange	3	2,595	200,494	2,595	100.00 %	1.29 %
Lake Lure	48	1,365	200,053	1,365	100.00 %	0.68 %
Lake Park	35	3,269	218,137	3,269	100.00 %	1.50 %
Lake Santeetlah	50	38	213,909	38	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lake Waccamaw	7	1,296	200,436	1,296	100.00 %	0.65 %
Landis	33	3,690	209,379	3,690	100.00 %	1.76 %
Lansing	46	126	218,487	126	100.00 %	0.06 %
Lasker	1	64	199,623	64	100.00 %	0.03 %
Lattimore	44	406	203,043	406	100.00 %	0.20 %
Laurel Park	48	2,250	200,053	2,250	100.00 %	1.12 %
Laurinburg	24	14,978	202,786	14,978	100.00 %	7.39 %
Lawndale	44	570	203,043	570	100.00 %	0.28 %
Leggett	4	37	219,143	37	100.00 %	0.02 %
Leland	7	22,908	200,436	22,908	100.00 %	11.43 %
Lenoir	43	18,352	209,997	1	0.01 %	0.00 %
	46	18,352	218,487	18,351	99.99 %	8.40 %
Lewiston Woodville	1	426	199,623	426	100.00 %	0.21 %
Lewisville	30	13,381	212,299	13,381	100.00 %	6.30 %
Lexington	32	19,632	211,642	19,632	100.00 %	9.28 %
Liberty	25	2,655	218,484	2,655	100.00 %	1.22 %
Lilesville	29	395	214,631	395	100.00 %	0.18 %
Lillington	20	4,735	198,776	4,735	100.00 %	2.38 %
Lincolnton	44	11,091	203,043	11,091	100.00 %	5.46 %
Linden	21	136	217,984	136	100.00 %	0.06 %
Littleton	2	559	198,557	559	100.00 %	0.28 %
Locust	33	4,537	209,379	3,996	88.08 %	1.91 %
	34	4,537	219,157	423	9.32 %	0.19 %
	35	4,537	218,137	118	2.60 %	0.05 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Long View	43	5,088	209,997	4,353	85.55 %	2.07 %
	47	5,088	200,614	735	14.45 %	0.37 %
Louisburg	11	3,064	206,121	3,064	100.00 %	1.49 %
Love Valley	37	154	215,708	154	100.00 %	0.07 %
Lowell	45	3,654	211,229	3,654	100.00 %	1.73 %
Lucama	9	1,036	216,568	1,036	100.00 %	0.48 %
Lumber Bridge	24	82	202,786	82	100.00 %	0.04 %
Lumberton	24	19,025	202,786	19,025	100.00 %	9.38 %
McAdenville	45	890	211,229	890	100.00 %	0.42 %
Macclesfield	4	413	219,143	413	100.00 %	0.19 %
McDonald	24	94	202,786	94	100.00 %	0.05 %
McFarlan	29	94	214,631	94	100.00 %	0.04 %
Macon	2	110	198,557	110	100.00 %	0.06 %
Madison	26	2,129	201,428	2,129	100.00 %	1.06 %
Maggie Valley	50	1,687	213,909	1,687	100.00 %	0.79 %
Magnolia	8	831	204,809	831	100.00 %	0.41 %
Maiden	43	3,736	209,997	3,736	100.00 %	1.78 %
	44	3,736	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Manteo	1	1,600	199,623	1,600	100.00 %	0.80 %
Marietta	24	111	202,786	111	100.00 %	0.05 %
Marion	47	7,717	200,614	7,717	100.00 %	3.85 %
Marshall	46	777	218,487	777	100.00 %	0.36 %
Mars Hill	46	2,007	218,487	2,007	100.00 %	0.92 %
Marshville	29	2,522	214,631	2,522	100.00 %	1.18 %
Marvin	35	6,358	218,137	6,358	100.00 %	2.91 %
Matthews	41	29,435	216,686	29,435	100.00 %	13.58 %
Maxton	24	2,110	202,786	2,110	100.00 %	1.04 %
Mayodan	26	2,418	201,428	2,418	100.00 %	1.20 %
Maysville	8	818	204,809	818	100.00 %	0.40 %
Mebane	23	17,797	210,529	3,171	17.82 %	1.51 %
	25	17,797	218,484	14,626	82.18 %	6.69 %
Mesic	2	144	198,557	144	100.00 %	0.07 %
Micro	10	458	215,999	458	100.00 %	0.21 %
Middleburg	11	101	206,121	101	100.00 %	0.05 %
Middlesex	11	912	206,121	912	100.00 %	0.44 %
Midland	34	4,684	219,157	25	0.53 %	0.01 %
	35	4,684	218,137	4,659	99.47 %	2.14 %
	41	4,684	216,686	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Midway	32	4,742	211,642	4,742	100.00 %	2.24 %
Mills River	48	7,078	200,053	7,078	100.00 %	3.54 %
Milton	23	155	210,529	155	100.00 %	0.07 %
Mineral Springs	35	3,159	218,137	3,159	100.00 %	1.45 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Minnesott Beach	2	530	198,557	530	100.00 %	0.27 %
Mint Hill	35	26,450	218,137	6	0.02 %	0.00 %
	39	26,450	219,006	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	41	26,450	216,686	26,444	99.98 %	12.20 %
Misenheimer	33	650	209,379	650	100.00 %	0.31 %
Mocksville	32	5,900	211,642	5,900	100.00 %	2.79 %
Momeyer	11	277	206,121	277	100.00 %	0.13 %
Monroe	35	34,562	218,137	34,562	100.00 %	15.84 %
Montreat	47	901	200,614	901	100.00 %	0.45 %
Mooresboro	44	293	203,043	293	100.00 %	0.14 %
Mooresville	37	50,193	215,708	50,193	100.00 %	23.27 %
Morehead City	2	9,556	198,557	9,556	100.00 %	4.81 %
Morganton	47	17,474	200,614	17,474	100.00 %	8.71 %
Morrisville	15	29,630	198,420	18,571	62.68 %	9.36 %
	17	29,630	198,425	10,852	36.63 %	5.47 %
	19	29,630	200,858	207	0.70 %	0.10 %
Morven	29	329	214,631	329	100.00 %	0.15 %
Mount Airy	36	10,676	210,986	10,676	100.00 %	5.06 %
Mount Gilead	29	1,171	214,631	1,171	100.00 %	0.55 %
Mount Holly	45	17,703	211,229	17,703	100.00 %	8.38 %
Mount Olive	8	4,198	204,809	5	0.12 %	0.00 %
	9	4,198	216,568	4,193	99.88 %	1.94 %
Mount Pleasant	34	1,671	219,157	1,671	100.00 %	0.76 %
Murfreesboro	1	2,619	199,623	2,619	100.00 %	1.31 %
Murphy	50	1,608	213,909	1,608	100.00 %	0.75 %
Nags Head	1	3,168	199,623	3,168	100.00 %	1.59 %
Nashville	11	5,632	206,121	5,632	100.00 %	2.73 %
Navassa	7	1,367	200,436	1,367	100.00 %	0.68 %
New Bern	3	31,291	200,494	31,291	100.00 %	15.61 %
Newland	46	715	218,487	715	100.00 %	0.33 %
New London	33	607	209,379	607	100.00 %	0.29 %
Newport	2	4,364	198,557	4,364	100.00 %	2.20 %
Newton	43	13,148	209,997	13,148	100.00 %	6.26 %
Newton Grove	8	585	204,809	585	100.00 %	0.29 %
Norlina	2	920	198,557	920	100.00 %	0.46 %
Norman	29	100	214,631	100	100.00 %	0.05 %
North Topsail Beach	5	1,005	204,576	1,005	100.00 %	0.49 %
Northwest	7	703	200,436	703	100.00 %	0.35 %
North Wilkesboro	36	4,382	210,986	4,382	100.00 %	2.08 %
Norwood	33	2,367	209,379	2,367	100.00 %	1.13 %
Oakboro	33	2,128	209,379	2,128	100.00 %	1.02 %
Oak City	2	266	198,557	266	100.00 %	0.13 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Oak Island	7	8,396	200,436	8,396	100.00 %	4.19 %
Oak Ridge	26	7,474	201,428	7,474	100.00 %	3.71 %
Ocean Isle Beach	7	867	200,436	867	100.00 %	0.43 %
Old Fort	47	811	200,614	811	100.00 %	0.40 %
Oriental	2	880	198,557	880	100.00 %	0.44 %
Orrum	24	59	202,786	59	100.00 %	0.03 %
Ossipee	25	536	218,484	536	100.00 %	0.25 %
Oxford	12	8,628	198,389	8,628	100.00 %	4.35 %
Pantego	3	164	200,494	164	100.00 %	0.08 %
Parkton	24	504	202,786	504	100.00 %	0.25 %
Parmelee	2	243	198,557	243	100.00 %	0.12 %
Patterson Springs	44	571	203,043	571	100.00 %	0.28 %
Peachland	29	390	214,631	390	100.00 %	0.18 %
Peletier	2	769	198,557	769	100.00 %	0.39 %
Pembroke	24	2,823	202,786	2,823	100.00 %	1.39 %
Pikeville	9	712	216,568	712	100.00 %	0.33 %
Pilot Mountain	36	1,440	210,986	1,440	100.00 %	0.68 %
Pinebluff	21	1,473	217,984	1,473	100.00 %	0.68 %
Pinehurst	21	17,581	217,984	17,581	100.00 %	8.07 %
Pine Knoll Shores	2	1,388	198,557	1,388	100.00 %	0.70 %
Pine Level	10	2,046	215,999	2,046	100.00 %	0.95 %
Pinetops	4	1,200	219,143	1,200	100.00 %	0.55 %
Pineville	41	10,602	216,686	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	42	10,602	216,411	10,602	100.00 %	4.90 %
Pink Hill	3	451	200,494	451	100.00 %	0.22 %
Pittsboro	19	4,537	200,858	4,537	100.00 %	2.26 %
Pleasant Garden	26	5,000	201,428	5,000	100.00 %	2.48 %
Plymouth	2	3,320	198,557	3,320	100.00 %	1.67 %
Polkton	29	2,250	214,631	2,250	100.00 %	1.05 %
Polkville	44	516	203,043	516	100.00 %	0.25 %
Pollocksville	8	268	204,809	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Powellsville	1	189	199,623	189	100.00 %	0.09 %
Princeton	10	1,315	215,999	1,315	100.00 %	0.61 %
Princeville	4	1,254	219,143	1,254	100.00 %	0.57 %
Proctorville	24	121	202,786	121	100.00 %	0.06 %
Raeford	24	4,559	202,786	4,559	100.00 %	2.25 %
Raleigh	12	467,665	198,389	7,009	1.50 %	3.53 %
	13	467,665	198,409	105,867	22.64 %	53.36 %
	14	467,665	198,376	187,340	40.06 %	94.44 %
	15	467,665	198,420	165,880	35.47 %	83.60 %
	17	467,665	198,425	10	0.00 %	0.01 %
	19	467,665	200,858	1,559	0.33 %	0.78 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Ramseur	25	1,774	218,484	1,774	100.00 %	0.81 %
Randleman	25	4,595	218,484	4,595	100.00 %	2.10 %
	29	4,595	214,631	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Ranlo	45	4,511	211,229	4,511	100.00 %	2.14 %
Raynham	24	60	202,786	60	100.00 %	0.03 %
Red Cross	33	762	209,379	762	100.00 %	0.36 %
Red Oak	11	3,342	206,121	3,342	100.00 %	1.62 %
Red Springs	24	3,087	202,786	3,087	100.00 %	1.52 %
Reidsville	26	14,583	201,428	14,583	100.00 %	7.24 %
Rennert	24	275	202,786	275	100.00 %	0.14 %
Rhodhiss	43	997	209,997	358	35.91 %	0.17 %
	47	997	200,614	639	64.09 %	0.32 %
Richfield	33	582	209,379	582	100.00 %	0.28 %
Richlands	5	2,287	204,576	2,287	100.00 %	1.12 %
Rich Square	1	894	199,623	894	100.00 %	0.45 %
River Bend	3	2,902	200,494	2,902	100.00 %	1.45 %
Roanoke Rapids	2	15,229	198,557	15,229	100.00 %	7.67 %
Robbins	21	1,168	217,984	1,168	100.00 %	0.54 %
Robbinsville	50	597	213,909	597	100.00 %	0.28 %
Robersonville	2	1,269	198,557	1,269	100.00 %	0.64 %
Rockingham	29	9,243	214,631	9,243	100.00 %	4.31 %
Rockwell	33	2,302	209,379	2,302	100.00 %	1.10 %
Rocky Mount	4	54,341	219,143	15,414	28.37 %	7.03 %
	11	54,341	206,121	38,927	71.63 %	18.89 %
Rolesville	12	9,475	198,389	9,475	100.00 %	4.78 %
Ronda	36	438	210,986	438	100.00 %	0.21 %
Roper	2	485	198,557	485	100.00 %	0.24 %
Roseboro	8	1,163	204,809	1,163	100.00 %	0.57 %
Rose Hill	8	1,371	204,809	1,371	100.00 %	0.67 %
Rosman	50	701	213,909	701	100.00 %	0.33 %
Rowland	24	885	202,786	885	100.00 %	0.44 %
Roxboro	23	8,134	210,529	8,134	100.00 %	3.86 %
Roxobel	1	187	199,623	187	100.00 %	0.09 %
Rural Hall	30	3,351	212,299	3,351	100.00 %	1.58 %
Ruth	48	347	200,053	347	100.00 %	0.17 %
Rutherford College	43	1,226	209,997	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	47	1,226	200,614	1,226	100.00 %	0.61 %
Rutherfordton	48	3,640	200,053	3,640	100.00 %	1.82 %
St. Helena	8	417	204,809	417	100.00 %	0.20 %
St. James	7	6,529	200,436	6,529	100.00 %	3.26 %
St. Pauls	24	2,045	202,786	2,045	100.00 %	1.01 %
Salemburg	8	457	204,809	457	100.00 %	0.22 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Salisbury	33	35,540	209,379	35,540	100.00 %	16.97 %
Saluda	48	631	200,053	631	100.00 %	0.32 %
Sandy Creek	7	248	200,436	248	100.00 %	0.12 %
Sandyfield	7	430	200,436	430	100.00 %	0.21 %
Sanford	20	30,261	198,776	30,261	100.00 %	15.22 %
Saratoga	9	353	216,568	353	100.00 %	0.16 %
Sawmills	43	5,020	209,997	5,020	100.00 %	2.39 %
Scotland Neck	2	1,640	198,557	1,640	100.00 %	0.83 %
Seaboard	1	542	199,623	542	100.00 %	0.27 %
Seagrove	25	235	218,484	235	100.00 %	0.11 %
Sedalia	26	676	201,428	676	100.00 %	0.34 %
	27	676	216,058	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Selma	10	6,317	215,999	6,317	100.00 %	2.92 %
Seven Devils	46	313	218,487	313	100.00 %	0.14 %
Seven Springs	9	55	216,568	55	100.00 %	0.03 %
Severn	1	191	199,623	191	100.00 %	0.10 %
Shallotte	7	4,185	200,436	4,185	100.00 %	2.09 %
Sharpsburg	4	1,697	219,143	215	12.67 %	0.10 %
	9	1,697	216,568	421	24.81 %	0.19 %
	11	1,697	206,121	1,061	62.52 %	0.51 %
Shelby	44	21,918	203,043	21,918	100.00 %	10.79 %
Siler City	19	7,702	200,858	7,702	100.00 %	3.83 %
Simpson	4	390	219,143	390	100.00 %	0.18 %
Sims	9	275	216,568	275	100.00 %	0.13 %
Smithfield	10	11,292	215,999	11,292	100.00 %	5.23 %
Snow Hill	9	1,481	216,568	1,481	100.00 %	0.68 %
Southern Pines	21	15,545	217,984	15,545	100.00 %	7.13 %
Southern Shores	1	3,090	199,623	3,090	100.00 %	1.55 %
Southport	7	3,971	200,436	3,971	100.00 %	1.98 %
Sparta	46	1,834	218,487	1,834	100.00 %	0.84 %
Speed	4	63	219,143	63	100.00 %	0.03 %
Spencer	33	3,308	209,379	3,308	100.00 %	1.58 %
Spencer Mountain	45	0	211,229	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Spindale	48	4,225	200,053	4,225	100.00 %	2.11 %
Spring Hope	11	1,309	206,121	1,309	100.00 %	0.64 %
Spring Lake	21	11,660	217,984	11,660	100.00 %	5.35 %
Spruce Pine	46	2,194	218,487	2,194	100.00 %	1.00 %
Staley	25	397	218,484	397	100.00 %	0.18 %
Stallings	35	16,112	218,137	15,728	97.62 %	7.21 %
	41	16,112	216,686	384	2.38 %	0.18 %
Stanfield	33	1,585	209,379	1,585	100.00 %	0.76 %
Stanley	45	3,963	211,229	3,963	100.00 %	1.88 %

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Stantonsburg	9	762	216,568	762	100.00 %	0.35 %
Star	29	806	214,631	806	100.00 %	0.38 %
Statesville	37	28,419	215,708	28,419	100.00 %	13.17 %
Stedman	21	1,277	217,984	1,277	100.00 %	0.59 %
Stem	12	960	198,389	960	100.00 %	0.48 %
Stokesdale	26	5,924	201,428	5,924	100.00 %	2.94 %
Stoneville	26	1,308	201,428	1,308	100.00 %	0.65 %
Stonewall	2	214	198,557	214	100.00 %	0.11 %
Stovall	12	324	198,389	324	100.00 %	0.16 %
Sugar Mountain	46	371	218,487	371	100.00 %	0.17 %
Summerfield	26	10,951	201,428	10,951	100.00 %	5.44 %
Sunset Beach	7	4,175	200,436	4,175	100.00 %	2.08 %
Surf City	5	3,867	204,576	334	8.64 %	0.16 %
	8	3,867	204,809	3,533	91.36 %	1.73 %
Swansboro	5	3,744	204,576	3,744	100.00 %	1.83 %
Sweepsonville	25	2,445	218,484	2,445	100.00 %	1.12 %
Sylva	50	2,578	213,909	2,578	100.00 %	1.21 %
Tabor City	7	3,781	200,436	3,781	100.00 %	1.89 %
Tarboro	4	10,721	219,143	10,721	100.00 %	4.89 %
Tar Heel	8	90	204,809	90	100.00 %	0.04 %
Taylorsville	36	2,320	210,986	2,320	100.00 %	1.10 %
Taylortown	21	634	217,984	634	100.00 %	0.29 %
Teachey	8	448	204,809	448	100.00 %	0.22 %
Thomasville	29	27,183	214,631	521	1.92 %	0.24 %
	32	27,183	211,642	26,662	98.08 %	12.60 %
Tobaccoville	30	2,578	212,299	2,578	100.00 %	1.21 %
Topsail Beach	8	461	204,809	461	100.00 %	0.23 %
Trenton	8	238	204,809	238	100.00 %	0.12 %
Trent Woods	3	4,074	200,494	4,074	100.00 %	2.03 %
Trinity	29	7,006	214,631	7,006	100.00 %	3.26 %
Troutman	37	3,698	215,708	3,698	100.00 %	1.71 %
Troy	29	2,850	214,631	2,850	100.00 %	1.33 %
Tryon	48	1,562	200,053	1,562	100.00 %	0.78 %
Turkey	8	213	204,809	213	100.00 %	0.10 %
Unionville	35	6,643	218,137	6,643	100.00 %	3.05 %
Valdese	47	4,689	200,614	4,689	100.00 %	2.34 %
Vanceboro	3	869	200,494	869	100.00 %	0.43 %
Vandemere	2	246	198,557	246	100.00 %	0.12 %
Varnamtown	7	525	200,436	525	100.00 %	0.26 %
Vass	21	952	217,984	952	100.00 %	0.44 %
Waco	44	310	203,043	310	100.00 %	0.15 %
Wade	21	638	217,984	638	100.00 %	0.29 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

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# Municipality - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Wadesboro	29	5,008	214,631	5,008	100.00 %	2.33 %
Wagram	24	615	202,786	615	100.00 %	0.30 %
Wake Forest	11	47,601	206,121	1,504	3.16 %	0.73 %
	12	47,601	198,389	44,497	93.48 %	22.43 %
	14	47,601	198,376	1,600	3.36 %	0.81 %
Walkertown	30	5,692	212,299	5,692	100.00 %	2.68 %
Wallace	8	3,413	204,809	3,413	100.00 %	1.67 %
Wallburg	32	3,051	211,642	3,051	100.00 %	1.44 %
Walnut Cove	30	1,586	212,299	1,586	100.00 %	0.75 %
Walnut Creek	9	1,084	216,568	1,084	100.00 %	0.50 %
Walstonburg	9	193	216,568	193	100.00 %	0.09 %
Warrenton	2	851	198,557	851	100.00 %	0.43 %
Warsaw	8	2,733	204,809	2,733	100.00 %	1.33 %
Washington	3	9,875	200,494	9,875	100.00 %	4.93 %
Washington Park	3	392	200,494	392	100.00 %	0.20 %
Watha	8	181	204,809	181	100.00 %	0.09 %
Waxhaw	29	20,534	214,631	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	35	20,534	218,137	20,534	100.00 %	9.41 %
Waynesville	50	10,140	213,909	10,140	100.00 %	4.74 %
Weaverville	47	4,567	200,614	4,567	100.00 %	2.28 %
Webster	50	372	213,909	372	100.00 %	0.17 %
Weddington	35	13,181	218,137	13,176	99.96 %	6.04 %
	41	13,181	216,686	5	0.04 %	0.00 %
Weldon	2	1,444	198,557	1,444	100.00 %	0.73 %
Wendell	12	9,793	198,389	3,180	32.47 %	1.60 %
	13	9,793	198,409	6,613	67.53 %	3.33 %
Wentworth	26	2,662	201,428	2,662	100.00 %	1.32 %
Wesley Chapel	35	8,681	218,137	8,681	100.00 %	3.98 %
West Jefferson	46	1,279	218,487	1,279	100.00 %	0.59 %
Whispering Pines	21	4,987	217,984	4,987	100.00 %	2.29 %
Whitakers	4	627	219,143	290	46.25 %	0.13 %
	11	627	206,121	337	53.75 %	0.16 %
White Lake	8	843	204,809	843	100.00 %	0.41 %
Whiteville	7	4,766	200,436	4,766	100.00 %	2.38 %
Whitsett	26	584	201,428	584	100.00 %	0.29 %
Wilkesboro	36	3,687	210,986	3,687	100.00 %	1.75 %
Williamston	2	5,248	198,557	5,248	100.00 %	2.64 %
Wilmington	6	115,451	212,582	115,451	100.00 %	54.31 %
	7	115,451	200,436	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Wilson	9	47,851	216,568	47,851	100.00 %	22.10 %
Wilson's Mills	10	2,534	215,999	2,534	100.00 %	1.17 %
Windsor	1	3,582	199,623	3,582	100.00 %	1.79 %

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## Municipality - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Winfall	1	555	199,623	555	100.00 %	0.28 %
Wingate	29	4,055	214,631	4,055	100.00 %	1.89 %
Winston-Salem	30	249,545	212,299	40,795	16.35 %	19.22 %
	31	249,545	214,811	208,750	83.65 %	97.18 %
Winterville	4	10,462	219,143	10,462	100.00 %	4.77 %
Winton	1	629	199,623	629	100.00 %	0.32 %
Woodfin	49	7,936	200,986	7,936	100.00 %	3.95 %
Woodland	1	557	199,623	557	100.00 %	0.28 %
Wrightsville Beach	6	2,473	212,582	2,473	100.00 %	1.16 %
Yadkinville	36	2,995	210,986	2,995	100.00 %	1.42 %
Yanceyville	23	1,937	210,529	1,937	100.00 %	0.92 %
Youngsville	11	2,016	206,121	2,016	100.00 %	0.98 %
Zebulon	10	6,903	215,999	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	12	6,903	198,389	6,903	100.00 %	3.48 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

Number of split municipalities: 65

Display: all municipalities

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Aberdeen	21	8,516	217,984	8,516	100.00 %	3.91 %
Ahoskie	1	4,891	199,623	4,891	100.00 %	2.45 %
Alamance	25	988	218,484	988	100.00 %	0.45 %
Albemarle	33	16,432	209,379	16,432	100.00 %	7.85 %
Alliance	2	733	198,557	733	100.00 %	0.37 %
Andrews	50	1,667	213,909	1,667	100.00 %	0.78 %
Angier (Harnett)	20	4,709	198,776	4,709	100.00 %	2.37 %
Angier (Wake)	16	556	198,383	556	100.00 %	0.28 %
Ansonville	29	440	214,631	440	100.00 %	0.21 %
Apex	16	58,780	198,383	34,326	58.40 %	17.30 %
	17	58,780	198,425	24,454	41.60 %	12.32 %
Arapahoe	2	416	198,557	416	100.00 %	0.21 %
Archdale (Guilford)	28	380	214,909	380	100.00 %	0.18 %
Archdale (Randolph)	29	11,527	214,631	11,527	100.00 %	5.37 %
Archer Lodge	10	4,797	215,999	4,797	100.00 %	2.22 %
Asheboro	25	27,156	218,484	925	3.41 %	0.42 %
	29	27,156	214,631	26,231	96.59 %	12.22 %
Asheville	49	94,589	200,986	94,589	100.00 %	47.06 %
Askewville	1	184	199,623	184	100.00 %	0.09 %
Atkinson	8	296	204,809	296	100.00 %	0.14 %
Atlantic Beach	2	1,364	198,557	1,364	100.00 %	0.69 %
Aulander	1	763	199,623	763	100.00 %	0.38 %
Aurora	3	455	200,494	455	100.00 %	0.23 %
Autryville	8	167	204,809	167	100.00 %	0.08 %
Ayden	4	4,977	219,143	4,977	100.00 %	2.27 %
Badin	33	2,024	209,379	2,024	100.00 %	0.97 %
Bailey	11	568	206,121	568	100.00 %	0.28 %
Bakersville	46	450	218,487	450	100.00 %	0.21 %
Bald Head Island	7	268	200,436	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Banner Elk	46	1,049	218,487	1,049	100.00 %	0.48 %
Bath	3	245	200,494	245	100.00 %	0.12 %
Bayboro	2	1,161	198,557	1,161	100.00 %	0.58 %
Bear Grass	2	89	198,557	89	100.00 %	0.04 %
Beaufort	2	4,464	198,557	4,464	100.00 %	2.25 %
Beech Mountain (Avery)	46	62	218,487	62	100.00 %	0.03 %
Beech Mountain (Watauga)	46	613	218,487	613	100.00 %	0.28 %
Belhaven	3	1,410	200,494	1,410	100.00 %	0.70 %
Belmont	45	15,010	211,229	15,010	100.00 %	7.11 %
Belville	7	2,406	200,436	2,406	100.00 %	1.20 %
Belwood	44	857	203,043	857	100.00 %	0.42 %
Benson (Harnett)	20	0	198,776	0	0.00 %	0.00 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Benson (Johnston)	10	3,967	215,999	3,967	100.00 %	1.84 %
Bermuda Run	32	3,120	211,642	3,120	100.00 %	1.47 %
Bessemer City	44	5,428	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	5,428	211,229	5,428	100.00 %	2.57 %
Bethania	30	344	212,299	344	100.00 %	0.16 %
Bethel	4	1,373	219,143	1,373	100.00 %	0.63 %
Beulaville	8	1,116	204,809	1,116	100.00 %	0.54 %
Biltmore Forest	49	1,409	200,986	1,409	100.00 %	0.70 %
Biscoe	29	1,848	214,631	1,848	100.00 %	0.86 %
Black Creek	9	692	216,568	692	100.00 %	0.32 %
Black Mountain	47	8,426	200,614	8,426	100.00 %	4.20 %
Bladenboro	8	1,648	204,809	1,648	100.00 %	0.80 %
Blowing Rock (Caldwell)	46	91	218,487	91	100.00 %	0.04 %
Blowing Rock (Watauga)	46	1,285	218,487	1,285	100.00 %	0.59 %
Boardman	7	166	200,436	166	100.00 %	0.08 %
Bogue	2	695	198,557	695	100.00 %	0.35 %
Boiling Spring Lakes	7	5,943	200,436	5,943	100.00 %	2.97 %
Boiling Springs	44	4,615	203,043	4,615	100.00 %	2.27 %
Bolivia	7	149	200,436	149	100.00 %	0.07 %
Bolton	7	519	200,436	519	100.00 %	0.26 %
Boone	46	19,092	218,487	19,092	100.00 %	8.74 %
Boonville	36	1,185	210,986	1,185	100.00 %	0.56 %
Bostic	48	355	200,053	355	100.00 %	0.18 %
Brevard	50	7,744	213,909	7,744	100.00 %	3.62 %
Bridgeton	3	349	200,494	349	100.00 %	0.17 %
Broadway (Harnett)	20	0	198,776	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Broadway (Lee)	20	1,267	198,776	1,267	100.00 %	0.64 %
Brookford	43	442	209,997	442	100.00 %	0.21 %
Brunswick	7	973	200,436	973	100.00 %	0.49 %
Bryson City	50	1,558	213,909	1,558	100.00 %	0.73 %
Bunn	11	327	206,121	327	100.00 %	0.16 %
Burgaw	8	3,088	204,809	3,088	100.00 %	1.51 %
Burlington (Alamance)	25	55,481	218,484	55,481	100.00 %	25.39 %
Burlington (Guilford)	26	1,822	201,428	1,822	100.00 %	0.90 %
Burnsville	46	1,614	218,487	1,614	100.00 %	0.74 %
Butner	12	8,397	198,389	8,397	100.00 %	4.23 %
Cajah's Mountain	43	2,722	209,997	2,722	100.00 %	1.30 %
	46	2,722	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Calabash	7	2,011	200,436	2,011	100.00 %	1.00 %
Calypso	8	327	204,809	327	100.00 %	0.16 %
Cameron	21	244	217,984	244	100.00 %	0.11 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Candor (Montgomery)	29	813	214,631	813	100.00 %	0.38 %
Candor (Moore)	21	0	217,984	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Canton	46	4,422	218,487	4,422	100.00 %	2.02 %
Cape Carteret	2	2,224	198,557	2,224	100.00 %	1.12 %
Carolina Beach	6	6,564	212,582	6,564	100.00 %	3.09 %
Carolina Shores	7	4,588	200,436	4,588	100.00 %	2.29 %
Carrboro	23	21,295	210,529	21,295	100.00 %	10.11 %
Carthage	21	2,775	217,984	2,775	100.00 %	1.27 %
Cary (Chatham)	19	3,709	200,858	3,709	100.00 %	1.85 %
Cary (Wake)	15	171,012	198,420	4,080	2.39 %	2.06 %
	16	171,012	198,383	11,113	6.50 %	5.60 %
	17	171,012	198,425	155,819	91.12 %	78.53 %
Casar	44	305	203,043	305	100.00 %	0.15 %
Castalia	11	264	206,121	264	100.00 %	0.13 %
Caswell Beach	7	395	200,436	395	100.00 %	0.20 %
Catawba	43	702	209,997	702	100.00 %	0.33 %
Cedar Point	2	1,764	198,557	1,764	100.00 %	0.89 %
Cedar Rock	43	301	209,997	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	46	301	218,487	301	100.00 %	0.14 %
Cerro Gordo	7	131	200,436	131	100.00 %	0.07 %
Chadbourn	7	1,574	200,436	1,574	100.00 %	0.79 %
Chapel Hill (Durham)	18	2,906	200,260	2,322	79.90 %	1.16 %
	19	2,906	200,858	584	20.10 %	0.29 %
Chapel Hill (Orange)	23	59,054	210,529	59,054	100.00 %	28.05 %
Charlotte	38	874,579	217,671	121,442	13.89 %	55.79 %
	39	874,579	219,006	210,910	24.12 %	96.30 %
	40	874,579	216,693	216,685	24.78 %	100.00 %
	41	874,579	216,686	153,144	17.51 %	70.68 %
	42	874,579	216,411	172,398	19.71 %	79.66 %
Cherryville	44	6,078	203,043	6,078	100.00 %	2.99 %
Chimney Rock Village	48	140	200,053	140	100.00 %	0.07 %
China Grove	33	4,434	209,379	4,434	100.00 %	2.12 %
Chocowinity	3	722	200,494	722	100.00 %	0.36 %
Claremont	43	1,692	209,997	1,692	100.00 %	0.81 %
Clarkton	8	614	204,809	614	100.00 %	0.30 %
Clayton (Johnston)	10	26,307	215,999	26,307	100.00 %	12.18 %
Clayton (Wake)	13	0	198,409	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Clemmons	30	21,163	212,299	21,163	100.00 %	9.97 %
Cleveland	33	846	209,379	846	100.00 %	0.40 %
Clinton	8	8,383	204,809	8,383	100.00 %	4.09 %
Clyde	46	1,368	218,487	1,368	100.00 %	0.63 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

# Municipality by County - District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Coats	20	2,155	198,776	2,155	100.00 %	1.08 %
Cofield	1	267	199,623	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Colerain	1	217	199,623	217	100.00 %	0.11 %
Columbia	1	610	199,623	610	100.00 %	0.31 %
Columbus	48	1,060	200,053	1,060	100.00 %	0.53 %
Como	1	67	199,623	67	100.00 %	0.03 %
Concord	34	105,240	219,157	105,240	100.00 %	48.02 %
Conetoe	4	198	219,143	198	100.00 %	0.09 %
Connelly Springs	47	1,529	200,614	1,529	100.00 %	0.76 %
Conover	43	8,421	209,997	8,421	100.00 %	4.01 %
Conway	1	752	199,623	752	100.00 %	0.38 %
Cooleemee	32	940	211,642	940	100.00 %	0.44 %
Cornelius	37	31,412	215,708	12,415	39.52 %	5.76 %
	38	31,412	217,671	18,997	60.48 %	8.73 %
Cove City	3	378	200,494	378	100.00 %	0.19 %
Cramerton	45	5,296	211,229	5,296	100.00 %	2.51 %
Creedmoor	12	4,866	198,389	4,866	100.00 %	2.45 %
Creswell	2	207	198,557	207	100.00 %	0.10 %
Crossnore	46	143	218,487	143	100.00 %	0.07 %
Dallas	45	5,927	211,229	5,927	100.00 %	2.81 %
Danbury	30	189	212,299	189	100.00 %	0.09 %
Davidson (Iredell)	37	378	215,708	378	100.00 %	0.18 %
Davidson (Mecklenburg)	37	14,728	215,708	14,728	100.00 %	6.83 %
Dellview	44	6	203,043	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Denton	32	1,494	211,642	1,494	100.00 %	0.71 %
Dillsboro	50	213	213,909	213	100.00 %	0.10 %
Dobbins Heights	29	687	214,631	687	100.00 %	0.32 %
Dobson	36	1,462	210,986	1,462	100.00 %	0.69 %
Dortches	11	1,082	206,121	1,082	100.00 %	0.52 %
Dover	3	349	200,494	349	100.00 %	0.17 %
Drexel	47	1,760	200,614	1,760	100.00 %	0.88 %
Dublin	8	267	204,809	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Duck	1	742	199,623	742	100.00 %	0.37 %
Dunn	20	8,446	198,776	8,446	100.00 %	4.25 %
Durham (Durham)	18	283,093	200,260	195,933	69.21 %	97.84 %
	19	283,093	200,858	87,160	30.79 %	43.39 %
Durham (Orange)	23	144	210,529	144	100.00 %	0.07 %
Durham (Wake)	14	269	198,376	269	100.00 %	0.14 %
	15	269	198,420	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Earl	44	198	203,043	198	100.00 %	0.10 %
East Arcadia	8	418	204,809	418	100.00 %	0.20 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
East Bend	36	634	210,986	634	100.00 %	0.30 %
East Laurinburg	24	234	202,786	234	100.00 %	0.12 %
East Spencer	33	1,567	209,379	1,567	100.00 %	0.75 %
Eastover	21	3,656	217,984	3,656	100.00 %	1.68 %
Eden	26	15,421	201,428	15,421	100.00 %	7.66 %
Edenton	2	4,460	198,557	4,460	100.00 %	2.25 %
Elizabeth City (Camden)	1	38	199,623	38	100.00 %	0.02 %
Elizabeth City (Pasquotank)	1	18,593	199,623	18,593	100.00 %	9.31 %
Elizabethtown	8	3,296	204,809	3,296	100.00 %	1.61 %
Elk Park	46	542	218,487	542	100.00 %	0.25 %
Elkin (Surry)	36	4,049	210,986	4,049	100.00 %	1.92 %
Elkin (Wilkes)	36	73	210,986	73	100.00 %	0.03 %
Ellenboro	48	723	200,053	723	100.00 %	0.36 %
Ellerbe	29	864	214,631	864	100.00 %	0.40 %
Elm City (Nash)	11	0	206,121	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Elm City (Wilson)	9	1,218	216,568	1,218	100.00 %	0.56 %
Elon	25	11,336	218,484	11,336	100.00 %	5.19 %
Emerald Isle	2	3,847	198,557	3,847	100.00 %	1.94 %
Enfield	2	1,865	198,557	1,865	100.00 %	0.94 %
Erwin	20	4,542	198,776	4,542	100.00 %	2.28 %
Eureka	9	214	216,568	214	100.00 %	0.10 %
Everetts	2	150	198,557	150	100.00 %	0.08 %
Fair Bluff	7	709	200,436	709	100.00 %	0.35 %
Fairmont	24	2,191	202,786	2,191	100.00 %	1.08 %
Fairview	35	3,456	218,137	3,456	100.00 %	1.58 %
Faison (Duplin)	8	784	204,809	784	100.00 %	0.38 %
Faison (Sampson)	8	0	204,809	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Faith	33	819	209,379	819	100.00 %	0.39 %
Falcon (Cumberland)	21	324	217,984	324	100.00 %	0.15 %
Falcon (Sampson)	8	0	204,809	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Falkland	4	47	219,143	47	100.00 %	0.02 %
Fallston	44	627	203,043	627	100.00 %	0.31 %
Farmville	4	4,461	219,143	4,461	100.00 %	2.04 %
Fayetteville	21	208,501	217,984	24,573	11.79 %	11.27 %
	22	208,501	216,471	183,928	88.21 %	84.97 %
Flat Rock	48	3,486	200,053	3,486	100.00 %	1.74 %
Fletcher	48	7,987	200,053	7,987	100.00 %	3.99 %
Fontana Dam	50	13	213,909	13	100.00 %	0.01 %
Forest City	48	7,377	200,053	7,377	100.00 %	3.69 %
Forest Hills	50	303	213,909	303	100.00 %	0.14 %
Fountain	4	385	219,143	385	100.00 %	0.18 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Four Oaks	10	2,158	215,999	2,158	100.00 %	1.00 %
Foxfire	21	1,288	217,984	1,288	100.00 %	0.59 %
Franklin	50	4,175	213,909	4,175	100.00 %	1.95 %
Franklinton	11	2,456	206,121	2,456	100.00 %	1.19 %
Franklinville	25	1,197	218,484	1,197	100.00 %	0.55 %
Fremont	9	1,196	216,568	1,196	100.00 %	0.55 %
Fuquay-Varina (Harnett)	20	0	198,776	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Fuquay-Varina (Wake)	16	34,152	198,383	34,152	100.00 %	17.22 %
Gamewell	43	3,702	209,997	3,702	100.00 %	1.76 %
	46	3,702	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Garland	8	595	204,809	595	100.00 %	0.29 %
Garner	13	31,159	198,409	26,967	86.55 %	13.59 %
	15	31,159	198,420	490	1.57 %	0.25 %
	16	31,159	198,383	3,702	11.88 %	1.87 %
Garysburg	1	904	199,623	904	100.00 %	0.45 %
Gaston	1	1,008	199,623	1,008	100.00 %	0.50 %
Gastonia	44	80,411	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	80,411	211,229	80,411	100.00 %	38.07 %
Gatesville	1	267	199,623	267	100.00 %	0.13 %
Gibson	24	449	202,786	449	100.00 %	0.22 %
Gibsonville (Alamance)	25	4,278	218,484	4,278	100.00 %	1.96 %
Gibsonville (Guilford)	26	4,642	201,428	4,642	100.00 %	2.30 %
Glen Alpine	47	1,529	200,614	1,529	100.00 %	0.76 %
Godwin	21	128	217,984	128	100.00 %	0.06 %
Goldsboro	9	33,657	216,568	33,657	100.00 %	15.54 %
Goldston	19	234	200,858	234	100.00 %	0.12 %
Graham	25	17,157	218,484	17,157	100.00 %	7.85 %
Grandfather Village	46	95	218,487	95	100.00 %	0.04 %
Granite Falls	43	4,965	209,997	4,965	100.00 %	2.36 %
Granite Quarry	33	2,984	209,379	2,984	100.00 %	1.43 %
Grantsboro	2	692	198,557	692	100.00 %	0.35 %
Green Level	25	3,152	218,484	3,152	100.00 %	1.44 %
Greenevers	8	567	204,809	567	100.00 %	0.28 %
Greensboro	26	299,035	201,428	12,873	4.30 %	6.39 %
	27	299,035	216,058	204,686	68.45 %	94.74 %
	28	299,035	214,909	81,476	27.25 %	37.91 %
Greenville	4	87,521	219,143	87,521	100.00 %	39.94 %
Grifton (Lenoir)	3	147	200,494	147	100.00 %	0.07 %
Grifton (Pitt)	4	2,301	219,143	2,301	100.00 %	1.05 %
Grimesland	4	386	219,143	386	100.00 %	0.18 %
Grover	44	802	203,043	802	100.00 %	0.39 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Halifax	2	170	198,557	170	100.00 %	0.09 %
Hamilton	2	306	198,557	306	100.00 %	0.15 %
Hamlet	29	6,025	214,631	6,025	100.00 %	2.81 %
Harmony	37	543	215,708	543	100.00 %	0.25 %
Harrells (Duplin)	8	0	204,809	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Harrells (Sampson)	8	160	204,809	160	100.00 %	0.08 %
Harrellsville	1	85	199,623	85	100.00 %	0.04 %
Harrisburg	34	18,967	219,157	18,967	100.00 %	8.65 %
Hassell	2	49	198,557	49	100.00 %	0.02 %
Havelock	3	16,621	200,494	16,621	100.00 %	8.29 %
Haw River	25	2,252	218,484	2,252	100.00 %	1.03 %
Hayesville	50	461	213,909	461	100.00 %	0.22 %
Hemby Bridge	35	1,614	218,137	1,614	100.00 %	0.74 %
Henderson	11	15,060	206,121	15,060	100.00 %	7.31 %
Hendersonville	48	15,137	200,053	15,137	100.00 %	7.57 %
Hertford	1	1,934	199,623	1,934	100.00 %	0.97 %
Hickory (Burke)	47	79	200,614	79	100.00 %	0.04 %
Hickory (Caldwell)	43	32	209,997	32	100.00 %	0.02 %
Hickory (Catawba)	43	43,379	209,997	43,379	100.00 %	20.66 %
High Point (Davidson)	32	6,646	211,642	6,646	100.00 %	3.14 %
High Point (Forsyth)	30	84	212,299	84	100.00 %	0.04 %
High Point (Guilford)	28	107,321	214,909	107,321	100.00 %	49.94 %
High Point (Randolph)	29	8	214,631	8	100.00 %	0.00 %
High Shoals	44	595	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	45	595	211,229	595	100.00 %	0.28 %
Highlands (Jackson)	50	12	213,909	12	100.00 %	0.01 %
Highlands (Macon)	50	1,060	213,909	1,060	100.00 %	0.50 %
Hildebran	47	1,679	200,614	1,679	100.00 %	0.84 %
Hillsborough	23	9,660	210,529	9,660	100.00 %	4.59 %
Hobgood	2	268	198,557	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Hoffman	29	418	214,631	418	100.00 %	0.19 %
Holden Beach	7	921	200,436	921	100.00 %	0.46 %
Holly Ridge	5	4,171	204,576	4,171	100.00 %	2.04 %
Holly Springs	16	41,239	198,383	41,239	100.00 %	20.79 %
Hookerton	9	413	216,568	413	100.00 %	0.19 %
Hope Mills	21	17,808	217,984	15,215	85.44 %	6.98 %
	22	17,808	216,471	2,593	14.56 %	1.20 %
Hot Springs	46	520	218,487	520	100.00 %	0.24 %
Hudson	43	3,780	209,997	3,780	100.00 %	1.80 %
	46	3,780	218,487	0	0.00 %	0.00 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Huntersville	37	61,376	215,708	117	0.19 %	0.05 %
	38	61,376	217,671	61,259	99.81 %	28.14 %
Indian Beach	2	223	198,557	223	100.00 %	0.11 %
Indian Trail	35	39,997	218,137	39,997	100.00 %	18.34 %
Jackson	1	430	199,623	430	100.00 %	0.22 %
Jacksonville	5	72,723	204,576	72,723	100.00 %	35.55 %
Jamestown	28	3,668	214,909	3,668	100.00 %	1.71 %
Jamesville	2	424	198,557	424	100.00 %	0.21 %
Jefferson	46	1,622	218,487	1,622	100.00 %	0.74 %
Jonesville	36	2,308	210,986	2,308	100.00 %	1.09 %
Kannapolis (Cabarrus)	34	42,846	219,157	42,846	100.00 %	19.55 %
Kannapolis (Rowan)	33	10,268	209,379	10,268	100.00 %	4.90 %
Kelford	1	203	199,623	203	100.00 %	0.10 %
Kenansville	8	770	204,809	770	100.00 %	0.38 %
Kenly (Johnston)	10	1,293	215,999	1,293	100.00 %	0.60 %
Kenly (Wilson)	9	198	216,568	198	100.00 %	0.09 %
Kernersville (Forsyth)	30	25,947	212,299	25,947	100.00 %	12.22 %
Kernersville (Guilford)	26	502	201,428	94	18.73 %	0.05 %
	28	502	214,909	408	81.27 %	0.19 %
Kill Devil Hills	1	7,656	199,623	7,656	100.00 %	3.84 %
King (Forsyth)	30	591	212,299	591	100.00 %	0.28 %
King (Stokes)	30	6,606	212,299	6,606	100.00 %	3.11 %
Kings Mountain (Cleveland)	44	10,032	203,043	10,032	100.00 %	4.94 %
Kings Mountain (Gaston)	45	1,110	211,229	1,110	100.00 %	0.53 %
Kingstown	44	656	203,043	656	100.00 %	0.32 %
Kinston	3	19,900	200,494	19,900	100.00 %	9.93 %
Kittrell	11	132	206,121	132	100.00 %	0.06 %
Kitty Hawk	1	3,689	199,623	3,689	100.00 %	1.85 %
Knightdale	12	19,435	198,389	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	13	19,435	198,409	19,435	100.00 %	9.80 %
Kure Beach	6	2,191	212,582	2,191	100.00 %	1.03 %
La Grange	3	2,595	200,494	2,595	100.00 %	1.29 %
Lake Lure	48	1,365	200,053	1,365	100.00 %	0.68 %
Lake Park	35	3,269	218,137	3,269	100.00 %	1.50 %
Lake Santeetlah	50	38	213,909	38	100.00 %	0.02 %
Lake Waccamaw	7	1,296	200,436	1,296	100.00 %	0.65 %
Landis	33	3,690	209,379	3,690	100.00 %	1.76 %
Lansing	46	126	218,487	126	100.00 %	0.06 %
Lasker	1	64	199,623	64	100.00 %	0.03 %
Lattimore	44	406	203,043	406	100.00 %	0.20 %
Laurel Park	48	2,250	200,053	2,250	100.00 %	1.12 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Laurinburg	24	14,978	202,786	14,978	100.00 %	7.39 %
Lawndale	44	570	203,043	570	100.00 %	0.28 %
Leggett	4	37	219,143	37	100.00 %	0.02 %
Leland	7	22,908	200,436	22,908	100.00 %	11.43 %
Lenoir	43	18,352	209,997	1	0.01 %	0.00 %
	46	18,352	218,487	18,351	99.99 %	8.40 %
Lewiston Woodville	1	426	199,623	426	100.00 %	0.21 %
Lewisville	30	13,381	212,299	13,381	100.00 %	6.30 %
Lexington	32	19,632	211,642	19,632	100.00 %	9.28 %
Liberty	25	2,655	218,484	2,655	100.00 %	1.22 %
Lilesville	29	395	214,631	395	100.00 %	0.18 %
Lillington	20	4,735	198,776	4,735	100.00 %	2.38 %
Lincolnton	44	11,091	203,043	11,091	100.00 %	5.46 %
Linden	21	136	217,984	136	100.00 %	0.06 %
Littleton	2	559	198,557	559	100.00 %	0.28 %
Locust (Cabarrus)	34	541	219,157	423	78.19 %	0.19 %
	35	541	218,137	118	21.81 %	0.05 %
Locust (Stanly)	33	3,996	209,379	3,996	100.00 %	1.91 %
Long View (Burke)	47	735	200,614	735	100.00 %	0.37 %
Long View (Catawba)	43	4,353	209,997	4,353	100.00 %	2.07 %
Louisburg	11	3,064	206,121	3,064	100.00 %	1.49 %
Love Valley	37	154	215,708	154	100.00 %	0.07 %
Lowell	45	3,654	211,229	3,654	100.00 %	1.73 %
Lucama	9	1,036	216,568	1,036	100.00 %	0.48 %
Lumber Bridge	24	82	202,786	82	100.00 %	0.04 %
Lumberton	24	19,025	202,786	19,025	100.00 %	9.38 %
Macclesfield	4	413	219,143	413	100.00 %	0.19 %
Macon	2	110	198,557	110	100.00 %	0.06 %
Madison	26	2,129	201,428	2,129	100.00 %	1.06 %
Maggie Valley	50	1,687	213,909	1,687	100.00 %	0.79 %
Magnolia	8	831	204,809	831	100.00 %	0.41 %
Maiden (Catawba)	43	3,736	209,997	3,736	100.00 %	1.78 %
Maiden (Lincoln)	44	0	203,043	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Manteo	1	1,600	199,623	1,600	100.00 %	0.80 %
Marietta	24	111	202,786	111	100.00 %	0.05 %
Marion	47	7,717	200,614	7,717	100.00 %	3.85 %
Mars Hill	46	2,007	218,487	2,007	100.00 %	0.92 %
Marshall	46	777	218,487	777	100.00 %	0.36 %
Marshville	29	2,522	214,631	2,522	100.00 %	1.18 %
Marvin	35	6,358	218,137	6,358	100.00 %	2.91 %
Matthews	41	29,435	216,686	29,435	100.00 %	13.58 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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Maxton (Robeson)	24	1,902	202,786	1,902	100.00 %	0.94 %
Maxton (Scotland)	24	208	202,786	208	100.00 %	0.10 %
Mayodan	26	2,418	201,428	2,418	100.00 %	1.20 %
Maysville	8	818	204,809	818	100.00 %	0.40 %
McAdenville	45	890	211,229	890	100.00 %	0.42 %
McDonald	24	94	202,786	94	100.00 %	0.05 %
McFarlan	29	94	214,631	94	100.00 %	0.04 %
Mebane (Alamance)	25	14,626	218,484	14,626	100.00 %	6.69 %
Mebane (Orange)	23	3,171	210,529	3,171	100.00 %	1.51 %
Mesic	2	144	198,557	144	100.00 %	0.07 %
Micro	10	458	215,999	458	100.00 %	0.21 %
Middleburg	11	101	206,121	101	100.00 %	0.05 %
Middlesex	11	912	206,121	912	100.00 %	0.44 %
Midland (Cabarrus)	34	4,684	219,157	25	0.53 %	0.01 %
	35	4,684	218,137	4,659	99.47 %	2.14 %
Midland (Mecklenburg)	41	0	216,686	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Midway	32	4,742	211,642	4,742	100.00 %	2.24 %
Mills River	48	7,078	200,053	7,078	100.00 %	3.54 %
Milton	23	155	210,529	155	100.00 %	0.07 %
Mineral Springs	35	3,159	218,137	3,159	100.00 %	1.45 %
Minnesott Beach	2	530	198,557	530	100.00 %	0.27 %
Mint Hill (Mecklenburg)	39	26,444	219,006	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	41	26,444	216,686	26,444	100.00 %	12.20 %
Mint Hill (Union)	35	6	218,137	6	100.00 %	0.00 %
Misenheimer	33	650	209,379	650	100.00 %	0.31 %
Mocksville	32	5,900	211,642	5,900	100.00 %	2.79 %
Momeyer	11	277	206,121	277	100.00 %	0.13 %
Monroe	35	34,562	218,137	34,562	100.00 %	15.84 %
Montreat	47	901	200,614	901	100.00 %	0.45 %
Mooresboro	44	293	203,043	293	100.00 %	0.14 %
Mooresville	37	50,193	215,708	50,193	100.00 %	23.27 %
Morehead City	2	9,556	198,557	9,556	100.00 %	4.81 %
Morganton	47	17,474	200,614	17,474	100.00 %	8.71 %
Morrisville (Durham)	19	207	200,858	207	100.00 %	0.10 %
Morrisville (Wake)	15	29,423	198,420	18,571	63.12 %	9.36 %
	17	29,423	198,425	10,852	36.88 %	5.47 %
Morven	29	329	214,631	329	100.00 %	0.15 %
Mount Airy	36	10,676	210,986	10,676	100.00 %	5.06 %
Mount Gilead	29	1,171	214,631	1,171	100.00 %	0.55 %
Mount Holly	45	17,703	211,229	17,703	100.00 %	8.38 %
Mount Olive (Duplin)	8	5	204,809	5	100.00 %	0.00 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

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Mount Olive (Wayne)	9	4,193	216,568	4,193	100.00 %	1.94 %
Mount Pleasant	34	1,671	219,157	1,671	100.00 %	0.76 %
Murfreesboro	1	2,619	199,623	2,619	100.00 %	1.31 %
Murphy	50	1,608	213,909	1,608	100.00 %	0.75 %
Nags Head	1	3,168	199,623	3,168	100.00 %	1.59 %
Nashville	11	5,632	206,121	5,632	100.00 %	2.73 %
Navassa	7	1,367	200,436	1,367	100.00 %	0.68 %
New Bern	3	31,291	200,494	31,291	100.00 %	15.61 %
New London	33	607	209,379	607	100.00 %	0.29 %
Newland	46	715	218,487	715	100.00 %	0.33 %
Newport	2	4,364	198,557	4,364	100.00 %	2.20 %
Newton	43	13,148	209,997	13,148	100.00 %	6.26 %
Newton Grove	8	585	204,809	585	100.00 %	0.29 %
Norlina	2	920	198,557	920	100.00 %	0.46 %
Norman	29	100	214,631	100	100.00 %	0.05 %
North Topsail Beach	5	1,005	204,576	1,005	100.00 %	0.49 %
North Wilkesboro	36	4,382	210,986	4,382	100.00 %	2.08 %
Northwest	7	703	200,436	703	100.00 %	0.35 %
Norwood	33	2,367	209,379	2,367	100.00 %	1.13 %
Oak City	2	266	198,557	266	100.00 %	0.13 %
Oak Island	7	8,396	200,436	8,396	100.00 %	4.19 %
Oak Ridge	26	7,474	201,428	7,474	100.00 %	3.71 %
Oakboro	33	2,128	209,379	2,128	100.00 %	1.02 %
Ocean Isle Beach	7	867	200,436	867	100.00 %	0.43 %
Old Fort	47	811	200,614	811	100.00 %	0.40 %
Oriental	2	880	198,557	880	100.00 %	0.44 %
Orrum	24	59	202,786	59	100.00 %	0.03 %
Ossipee	25	536	218,484	536	100.00 %	0.25 %
Oxford	12	8,628	198,389	8,628	100.00 %	4.35 %
Pantego	3	164	200,494	164	100.00 %	0.08 %
Parkton	24	504	202,786	504	100.00 %	0.25 %
Parmele	2	243	198,557	243	100.00 %	0.12 %
Patterson Springs	44	571	203,043	571	100.00 %	0.28 %
Peachland	29	390	214,631	390	100.00 %	0.18 %
Peletier	2	769	198,557	769	100.00 %	0.39 %
Pembroke	24	2,823	202,786	2,823	100.00 %	1.39 %
Pikeville	9	712	216,568	712	100.00 %	0.33 %
Pilot Mountain	36	1,440	210,986	1,440	100.00 %	0.68 %
Pine Knoll Shores	2	1,388	198,557	1,388	100.00 %	0.70 %
Pine Level	10	2,046	215,999	2,046	100.00 %	0.95 %
Pinebluff	21	1,473	217,984	1,473	100.00 %	0.68 %

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## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Pinehurst	21	17,581	217,984	17,581	100.00 %	8.07 %
Pinetops	4	1,200	219,143	1,200	100.00 %	0.55 %
Pineville	41	10,602	216,686	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	42	10,602	216,411	10,602	100.00 %	4.90 %
Pink Hill	3	451	200,494	451	100.00 %	0.22 %
Pittsboro	19	4,537	200,858	4,537	100.00 %	2.26 %
Pleasant Garden	26	5,000	201,428	5,000	100.00 %	2.48 %
Plymouth	2	3,320	198,557	3,320	100.00 %	1.67 %
Polkton	29	2,250	214,631	2,250	100.00 %	1.05 %
Polkville	44	516	203,043	516	100.00 %	0.25 %
Pollocksville	8	268	204,809	268	100.00 %	0.13 %
Powellsville	1	189	199,623	189	100.00 %	0.09 %
Princeton	10	1,315	215,999	1,315	100.00 %	0.61 %
Princeville	4	1,254	219,143	1,254	100.00 %	0.57 %
Proctorville	24	121	202,786	121	100.00 %	0.06 %
Raeford	24	4,559	202,786	4,559	100.00 %	2.25 %
Raleigh (Durham)	19	1,559	200,858	1,559	100.00 %	0.78 %
Raleigh (Wake)	12	466,106	198,389	7,009	1.50 %	3.53 %
	13	466,106	198,409	105,867	22.71 %	53.36 %
	14	466,106	198,376	187,340	40.19 %	94.44 %
	15	466,106	198,420	165,880	35.59 %	83.60 %
	17	466,106	198,425	10	0.00 %	0.01 %
Ramseur	25	1,774	218,484	1,774	100.00 %	0.81 %
Randleman	25	4,595	218,484	4,595	100.00 %	2.10 %
	29	4,595	214,631	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Ranlo	45	4,511	211,229	4,511	100.00 %	2.14 %
Raynham	24	60	202,786	60	100.00 %	0.03 %
Red Cross	33	762	209,379	762	100.00 %	0.36 %
Red Oak	11	3,342	206,121	3,342	100.00 %	1.62 %
Red Springs (Hoke)	24	0	202,786	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Red Springs (Robeson)	24	3,087	202,786	3,087	100.00 %	1.52 %
Reidsville	26	14,583	201,428	14,583	100.00 %	7.24 %
Rennert	24	275	202,786	275	100.00 %	0.14 %
Rhodhiss (Burke)	47	639	200,614	639	100.00 %	0.32 %
Rhodhiss (Caldwell)	43	358	209,997	358	100.00 %	0.17 %
Rich Square	1	894	199,623	894	100.00 %	0.45 %
Richfield	33	582	209,379	582	100.00 %	0.28 %
Richlands	5	2,287	204,576	2,287	100.00 %	1.12 %
River Bend	3	2,902	200,494	2,902	100.00 %	1.45 %
Roanoke Rapids	2	15,229	198,557	15,229	100.00 %	7.67 %
Robbins	21	1,168	217,984	1,168	100.00 %	0.54 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Robbinsville	50	597	213,909	597	100.00 %	0.28 %
Robersonville	2	1,269	198,557	1,269	100.00 %	0.64 %
Rockingham	29	9,243	214,631	9,243	100.00 %	4.31 %
Rockwell	33	2,302	209,379	2,302	100.00 %	1.10 %
Rocky Mount (Edgecombe)	4	15,414	219,143	15,414	100.00 %	7.03 %
Rocky Mount (Nash)	11	38,927	206,121	38,927	100.00 %	18.89 %
Rolesville	12	9,475	198,389	9,475	100.00 %	4.78 %
Ronda	36	438	210,986	438	100.00 %	0.21 %
Roper	2	485	198,557	485	100.00 %	0.24 %
Rose Hill	8	1,371	204,809	1,371	100.00 %	0.67 %
Roseboro	8	1,163	204,809	1,163	100.00 %	0.57 %
Rosman	50	701	213,909	701	100.00 %	0.33 %
Rowland	24	885	202,786	885	100.00 %	0.44 %
Roxboro	23	8,134	210,529	8,134	100.00 %	3.86 %
Roxobel	1	187	199,623	187	100.00 %	0.09 %
Rural Hall	30	3,351	212,299	3,351	100.00 %	1.58 %
Ruth	48	347	200,053	347	100.00 %	0.17 %
Rutherford College (Burke)	47	1,226	200,614	1,226	100.00 %	0.61 %
Rutherford College (Caldwell)	43	0	209,997	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Rutherfordton	48	3,640	200,053	3,640	100.00 %	1.82 %
Salemburg	8	457	204,809	457	100.00 %	0.22 %
Salisbury	33	35,540	209,379	35,540	100.00 %	16.97 %
Saluda (Henderson)	48	11	200,053	11	100.00 %	0.01 %
Saluda (Polk)	48	620	200,053	620	100.00 %	0.31 %
Sandy Creek	7	248	200,436	248	100.00 %	0.12 %
Sandyfield	7	430	200,436	430	100.00 %	0.21 %
Sanford	20	30,261	198,776	30,261	100.00 %	15.22 %
Saratoga	9	353	216,568	353	100.00 %	0.16 %
Sawmills	43	5,020	209,997	5,020	100.00 %	2.39 %
Scotland Neck	2	1,640	198,557	1,640	100.00 %	0.83 %
Seaboard	1	542	199,623	542	100.00 %	0.27 %
Seagrove	25	235	218,484	235	100.00 %	0.11 %
Sedalia	26	676	201,428	676	100.00 %	0.34 %
	27	676	216,058	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Selma	10	6,317	215,999	6,317	100.00 %	2.92 %
Seven Devils (Avery)	46	38	218,487	38	100.00 %	0.02 %
Seven Devils (Watauga)	46	275	218,487	275	100.00 %	0.13 %
Seven Springs	9	55	216,568	55	100.00 %	0.03 %
Severn	1	191	199,623	191	100.00 %	0.10 %
Shallotte	7	4,185	200,436	4,185	100.00 %	2.09 %
Sharpsburg (Edgecombe)	4	215	219,143	215	100.00 %	0.10 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Sharpsburg (Nash)	11	1,061	206,121	1,061	100.00 %	0.51 %
Sharpsburg (Wilson)	9	421	216,568	421	100.00 %	0.19 %
Shelby	44	21,918	203,043	21,918	100.00 %	10.79 %
Siler City	19	7,702	200,858	7,702	100.00 %	3.83 %
Simpson	4	390	219,143	390	100.00 %	0.18 %
Sims	9	275	216,568	275	100.00 %	0.13 %
Smithfield	10	11,292	215,999	11,292	100.00 %	5.23 %
Snow Hill	9	1,481	216,568	1,481	100.00 %	0.68 %
Southern Pines	21	15,545	217,984	15,545	100.00 %	7.13 %
Southern Shores	1	3,090	199,623	3,090	100.00 %	1.55 %
Southport	7	3,971	200,436	3,971	100.00 %	1.98 %
Sparta	46	1,834	218,487	1,834	100.00 %	0.84 %
Speed	4	63	219,143	63	100.00 %	0.03 %
Spencer	33	3,308	209,379	3,308	100.00 %	1.58 %
Spencer Mountain	45	0	211,229	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Spindale	48	4,225	200,053	4,225	100.00 %	2.11 %
Spring Hope	11	1,309	206,121	1,309	100.00 %	0.64 %
Spring Lake	21	11,660	217,984	11,660	100.00 %	5.35 %
Spruce Pine	46	2,194	218,487	2,194	100.00 %	1.00 %
St. Helena	8	417	204,809	417	100.00 %	0.20 %
St. James	7	6,529	200,436	6,529	100.00 %	3.26 %
St. Pauls	24	2,045	202,786	2,045	100.00 %	1.01 %
Staley	25	397	218,484	397	100.00 %	0.18 %
Stallings (Mecklenburg)	41	384	216,686	384	100.00 %	0.18 %
Stallings (Union)	35	15,728	218,137	15,728	100.00 %	7.21 %
Stanfield	33	1,585	209,379	1,585	100.00 %	0.76 %
Stanley	45	3,963	211,229	3,963	100.00 %	1.88 %
Stantonsburg	9	762	216,568	762	100.00 %	0.35 %
Star	29	806	214,631	806	100.00 %	0.38 %
Statesville	37	28,419	215,708	28,419	100.00 %	13.17 %
Stedman	21	1,277	217,984	1,277	100.00 %	0.59 %
Stem	12	960	198,389	960	100.00 %	0.48 %
Stokesdale	26	5,924	201,428	5,924	100.00 %	2.94 %
Stoneville	26	1,308	201,428	1,308	100.00 %	0.65 %
Stonewall	2	214	198,557	214	100.00 %	0.11 %
Stovall	12	324	198,389	324	100.00 %	0.16 %
Sugar Mountain	46	371	218,487	371	100.00 %	0.17 %
Summerfield	26	10,951	201,428	10,951	100.00 %	5.44 %
Sunset Beach	7	4,175	200,436	4,175	100.00 %	2.08 %
Surf City (Onslow)	5	334	204,576	334	100.00 %	0.16 %
Surf City (Pender)	8	3,533	204,809	3,533	100.00 %	1.73 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Swansboro	5	3,744	204,576	3,744	100.00 %	1.83 %
Sweptsonville	25	2,445	218,484	2,445	100.00 %	1.12 %
Sylva	50	2,578	213,909	2,578	100.00 %	1.21 %
Tabor City	7	3,781	200,436	3,781	100.00 %	1.89 %
Tar Heel	8	90	204,809	90	100.00 %	0.04 %
Tarboro	4	10,721	219,143	10,721	100.00 %	4.89 %
Taylorsville	36	2,320	210,986	2,320	100.00 %	1.10 %
Taylortown	21	634	217,984	634	100.00 %	0.29 %
Teachey	8	448	204,809	448	100.00 %	0.22 %
Thomasville (Davidson)	32	26,662	211,642	26,662	100.00 %	12.60 %
Thomasville (Randolph)	29	521	214,631	521	100.00 %	0.24 %
Tobaccoville (Forsyth)	30	2,578	212,299	2,578	100.00 %	1.21 %
Tobaccoville (Stokes)	30	0	212,299	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Topsail Beach	8	461	204,809	461	100.00 %	0.23 %
Trent Woods	3	4,074	200,494	4,074	100.00 %	2.03 %
Trenton	8	238	204,809	238	100.00 %	0.12 %
Trinity	29	7,006	214,631	7,006	100.00 %	3.26 %
Troutman	37	3,698	215,708	3,698	100.00 %	1.71 %
Troy	29	2,850	214,631	2,850	100.00 %	1.33 %
Tryon	48	1,562	200,053	1,562	100.00 %	0.78 %
Turkey	8	213	204,809	213	100.00 %	0.10 %
Unionville	35	6,643	218,137	6,643	100.00 %	3.05 %
Valdese	47	4,689	200,614	4,689	100.00 %	2.34 %
Vanceboro	3	869	200,494	869	100.00 %	0.43 %
Vandemere	2	246	198,557	246	100.00 %	0.12 %
Varnamtown	7	525	200,436	525	100.00 %	0.26 %
Vass	21	952	217,984	952	100.00 %	0.44 %
Waco	44	310	203,043	310	100.00 %	0.15 %
Wade	21	638	217,984	638	100.00 %	0.29 %
Wadesboro	29	5,008	214,631	5,008	100.00 %	2.33 %
Wagram	24	615	202,786	615	100.00 %	0.30 %
Wake Forest (Franklin)	11	1,504	206,121	1,504	100.00 %	0.73 %
Wake Forest (Wake)	12	46,097	198,389	44,497	96.53 %	22.43 %
	14	46,097	198,376	1,600	3.47 %	0.81 %
Walkertown	30	5,692	212,299	5,692	100.00 %	2.68 %
Wallace (Duplin)	8	3,413	204,809	3,413	100.00 %	1.67 %
Wallace (Pender)	8	0	204,809	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Wallburg	32	3,051	211,642	3,051	100.00 %	1.44 %
Walnut Cove	30	1,586	212,299	1,586	100.00 %	0.75 %
Walnut Creek	9	1,084	216,568	1,084	100.00 %	0.50 %
Walstonburg	9	193	216,568	193	100.00 %	0.09 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Warrenton	2	851	198,557	851	100.00 %	0.43 %
Warsaw	8	2,733	204,809	2,733	100.00 %	1.33 %
Washington	3	9,875	200,494	9,875	100.00 %	4.93 %
Washington Park	3	392	200,494	392	100.00 %	0.20 %
Watha	8	181	204,809	181	100.00 %	0.09 %
Waxhaw	29	20,534	214,631	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	35	20,534	218,137	20,534	100.00 %	9.41 %
Waynesville	50	10,140	213,909	10,140	100.00 %	4.74 %
Weaverville	47	4,567	200,614	4,567	100.00 %	2.28 %
Webster	50	372	213,909	372	100.00 %	0.17 %
Weddington (Mecklenburg)	41	5	216,686	5	100.00 %	0.00 %
Weddington (Union)	35	13,176	218,137	13,176	100.00 %	6.04 %
Weldon	2	1,444	198,557	1,444	100.00 %	0.73 %
Wendell	12	9,793	198,389	3,180	32.47 %	1.60 %
	13	9,793	198,409	6,613	67.53 %	3.33 %
Wentworth	26	2,662	201,428	2,662	100.00 %	1.32 %
Wesley Chapel	35	8,681	218,137	8,681	100.00 %	3.98 %
West Jefferson	46	1,279	218,487	1,279	100.00 %	0.59 %
Whispering Pines	21	4,987	217,984	4,987	100.00 %	2.29 %
Whitakers (Edgecombe)	4	290	219,143	290	100.00 %	0.13 %
Whitakers (Nash)	11	337	206,121	337	100.00 %	0.16 %
White Lake	8	843	204,809	843	100.00 %	0.41 %
Whiteville	7	4,766	200,436	4,766	100.00 %	2.38 %
Whitsett	26	584	201,428	584	100.00 %	0.29 %
Wilkesboro	36	3,687	210,986	3,687	100.00 %	1.75 %
Williamston	2	5,248	198,557	5,248	100.00 %	2.64 %
Wilmington	6	115,451	212,582	115,451	100.00 %	54.31 %
	7	115,451	200,436	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Wilson	9	47,851	216,568	47,851	100.00 %	22.10 %
Wilson's Mills	10	2,534	215,999	2,534	100.00 %	1.17 %
Windsor	1	3,582	199,623	3,582	100.00 %	1.79 %
Winfall	1	555	199,623	555	100.00 %	0.28 %
Wingate	29	4,055	214,631	4,055	100.00 %	1.89 %
Winston-Salem	30	249,545	212,299	40,795	16.35 %	19.22 %
	31	249,545	214,811	208,750	83.65 %	97.18 %
Winterville	4	10,462	219,143	10,462	100.00 %	4.77 %
Winton	1	629	199,623	629	100.00 %	0.32 %
Woodfin	49	7,936	200,986	7,936	100.00 %	3.95 %
Woodland	1	557	199,623	557	100.00 %	0.28 %
Wrightsville Beach	6	2,473	212,582	2,473	100.00 %	1.16 %
Yadkinville	36	2,995	210,986	2,995	100.00 %	1.42 %

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[G20-MbCD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Municipality by County - District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

Municipality	District	Total Muni Population	Total District Population	Muni Pop in District	Percent of Muni Pop in District	Percent of District Pop in Muni
Yanceyville	23	1,937	210,529	1,937	100.00 %	0.92 %
Youngsville	11	2,016	206,121	2,016	100.00 %	0.98 %
Zebulon (Johnston)	10	0	215,999	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
Zebulon (Wake)	12	6,903	198,389	6,903	100.00 %	3.48 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

Number of municipalities split within counties: 36

Display: all municipalities

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
1	Ahoskie	199,623	4,891	4,891	2.45 %	100.00 %
	Askewville	199,623	184	184	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Aulander	199,623	763	763	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Cofield	199,623	267	267	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Colerain	199,623	217	217	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Columbia	199,623	610	610	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Como	199,623	67	67	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Conway	199,623	752	752	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Duck	199,623	742	742	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Elizabeth City (Camden)	199,623	38	38	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Elizabeth City (Pasquotank)	199,623	18,593	18,593	9.31 %	100.00 %
	Garysburg	199,623	904	904	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Gaston	199,623	1,008	1,008	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Gatesville	199,623	267	267	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Harrellsville	199,623	85	85	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Hertford	199,623	1,934	1,934	0.97 %	100.00 %
	Jackson	199,623	430	430	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Kelford	199,623	203	203	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Kill Devil Hills	199,623	7,656	7,656	3.84 %	100.00 %
	Kitty Hawk	199,623	3,689	3,689	1.85 %	100.00 %
	Lasker	199,623	64	64	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Lewiston Woodville	199,623	426	426	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Manteo	199,623	1,600	1,600	0.80 %	100.00 %
	Murfreesboro	199,623	2,619	2,619	1.31 %	100.00 %
	Nags Head	199,623	3,168	3,168	1.59 %	100.00 %
	Powellsville	199,623	189	189	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Rich Square	199,623	894	894	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Roxobel	199,623	187	187	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Seaboard	199,623	542	542	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Severn	199,623	191	191	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Southern Shores	199,623	3,090	3,090	1.55 %	100.00 %
	Windsor	199,623	3,582	3,582	1.79 %	100.00 %
	Winfall	199,623	555	555	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Winton	199,623	629	629	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Woodland	199,623	557	557	0.28 %	100.00 %
2	Alliance	198,557	733	733	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Arapahoe	198,557	416	416	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Atlantic Beach	198,557	1,364	1,364	0.69 %	100.00 %
	Bayboro	198,557	1,161	1,161	0.58 %	100.00 %
	Bear Grass	198,557	89	89	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Beaufort	198,557	4,464	4,464	2.25 %	100.00 %

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[G20-DMbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
2	Bogue	198,557	695	695	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Cape Carteret	198,557	2,224	2,224	1.12 %	100.00 %
	Cedar Point	198,557	1,764	1,764	0.89 %	100.00 %
	Creswell	198,557	207	207	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Edenton	198,557	4,460	4,460	2.25 %	100.00 %
	Emerald Isle	198,557	3,847	3,847	1.94 %	100.00 %
	Enfield	198,557	1,865	1,865	0.94 %	100.00 %
	Everetts	198,557	150	150	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Grantsboro	198,557	692	692	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Halifax	198,557	170	170	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Hamilton	198,557	306	306	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Hassell	198,557	49	49	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Hobgood	198,557	268	268	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Indian Beach	198,557	223	223	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Jamesville	198,557	424	424	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Littleton	198,557	559	559	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Macon	198,557	110	110	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Mesic	198,557	144	144	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Minnesott Beach	198,557	530	530	0.27 %	100.00 %
	Morehead City	198,557	9,556	9,556	4.81 %	100.00 %
	Newport	198,557	4,364	4,364	2.20 %	100.00 %
	Norlina	198,557	920	920	0.46 %	100.00 %
	Oak City	198,557	266	266	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Oriental	198,557	880	880	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Parmelee	198,557	243	243	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Peletier	198,557	769	769	0.39 %	100.00 %
	Pine Knoll Shores	198,557	1,388	1,388	0.70 %	100.00 %
	Plymouth	198,557	3,320	3,320	1.67 %	100.00 %
	Roanoke Rapids	198,557	15,229	15,229	7.67 %	100.00 %
	Robersonville	198,557	1,269	1,269	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Roper	198,557	485	485	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Scotland Neck	198,557	1,640	1,640	0.83 %	100.00 %
	Stonewall	198,557	214	214	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Vandemere	198,557	246	246	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Warrenton	198,557	851	851	0.43 %	100.00 %
	Weldon	198,557	1,444	1,444	0.73 %	100.00 %
	Williamston	198,557	5,248	5,248	2.64 %	100.00 %
3	Aurora	200,494	455	455	0.23 %	100.00 %
	Bath	200,494	245	245	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Belhaven	200,494	1,410	1,410	0.70 %	100.00 %
	Bridgeton	200,494	349	349	0.17 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
3	Chocowinity	200,494	722	722	0.36 %	100.00 %
	Cove City	200,494	378	378	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Dover	200,494	349	349	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Grifton (Lenoir)	200,494	147	147	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Havelock	200,494	16,621	16,621	8.29 %	100.00 %
	Kinston	200,494	19,900	19,900	9.93 %	100.00 %
	La Grange	200,494	2,595	2,595	1.29 %	100.00 %
	New Bern	200,494	31,291	31,291	15.61 %	100.00 %
	Pantego	200,494	164	164	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Pink Hill	200,494	451	451	0.22 %	100.00 %
	River Bend	200,494	2,902	2,902	1.45 %	100.00 %
	Trent Woods	200,494	4,074	4,074	2.03 %	100.00 %
	Vanceboro	200,494	869	869	0.43 %	100.00 %
	Washington	200,494	9,875	9,875	4.93 %	100.00 %
	Washington Park	200,494	392	392	0.20 %	100.00 %
4	Ayden	219,143	4,977	4,977	2.27 %	100.00 %
	Bethel	219,143	1,373	1,373	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Conetoe	219,143	198	198	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Falkland	219,143	47	47	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Farmville	219,143	4,461	4,461	2.04 %	100.00 %
	Fountain	219,143	385	385	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Greenville	219,143	87,521	87,521	39.94 %	100.00 %
	Grifton (Pitt)	219,143	2,301	2,301	1.05 %	100.00 %
	Grimesland	219,143	386	386	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Leggett	219,143	37	37	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Macclesfield	219,143	413	413	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Pinetops	219,143	1,200	1,200	0.55 %	100.00 %
	Princeville	219,143	1,254	1,254	0.57 %	100.00 %
	Rocky Mount (Edgecombe)	219,143	15,414	15,414	7.03 %	100.00 %
	Sharpsburg (Edgecombe)	219,143	215	215	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Simpson	219,143	390	390	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Speed	219,143	63	63	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Tarboro	219,143	10,721	10,721	4.89 %	100.00 %
	Whitakers (Edgecombe)	219,143	290	290	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Winterville	219,143	10,462	10,462	4.77 %	100.00 %
5	Holly Ridge	204,576	4,171	4,171	2.04 %	100.00 %
	Jacksonville	204,576	72,723	72,723	35.55 %	100.00 %
	North Topsail Beach	204,576	1,005	1,005	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Richlands	204,576	2,287	2,287	1.12 %	100.00 %
	Surf City (Onslow)	204,576	334	334	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Swansboro	204,576	3,744	3,744	1.83 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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6	Carolina Beach	212,582	6,564	6,564	3.09 %	100.00 %
	Kure Beach	212,582	2,191	2,191	1.03 %	100.00 %
	Wilmington	212,582	115,451	115,451	54.31 %	100.00 %
	Wrightsville Beach	212,582	2,473	2,473	1.16 %	100.00 %
7	Bald Head Island	200,436	268	268	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Belville	200,436	2,406	2,406	1.20 %	100.00 %
	Boardman	200,436	166	166	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Boiling Spring Lakes	200,436	5,943	5,943	2.97 %	100.00 %
	Bolivia	200,436	149	149	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Bolton	200,436	519	519	0.26 %	100.00 %
	Brunswick	200,436	973	973	0.49 %	100.00 %
	Calabash	200,436	2,011	2,011	1.00 %	100.00 %
	Carolina Shores	200,436	4,588	4,588	2.29 %	100.00 %
	Caswell Beach	200,436	395	395	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Cerro Gordo	200,436	131	131	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Chadbourn	200,436	1,574	1,574	0.79 %	100.00 %
	Fair Bluff	200,436	709	709	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Holden Beach	200,436	921	921	0.46 %	100.00 %
	Lake Waccamaw	200,436	1,296	1,296	0.65 %	100.00 %
	Leland	200,436	22,908	22,908	11.43 %	100.00 %
	Navassa	200,436	1,367	1,367	0.68 %	100.00 %
	Northwest	200,436	703	703	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Oak Island	200,436	8,396	8,396	4.19 %	100.00 %
	Ocean Isle Beach	200,436	867	867	0.43 %	100.00 %
	Sandy Creek	200,436	248	248	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Sandyfield	200,436	430	430	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Shallotte	200,436	4,185	4,185	2.09 %	100.00 %
	Southport	200,436	3,971	3,971	1.98 %	100.00 %
	St. James	200,436	6,529	6,529	3.26 %	100.00 %
	Sunset Beach	200,436	4,175	4,175	2.08 %	100.00 %
	Tabor City	200,436	3,781	3,781	1.89 %	100.00 %
	Varnamtown	200,436	525	525	0.26 %	100.00 %
	Whiteville	200,436	4,766	4,766	2.38 %	100.00 %
	Wilmington	200,436	115,451	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
8	Atkinson	204,809	296	296	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Autryville	204,809	167	167	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Beulaville	204,809	1,116	1,116	0.54 %	100.00 %
	Bladenboro	204,809	1,648	1,648	0.80 %	100.00 %
	Burgaw	204,809	3,088	3,088	1.51 %	100.00 %
	Calypso	204,809	327	327	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Clarkton	204,809	614	614	0.30 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
8	Clinton	204,809	8,383	8,383	4.09 %	100.00 %
	Dublin	204,809	267	267	0.13 %	100.00 %
	East Arcadia	204,809	418	418	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Elizabethtown	204,809	3,296	3,296	1.61 %	100.00 %
	Faison (Duplin)	204,809	784	784	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Faison (Sampson)	204,809	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Falcon (Sampson)	204,809	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Garland	204,809	595	595	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Greenevers	204,809	567	567	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Harrells (Duplin)	204,809	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Harrells (Sampson)	204,809	160	160	0.08 %	100.00 %
	Kenansville	204,809	770	770	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Magnolia	204,809	831	831	0.41 %	100.00 %
	Maysville	204,809	818	818	0.40 %	100.00 %
	Mount Olive (Duplin)	204,809	5	5	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Newton Grove	204,809	585	585	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Pollocksville	204,809	268	268	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Rose Hill	204,809	1,371	1,371	0.67 %	100.00 %
	Roseboro	204,809	1,163	1,163	0.57 %	100.00 %
	Salemburg	204,809	457	457	0.22 %	100.00 %
	St. Helena	204,809	417	417	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Surf City (Pender)	204,809	3,533	3,533	1.73 %	100.00 %
	Tar Heel	204,809	90	90	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Teachey	204,809	448	448	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Topsail Beach	204,809	461	461	0.23 %	100.00 %
	Trenton	204,809	238	238	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Turkey	204,809	213	213	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Wallace (Duplin)	204,809	3,413	3,413	1.67 %	100.00 %
	Wallace (Pender)	204,809	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Warsaw	204,809	2,733	2,733	1.33 %	100.00 %
	Watha	204,809	181	181	0.09 %	100.00 %
	White Lake	204,809	843	843	0.41 %	100.00 %
9	Black Creek	216,568	692	692	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Elm City (Wilson)	216,568	1,218	1,218	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Eureka	216,568	214	214	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Fremont	216,568	1,196	1,196	0.55 %	100.00 %
	Goldsboro	216,568	33,657	33,657	15.54 %	100.00 %
	Hookerton	216,568	413	413	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Kenly (Wilson)	216,568	198	198	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Lucama	216,568	1,036	1,036	0.48 %	100.00 %
	Mount Olive (Wayne)	216,568	4,193	4,193	1.94 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
9	Pikeville	216,568	712	712	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Saratoga	216,568	353	353	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Seven Springs	216,568	55	55	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Sharpsburg (Wilson)	216,568	421	421	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Sims	216,568	275	275	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Snow Hill	216,568	1,481	1,481	0.68 %	100.00 %
	Stantonsburg	216,568	762	762	0.35 %	100.00 %
	Walnut Creek	216,568	1,084	1,084	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Walstonburg	216,568	193	193	0.09 %	100.00 %
	Wilson	216,568	47,851	47,851	22.10 %	100.00 %
10	Archer Lodge	215,999	4,797	4,797	2.22 %	100.00 %
	Benson (Johnston)	215,999	3,967	3,967	1.84 %	100.00 %
	Clayton (Johnston)	215,999	26,307	26,307	12.18 %	100.00 %
	Four Oaks	215,999	2,158	2,158	1.00 %	100.00 %
	Kenly (Johnston)	215,999	1,293	1,293	0.60 %	100.00 %
	Micro	215,999	458	458	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Pine Level	215,999	2,046	2,046	0.95 %	100.00 %
	Princeton	215,999	1,315	1,315	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Selma	215,999	6,317	6,317	2.92 %	100.00 %
	Smithfield	215,999	11,292	11,292	5.23 %	100.00 %
	Wilson's Mills	215,999	2,534	2,534	1.17 %	100.00 %
	Zebulon (Johnston)	215,999	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
11	Bailey	206,121	568	568	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Bunn	206,121	327	327	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Castalia	206,121	264	264	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Dortches	206,121	1,082	1,082	0.52 %	100.00 %
	Elm City (Nash)	206,121	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Franklinton	206,121	2,456	2,456	1.19 %	100.00 %
	Henderson	206,121	15,060	15,060	7.31 %	100.00 %
	Kittrell	206,121	132	132	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Louisburg	206,121	3,064	3,064	1.49 %	100.00 %
	Middleburg	206,121	101	101	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Middlesex	206,121	912	912	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Momeyer	206,121	277	277	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Nashville	206,121	5,632	5,632	2.73 %	100.00 %
	Red Oak	206,121	3,342	3,342	1.62 %	100.00 %
	Rocky Mount (Nash)	206,121	38,927	38,927	18.89 %	100.00 %
	Sharpsburg (Nash)	206,121	1,061	1,061	0.51 %	100.00 %
	Spring Hope	206,121	1,309	1,309	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Wake Forest (Franklin)	206,121	1,504	1,504	0.73 %	100.00 %
	Whitakers (Nash)	206,121	337	337	0.16 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
11	Youngsville	206,121	2,016	2,016	0.98 %	100.00 %
12	Butner	198,389	8,397	8,397	4.23 %	100.00 %
	Creedmoor	198,389	4,866	4,866	2.45 %	100.00 %
	Knightdale	198,389	19,435	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Oxford	198,389	8,628	8,628	4.35 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	198,389	466,106	7,009	3.53 %	1.50 %
	Rolesville	198,389	9,475	9,475	4.78 %	100.00 %
	Stem	198,389	960	960	0.48 %	100.00 %
	Stovall	198,389	324	324	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Wake Forest (Wake)	198,389	46,097	44,497	22.43 %	96.53 %
	Wendell	198,389	9,793	3,180	1.60 %	32.47 %
	Zebulon (Wake)	198,389	6,903	6,903	3.48 %	100.00 %
13	Clayton (Wake)	198,409	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Garner	198,409	31,159	26,967	13.59 %	86.55 %
	Knightdale	198,409	19,435	19,435	9.80 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	198,409	466,106	105,867	53.36 %	22.71 %
	Wendell	198,409	9,793	6,613	3.33 %	67.53 %
14	Durham (Wake)	198,376	269	269	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	198,376	466,106	187,340	94.44 %	40.19 %
	Wake Forest (Wake)	198,376	46,097	1,600	0.81 %	3.47 %
15	Cary (Wake)	198,420	171,012	4,080	2.06 %	2.39 %
	Durham (Wake)	198,420	269	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Garner	198,420	31,159	490	0.25 %	1.57 %
	Morrisville (Wake)	198,420	29,423	18,571	9.36 %	63.12 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	198,420	466,106	165,880	83.60 %	35.59 %
16	Angier (Wake)	198,383	556	556	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Apex	198,383	58,780	34,326	17.30 %	58.40 %
	Cary (Wake)	198,383	171,012	11,113	5.60 %	6.50 %
	Fuquay-Varina (Wake)	198,383	34,152	34,152	17.22 %	100.00 %
	Garner	198,383	31,159	3,702	1.87 %	11.88 %
	Holly Springs	198,383	41,239	41,239	20.79 %	100.00 %
17	Apex	198,425	58,780	24,454	12.32 %	41.60 %
	Cary (Wake)	198,425	171,012	155,819	78.53 %	91.12 %
	Morrisville (Wake)	198,425	29,423	10,852	5.47 %	36.88 %
	Raleigh (Wake)	198,425	466,106	10	0.01 %	0.00 %
18	Chapel Hill (Durham)	200,260	2,906	2,322	1.16 %	79.90 %
	Durham (Durham)	200,260	283,093	195,933	97.84 %	69.21 %
19	Cary (Chatham)	200,858	3,709	3,709	1.85 %	100.00 %
	Chapel Hill (Durham)	200,858	2,906	584	0.29 %	20.10 %
	Durham (Durham)	200,858	283,093	87,160	43.39 %	30.79 %
	Goldston	200,858	234	234	0.12 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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19	Morrisville (Durham)	200,858	207	207	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Pittsboro	200,858	4,537	4,537	2.26 %	100.00 %
	Raleigh (Durham)	200,858	1,559	1,559	0.78 %	100.00 %
	Siler City	200,858	7,702	7,702	3.83 %	100.00 %
20	Angier (Harnett)	198,776	4,709	4,709	2.37 %	100.00 %
	Benson (Harnett)	198,776	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Broadway (Harnett)	198,776	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Broadway (Lee)	198,776	1,267	1,267	0.64 %	100.00 %
	Coats	198,776	2,155	2,155	1.08 %	100.00 %
	Dunn	198,776	8,446	8,446	4.25 %	100.00 %
	Erwin	198,776	4,542	4,542	2.28 %	100.00 %
	Fuquay-Varina (Harnett)	198,776	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Lillington	198,776	4,735	4,735	2.38 %	100.00 %
	Sanford	198,776	30,261	30,261	15.22 %	100.00 %
21	Aberdeen	217,984	8,516	8,516	3.91 %	100.00 %
	Cameron	217,984	244	244	0.11 %	100.00 %
	Candor (Moore)	217,984	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Carthage	217,984	2,775	2,775	1.27 %	100.00 %
	Eastover	217,984	3,656	3,656	1.68 %	100.00 %
	Falcon (Cumberland)	217,984	324	324	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Fayetteville	217,984	208,501	24,573	11.27 %	11.79 %
	Foxfire	217,984	1,288	1,288	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Godwin	217,984	128	128	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Hope Mills	217,984	17,808	15,215	6.98 %	85.44 %
	Linden	217,984	136	136	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Pinebluff	217,984	1,473	1,473	0.68 %	100.00 %
	Pinehurst	217,984	17,581	17,581	8.07 %	100.00 %
	Robbins	217,984	1,168	1,168	0.54 %	100.00 %
	Southern Pines	217,984	15,545	15,545	7.13 %	100.00 %
	Spring Lake	217,984	11,660	11,660	5.35 %	100.00 %
	Stedman	217,984	1,277	1,277	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Taylortown	217,984	634	634	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Vass	217,984	952	952	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Wade	217,984	638	638	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Whispering Pines	217,984	4,987	4,987	2.29 %	100.00 %
22	Fayetteville	216,471	208,501	183,928	84.97 %	88.21 %
	Hope Mills	216,471	17,808	2,593	1.20 %	14.56 %
23	Carrboro	210,529	21,295	21,295	10.11 %	100.00 %
	Chapel Hill (Orange)	210,529	59,054	59,054	28.05 %	100.00 %
	Durham (Orange)	210,529	144	144	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Hillsborough	210,529	9,660	9,660	4.59 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
23	Mebane (Orange)	210,529	3,171	3,171	1.51 %	100.00 %
	Milton	210,529	155	155	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Roxboro	210,529	8,134	8,134	3.86 %	100.00 %
	Yanceyville	210,529	1,937	1,937	0.92 %	100.00 %
24	East Laurinburg	202,786	234	234	0.12 %	100.00 %
	Fairmont	202,786	2,191	2,191	1.08 %	100.00 %
	Gibson	202,786	449	449	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Laurinburg	202,786	14,978	14,978	7.39 %	100.00 %
	Lumber Bridge	202,786	82	82	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Lumberton	202,786	19,025	19,025	9.38 %	100.00 %
	Marietta	202,786	111	111	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Maxton (Robeson)	202,786	1,902	1,902	0.94 %	100.00 %
	Maxton (Scotland)	202,786	208	208	0.10 %	100.00 %
	McDonald	202,786	94	94	0.05 %	100.00 %
	Orrum	202,786	59	59	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Parkton	202,786	504	504	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Pembroke	202,786	2,823	2,823	1.39 %	100.00 %
	Proctorville	202,786	121	121	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Raeford	202,786	4,559	4,559	2.25 %	100.00 %
	Raynham	202,786	60	60	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Red Springs (Hoke)	202,786	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Red Springs (Robeson)	202,786	3,087	3,087	1.52 %	100.00 %
	Rennert	202,786	275	275	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Rowland	202,786	885	885	0.44 %	100.00 %
	St. Pauls	202,786	2,045	2,045	1.01 %	100.00 %
	Wagram	202,786	615	615	0.30 %	100.00 %
25	Alamance	218,484	988	988	0.45 %	100.00 %
	Asheboro	218,484	27,156	925	0.42 %	3.41 %
	Burlington (Alamance)	218,484	55,481	55,481	25.39 %	100.00 %
	Elon	218,484	11,336	11,336	5.19 %	100.00 %
	Franklinville	218,484	1,197	1,197	0.55 %	100.00 %
	Gibsonville (Alamance)	218,484	4,278	4,278	1.96 %	100.00 %
	Graham	218,484	17,157	17,157	7.85 %	100.00 %
	Green Level	218,484	3,152	3,152	1.44 %	100.00 %
	Haw River	218,484	2,252	2,252	1.03 %	100.00 %
	Liberty	218,484	2,655	2,655	1.22 %	100.00 %
	Mebane (Alamance)	218,484	14,626	14,626	6.69 %	100.00 %
	Ossipee	218,484	536	536	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Ramseur	218,484	1,774	1,774	0.81 %	100.00 %
	Randleman	218,484	4,595	4,595	2.10 %	100.00 %
	Seagrove	218,484	235	235	0.11 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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25	Staley	218,484	397	397	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Swepsonville	218,484	2,445	2,445	1.12 %	100.00 %
26	Burlington (Guilford)	201,428	1,822	1,822	0.90 %	100.00 %
	Eden	201,428	15,421	15,421	7.66 %	100.00 %
	Gibsonville (Guilford)	201,428	4,642	4,642	2.30 %	100.00 %
	Greensboro	201,428	299,035	12,873	6.39 %	4.30 %
	Kernersville (Guilford)	201,428	502	94	0.05 %	18.73 %
	Madison	201,428	2,129	2,129	1.06 %	100.00 %
	Mayodan	201,428	2,418	2,418	1.20 %	100.00 %
	Oak Ridge	201,428	7,474	7,474	3.71 %	100.00 %
	Pleasant Garden	201,428	5,000	5,000	2.48 %	100.00 %
	Reidsville	201,428	14,583	14,583	7.24 %	100.00 %
	Sedalia	201,428	676	676	0.34 %	100.00 %
	Stokesdale	201,428	5,924	5,924	2.94 %	100.00 %
	Stoneville	201,428	1,308	1,308	0.65 %	100.00 %
	Summerfield	201,428	10,951	10,951	5.44 %	100.00 %
	Wentworth	201,428	2,662	2,662	1.32 %	100.00 %
	Whitsett	201,428	584	584	0.29 %	100.00 %
27	Greensboro	216,058	299,035	204,686	94.74 %	68.45 %
	Sedalia	216,058	676	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
28	Archdale (Guilford)	214,909	380	380	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Greensboro	214,909	299,035	81,476	37.91 %	27.25 %
	High Point (Guilford)	214,909	107,321	107,321	49.94 %	100.00 %
	Jamestown	214,909	3,668	3,668	1.71 %	100.00 %
	Kernersville (Guilford)	214,909	502	408	0.19 %	81.27 %
29	Ansonville	214,631	440	440	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Archdale (Randolph)	214,631	11,527	11,527	5.37 %	100.00 %
	Asheboro	214,631	27,156	26,231	12.22 %	96.59 %
	Biscoe	214,631	1,848	1,848	0.86 %	100.00 %
	Candor (Montgomery)	214,631	813	813	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Dobbins Heights	214,631	687	687	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Ellerbe	214,631	864	864	0.40 %	100.00 %
	Hamlet	214,631	6,025	6,025	2.81 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Randolph)	214,631	8	8	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Hoffman	214,631	418	418	0.19 %	100.00 %
	Lilesville	214,631	395	395	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Marshville	214,631	2,522	2,522	1.18 %	100.00 %
	McFarlan	214,631	94	94	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Morven	214,631	329	329	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Mount Gilead	214,631	1,171	1,171	0.55 %	100.00 %
	Norman	214,631	100	100	0.05 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
29	Peachland	214,631	390	390	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Polkton	214,631	2,250	2,250	1.05 %	100.00 %
	Randleman	214,631	4,595	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Rockingham	214,631	9,243	9,243	4.31 %	100.00 %
	Star	214,631	806	806	0.38 %	100.00 %
	Thomasville (Randolph)	214,631	521	521	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Trinity	214,631	7,006	7,006	3.26 %	100.00 %
	Troy	214,631	2,850	2,850	1.33 %	100.00 %
	Wadesboro	214,631	5,008	5,008	2.33 %	100.00 %
	Waxhaw	214,631	20,534	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Wingate	214,631	4,055	4,055	1.89 %	100.00 %
30	Bethania	212,299	344	344	0.16 %	100.00 %
	Clemmons	212,299	21,163	21,163	9.97 %	100.00 %
	Danbury	212,299	189	189	0.09 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Forsyth)	212,299	84	84	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Kernersville (Forsyth)	212,299	25,947	25,947	12.22 %	100.00 %
	King (Forsyth)	212,299	591	591	0.28 %	100.00 %
	King (Stokes)	212,299	6,606	6,606	3.11 %	100.00 %
	Lewisville	212,299	13,381	13,381	6.30 %	100.00 %
	Rural Hall	212,299	3,351	3,351	1.58 %	100.00 %
	Tobaccoville (Forsyth)	212,299	2,578	2,578	1.21 %	100.00 %
	Tobaccoville (Stokes)	212,299	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Walkertown	212,299	5,692	5,692	2.68 %	100.00 %
	Walnut Cove	212,299	1,586	1,586	0.75 %	100.00 %
	Winston-Salem	212,299	249,545	40,795	19.22 %	16.35 %
31	Winston-Salem	214,811	249,545	208,750	97.18 %	83.65 %
32	Bermuda Run	211,642	3,120	3,120	1.47 %	100.00 %
	Cooleemee	211,642	940	940	0.44 %	100.00 %
	Denton	211,642	1,494	1,494	0.71 %	100.00 %
	High Point (Davidson)	211,642	6,646	6,646	3.14 %	100.00 %
	Lexington	211,642	19,632	19,632	9.28 %	100.00 %
	Midway	211,642	4,742	4,742	2.24 %	100.00 %
	Mocksville	211,642	5,900	5,900	2.79 %	100.00 %
	Thomasville (Davidson)	211,642	26,662	26,662	12.60 %	100.00 %
	Wallburg	211,642	3,051	3,051	1.44 %	100.00 %
33	Albemarle	209,379	16,432	16,432	7.85 %	100.00 %
	Badin	209,379	2,024	2,024	0.97 %	100.00 %
	China Grove	209,379	4,434	4,434	2.12 %	100.00 %
	Cleveland	209,379	846	846	0.40 %	100.00 %
	East Spencer	209,379	1,567	1,567	0.75 %	100.00 %
	Faith	209,379	819	819	0.39 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
33	Granite Quarry	209,379	2,984	2,984	1.43 %	100.00 %
	Kannapolis (Rowan)	209,379	10,268	10,268	4.90 %	100.00 %
	Landis	209,379	3,690	3,690	1.76 %	100.00 %
	Locust (Stanly)	209,379	3,996	3,996	1.91 %	100.00 %
	Misenheimer	209,379	650	650	0.31 %	100.00 %
	New London	209,379	607	607	0.29 %	100.00 %
	Norwood	209,379	2,367	2,367	1.13 %	100.00 %
	Oakboro	209,379	2,128	2,128	1.02 %	100.00 %
	Red Cross	209,379	762	762	0.36 %	100.00 %
	Richfield	209,379	582	582	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Rockwell	209,379	2,302	2,302	1.10 %	100.00 %
	Salisbury	209,379	35,540	35,540	16.97 %	100.00 %
	Spencer	209,379	3,308	3,308	1.58 %	100.00 %
	Stanfield	209,379	1,585	1,585	0.76 %	100.00 %
34	Concord	219,157	105,240	105,240	48.02 %	100.00 %
	Harrisburg	219,157	18,967	18,967	8.65 %	100.00 %
	Kannapolis (Cabarrus)	219,157	42,846	42,846	19.55 %	100.00 %
	Locust (Cabarrus)	219,157	541	423	0.19 %	78.19 %
	Midland (Cabarrus)	219,157	4,684	25	0.01 %	0.53 %
	Mount Pleasant	219,157	1,671	1,671	0.76 %	100.00 %
35	Fairview	218,137	3,456	3,456	1.58 %	100.00 %
	Hemby Bridge	218,137	1,614	1,614	0.74 %	100.00 %
	Indian Trail	218,137	39,997	39,997	18.34 %	100.00 %
	Lake Park	218,137	3,269	3,269	1.50 %	100.00 %
	Locust (Cabarrus)	218,137	541	118	0.05 %	21.81 %
	Marvin	218,137	6,358	6,358	2.91 %	100.00 %
	Midland (Cabarrus)	218,137	4,684	4,659	2.14 %	99.47 %
	Mineral Springs	218,137	3,159	3,159	1.45 %	100.00 %
	Mint Hill (Union)	218,137	6	6	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Monroe	218,137	34,562	34,562	15.84 %	100.00 %
	Stallings (Union)	218,137	15,728	15,728	7.21 %	100.00 %
	Unionville	218,137	6,643	6,643	3.05 %	100.00 %
	Waxhaw	218,137	20,534	20,534	9.41 %	100.00 %
	Weddington (Union)	218,137	13,176	13,176	6.04 %	100.00 %
	Wesley Chapel	218,137	8,681	8,681	3.98 %	100.00 %
36	Boonville	210,986	1,185	1,185	0.56 %	100.00 %
	Dobson	210,986	1,462	1,462	0.69 %	100.00 %
	East Bend	210,986	634	634	0.30 %	100.00 %
	Elkin (Surry)	210,986	4,049	4,049	1.92 %	100.00 %
	Elkin (Wilkes)	210,986	73	73	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Jonesville	210,986	2,308	2,308	1.09 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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36	Mount Airy	210,986	10,676	10,676	5.06 %	100.00 %
	North Wilkesboro	210,986	4,382	4,382	2.08 %	100.00 %
	Pilot Mountain	210,986	1,440	1,440	0.68 %	100.00 %
	Ronda	210,986	438	438	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Taylorsville	210,986	2,320	2,320	1.10 %	100.00 %
	Wilkesboro	210,986	3,687	3,687	1.75 %	100.00 %
	Yadkinville	210,986	2,995	2,995	1.42 %	100.00 %
37	Cornelius	215,708	31,412	12,415	5.76 %	39.52 %
	Davidson (Iredell)	215,708	378	378	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Davidson (Mecklenburg)	215,708	14,728	14,728	6.83 %	100.00 %
	Harmony	215,708	543	543	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Huntersville	215,708	61,376	117	0.05 %	0.19 %
	Love Valley	215,708	154	154	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Mooreville	215,708	50,193	50,193	23.27 %	100.00 %
	Statesville	215,708	28,419	28,419	13.17 %	100.00 %
	Troutman	215,708	3,698	3,698	1.71 %	100.00 %
38	Charlotte	217,671	874,579	121,442	55.79 %	13.89 %
	Cornelius	217,671	31,412	18,997	8.73 %	60.48 %
	Huntersville	217,671	61,376	61,259	28.14 %	99.81 %
39	Charlotte	219,006	874,579	210,910	96.30 %	24.12 %
	Mint Hill (Mecklenburg)	219,006	26,444	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
40	Charlotte	216,693	874,579	216,685	100.00 %	24.78 %
41	Charlotte	216,686	874,579	153,144	70.68 %	17.51 %
	Matthews	216,686	29,435	29,435	13.58 %	100.00 %
	Midland (Mecklenburg)	216,686	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Mint Hill (Mecklenburg)	216,686	26,444	26,444	12.20 %	100.00 %
	Pineville	216,686	10,602	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Stallings (Mecklenburg)	216,686	384	384	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Weddington (Mecklenburg)	216,686	5	5	0.00 %	100.00 %
42	Charlotte	216,411	874,579	172,398	79.66 %	19.71 %
	Pineville	216,411	10,602	10,602	4.90 %	100.00 %
43	Brookford	209,997	442	442	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Cajah's Mountain	209,997	2,722	2,722	1.30 %	100.00 %
	Catawba	209,997	702	702	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Cedar Rock	209,997	301	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Claremont	209,997	1,692	1,692	0.81 %	100.00 %
	Conover	209,997	8,421	8,421	4.01 %	100.00 %
	Gamewell	209,997	3,702	3,702	1.76 %	100.00 %
	Granite Falls	209,997	4,965	4,965	2.36 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Caldwell)	209,997	32	32	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Catawba)	209,997	43,379	43,379	20.66 %	100.00 %

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

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43	Hudson	209,997	3,780	3,780	1.80 %	100.00 %
	Lenoir	209,997	18,352	1	0.00 %	0.01 %
	Long View (Catawba)	209,997	4,353	4,353	2.07 %	100.00 %
	Maiden (Catawba)	209,997	3,736	3,736	1.78 %	100.00 %
	Newton	209,997	13,148	13,148	6.26 %	100.00 %
	Rhodhiss (Caldwell)	209,997	358	358	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford College (Caldwell)	209,997	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Sawmills	209,997	5,020	5,020	2.39 %	100.00 %
44	Belwood	203,043	857	857	0.42 %	100.00 %
	Bessemer City	203,043	5,428	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Boiling Springs	203,043	4,615	4,615	2.27 %	100.00 %
	Casar	203,043	305	305	0.15 %	100.00 %
	Cherryville	203,043	6,078	6,078	2.99 %	100.00 %
	Dellview	203,043	6	6	0.00 %	100.00 %
	Earl	203,043	198	198	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Fallston	203,043	627	627	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Gastonia	203,043	80,411	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Grover	203,043	802	802	0.39 %	100.00 %
	High Shoals	203,043	595	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Kings Mountain (Cleveland)	203,043	10,032	10,032	4.94 %	100.00 %
	Kingstown	203,043	656	656	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Lattimore	203,043	406	406	0.20 %	100.00 %
	Lawndale	203,043	570	570	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Lincolnton	203,043	11,091	11,091	5.46 %	100.00 %
	Maiden (Lincoln)	203,043	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Mooresboro	203,043	293	293	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Patterson Springs	203,043	571	571	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Polkville	203,043	516	516	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Shelby	203,043	21,918	21,918	10.79 %	100.00 %
	Waco	203,043	310	310	0.15 %	100.00 %
45	Belmont	211,229	15,010	15,010	7.11 %	100.00 %
	Bessemer City	211,229	5,428	5,428	2.57 %	100.00 %
	Cramerton	211,229	5,296	5,296	2.51 %	100.00 %
	Dallas	211,229	5,927	5,927	2.81 %	100.00 %
	Gastonia	211,229	80,411	80,411	38.07 %	100.00 %
	High Shoals	211,229	595	595	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Kings Mountain (Gaston)	211,229	1,110	1,110	0.53 %	100.00 %
	Lowell	211,229	3,654	3,654	1.73 %	100.00 %
	McAdenville	211,229	890	890	0.42 %	100.00 %
	Mount Holly	211,229	17,703	17,703	8.38 %	100.00 %
	Ranlo	211,229	4,511	4,511	2.14 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

[G20-DMbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

Municipalities derive from the 2020 Census Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Shapefiles. Population figures are based on the associated Summary File.

Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
45	Spencer Mountain	211,229	0	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Stanley	211,229	3,963	3,963	1.88 %	100.00 %
46	Bakersville	218,487	450	450	0.21 %	100.00 %
	Banner Elk	218,487	1,049	1,049	0.48 %	100.00 %
	Beech Mountain (Avery)	218,487	62	62	0.03 %	100.00 %
	Beech Mountain (Watauga)	218,487	613	613	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Blowing Rock (Caldwell)	218,487	91	91	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Blowing Rock (Watauga)	218,487	1,285	1,285	0.59 %	100.00 %
	Boone	218,487	19,092	19,092	8.74 %	100.00 %
	Burnsville	218,487	1,614	1,614	0.74 %	100.00 %
	Cajah's Mountain	218,487	2,722	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Canton	218,487	4,422	4,422	2.02 %	100.00 %
	Cedar Rock	218,487	301	301	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Clyde	218,487	1,368	1,368	0.63 %	100.00 %
	Crossnore	218,487	143	143	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Elk Park	218,487	542	542	0.25 %	100.00 %
	Gamewell	218,487	3,702	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Grandfather Village	218,487	95	95	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Hot Springs	218,487	520	520	0.24 %	100.00 %
	Hudson	218,487	3,780	0	0.00 %	0.00 %
	Jefferson	218,487	1,622	1,622	0.74 %	100.00 %
	Lansing	218,487	126	126	0.06 %	100.00 %
	Lenoir	218,487	18,352	18,351	8.40 %	99.99 %
	Mars Hill	218,487	2,007	2,007	0.92 %	100.00 %
	Marshall	218,487	777	777	0.36 %	100.00 %
	Newland	218,487	715	715	0.33 %	100.00 %
	Seven Devils (Avery)	218,487	38	38	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Seven Devils (Watauga)	218,487	275	275	0.13 %	100.00 %
	Sparta	218,487	1,834	1,834	0.84 %	100.00 %
	Spruce Pine	218,487	2,194	2,194	1.00 %	100.00 %
	Sugar Mountain	218,487	371	371	0.17 %	100.00 %
	West Jefferson	218,487	1,279	1,279	0.59 %	100.00 %
47	Black Mountain	200,614	8,426	8,426	4.20 %	100.00 %
	Connelly Springs	200,614	1,529	1,529	0.76 %	100.00 %
	Drexel	200,614	1,760	1,760	0.88 %	100.00 %
	Glen Alpine	200,614	1,529	1,529	0.76 %	100.00 %
	Hickory (Burke)	200,614	79	79	0.04 %	100.00 %
	Hildebran	200,614	1,679	1,679	0.84 %	100.00 %
	Long View (Burke)	200,614	735	735	0.37 %	100.00 %
	Marion	200,614	7,717	7,717	3.85 %	100.00 %
	Montreat	200,614	901	901	0.45 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

[G20-DMbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

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Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
47	Morganton	200,614	17,474	17,474	8.71 %	100.00 %
	Old Fort	200,614	811	811	0.40 %	100.00 %
	Rhodhiss (Burke)	200,614	639	639	0.32 %	100.00 %
	Rutherford College (Burke)	200,614	1,226	1,226	0.61 %	100.00 %
	Valdese	200,614	4,689	4,689	2.34 %	100.00 %
	Weaverville	200,614	4,567	4,567	2.28 %	100.00 %
48	Bostic	200,053	355	355	0.18 %	100.00 %
	Chimney Rock Village	200,053	140	140	0.07 %	100.00 %
	Columbus	200,053	1,060	1,060	0.53 %	100.00 %
	Ellenboro	200,053	723	723	0.36 %	100.00 %
	Flat Rock	200,053	3,486	3,486	1.74 %	100.00 %
	Fletcher	200,053	7,987	7,987	3.99 %	100.00 %
	Forest City	200,053	7,377	7,377	3.69 %	100.00 %
	Hendersonville	200,053	15,137	15,137	7.57 %	100.00 %
	Lake Lure	200,053	1,365	1,365	0.68 %	100.00 %
	Laurel Park	200,053	2,250	2,250	1.12 %	100.00 %
	Mills River	200,053	7,078	7,078	3.54 %	100.00 %
	Ruth	200,053	347	347	0.17 %	100.00 %
	Rutherfordton	200,053	3,640	3,640	1.82 %	100.00 %
	Saluda (Henderson)	200,053	11	11	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Saluda (Polk)	200,053	620	620	0.31 %	100.00 %
	Spindale	200,053	4,225	4,225	2.11 %	100.00 %
	Tryon	200,053	1,562	1,562	0.78 %	100.00 %
49	Asheville	200,986	94,589	94,589	47.06 %	100.00 %
	Biltmore Forest	200,986	1,409	1,409	0.70 %	100.00 %
	Woodfin	200,986	7,936	7,936	3.95 %	100.00 %
50	Andrews	213,909	1,667	1,667	0.78 %	100.00 %
	Brevard	213,909	7,744	7,744	3.62 %	100.00 %
	Bryson City	213,909	1,558	1,558	0.73 %	100.00 %
	Dillsboro	213,909	213	213	0.10 %	100.00 %
	Fontana Dam	213,909	13	13	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Forest Hills	213,909	303	303	0.14 %	100.00 %
	Franklin	213,909	4,175	4,175	1.95 %	100.00 %
	Hayesville	213,909	461	461	0.22 %	100.00 %
	Highlands (Jackson)	213,909	12	12	0.01 %	100.00 %
	Highlands (Macon)	213,909	1,060	1,060	0.50 %	100.00 %
	Lake Santeetlah	213,909	38	38	0.02 %	100.00 %
	Maggie Valley	213,909	1,687	1,687	0.79 %	100.00 %
	Murphy	213,909	1,608	1,608	0.75 %	100.00 %
	Robbinsville	213,909	597	597	0.28 %	100.00 %
	Rosman	213,909	701	701	0.33 %	100.00 %

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

[G20-DMbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

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Note that for the purposes of this report, portions of municipalities in different counties are treated separately.

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Districts included: All

## District - Municipality by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	Municipality	Total District Population	Total Muni Population	District Pop in Muni	Percent of District Pop in Muni	Percent of Muni Pop in District
50	Sylva	213,909	2,578	2,578	1.21 %	100.00 %
	Waynesville	213,909	10,140	10,140	4.74 %	100.00 %
	Webster	213,909	372	372	0.17 %	100.00 %
<b>Total:</b>				<b>6,017,605</b>		

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

## District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
1	Bertie	12	0
	Camden	3	0
	Currituck	11	0
	Dare	16	0
	Gates	6	0
	Hertford	13	0
	Northampton	13	0
	Pasquotank	9	0
	Perquimans	7	0
	Tyrrell	6	0
2	Carteret	28	0
	Chowan	6	0
	Halifax	23	0
	Hyde	7	0
	Martin	13	0
	Pamlico	10	0
	Warren	14	0
	Washington	6	0
3	Beaufort	21	0
	Craven	21	0
	Lenoir	22	0
4	Edgecombe	21	0
	Pitt	40	0
5	Onslow	24	0
6	New Hanover	40	0
7	Brunswick	25	0
	Columbus	26	0
	New Hanover	3	0
8	Bladen	17	0
	Duplin	19	0
	Jones	7	0
	Pender	20	0
	Sampson	21	2
9	Greene	10	0
	Wayne	28	0
	Wilson	24	0
10	Johnston	36	0
11	Franklin	18	0
	Nash	24	0
	Vance	12	0
12	Granville	15	0
	Wake	25	1
13	Wake	32	3

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Based on TIGER 2020 VTDs

[G20-VTD-SbD] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
14	Wake	43	3
15	Wake	35	4
16	Wake	26	1
17	Wake	36	2
18	Durham	42	0
19	Chatham	18	0
	Durham	15	0
20	Harnett	13	0
	Lee	10	0
	Sampson	0	2
21	Cumberland	20	0
	Moore	26	0
22	Cumberland	56	0
23	Caswell	9	0
	Orange	41	0
	Person	11	0
24	Hoke	15	0
	Robeson	39	0
	Scotland	7	0
25	Alamance	37	0
	Randolph	8	1
26	Guilford	30	0
	Rockingham	15	0
27	Guilford	73	0
28	Guilford	62	0
29	Anson	9	0
	Montgomery	14	0
	Randolph	13	1
	Richmond	16	0
	Union	8	0
30	Forsyth	40	0
	Stokes	18	0
31	Forsyth	61	0
32	Davidson	43	0
	Davie	14	0
33	Rowan	41	0
	Stanly	22	0
34	Cabarrus	39	1
35	Cabarrus	0	1
	Union	44	0

## Whole-Split VTD Counts by District Report

### District Plan: SST-4

District	County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
36	Alexander	10	0
	Surry	24	0
	Wilkes	27	0
	Yadkin	12	0
37	Iredell	29	0
	Mecklenburg	3	0
38	Mecklenburg	24	0
39	Mecklenburg	40	0
40	Mecklenburg	56	0
41	Mecklenburg	42	0
42	Mecklenburg	30	0
43	Caldwell	10	2
	Catawba	40	0
44	Cleveland	21	0
	Gaston	5	0
	Lincoln	23	0
45	Gaston	41	0
46	Alleghany	4	0
	Ashe	17	0
	Avery	19	0
	Caldwell	8	2
	Haywood	12	0
	Madison	12	0
	Mitchell	9	0
	Watauga	20	0
	Yancey	11	0
47	Buncombe	20	2
	Burke	33	0
	McDowell	17	0
48	Henderson	34	0
	Polk	7	0
	Rutherford	17	0
49	Buncombe	57	2
50	Cherokee	16	0
	Clay	9	0
	Graham	4	0
	Haywood	17	0
	Jackson	13	0
	Macon	15	0
	Swain	5	0
	Transylvania	15	0
<b>Total:</b>		<b>2,651</b>	<b>15</b>

# Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

## District Plan: SST-4

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Alamance	37	0
Alexander	10	0
Alleghany	4	0
Anson	9	0
Ashe	17	0
Avery	19	0
Beaufort	21	0
Bertie	12	0
Bladen	17	0
Brunswick	25	0
Buncombe	77	2
Burke	33	0
Cabarrus	39	1
Caldwell	18	2
Camden	3	0
Carteret	28	0
Caswell	9	0
Catawba	40	0
Chatham	18	0
Cherokee	16	0
Chowan	6	0
Clay	9	0
Cleveland	21	0
Columbus	26	0
Craven	21	0
Cumberland	76	0
Currituck	11	0
Dare	16	0
Davidson	43	0
Davie	14	0
Duplin	19	0
Durham	57	0
Edgecombe	21	0
Forsyth	101	0
Franklin	18	0
Gaston	46	0
Gates	6	0
Graham	4	0
Granville	15	0
Greene	10	0
Guilford	165	0
Halifax	23	0
Harnett	13	0

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Based on TIGER 2020 VTDs

[G20-VTD-SbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Haywood	29	0
Henderson	34	0
Hertford	13	0
Hoke	15	0
Hyde	7	0
Iredell	29	0
Jackson	13	0
Johnston	36	0
Jones	7	0
Lee	10	0
Lenoir	22	0
Lincoln	23	0
Macon	15	0
Madison	12	0
Martin	13	0
McDowell	17	0
Mecklenburg	195	0
Mitchell	9	0
Montgomery	14	0
Moore	26	0
Nash	24	0
New Hanover	43	0
Northampton	13	0
Onslow	24	0
Orange	41	0
Pamlico	10	0
Pasquotank	9	0
Pender	20	0
Perquimans	7	0
Person	11	0
Pitt	40	0
Polk	7	0
Randolph	21	1
Richmond	16	0
Robeson	39	0
Rockingham	15	0
Rowan	41	0
Rutherford	17	0
Sampson	21	2
Scotland	7	0
Stanly	22	0
Stokes	18	0
Surry	24	0

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Based on TIGER 2020 VTDs

[G20-VTD-SbC] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Whole-Split VTD Counts by County Report

### District Plan: SST-4

County	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs
Swain	5	0
Transylvania	15	0
Tyrrell	6	0
Union	52	0
Vance	12	0
Wake	197	7
Warren	14	0
Washington	6	0
Watauga	20	0
Wayne	28	0
Wilkes	27	0
Wilson	24	0
Yadkin	12	0
Yancey	11	0
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>2,651</b>	<b>15</b>

# Split VTD Detail Report

## District Plan: SST-4

County	VTD	District	Total VTD Population	VTD Pop in District	Percent of VTD Pop in District
Buncombe	41.1	47	4,941	4,898	99.13 %
		49	4,941	43	0.87 %
	71.1	47	5,830	2,400	41.17 %
		49	5,830	3,430	58.83 %
Cabarrus	10-00	34	8,241	1,594	19.34 %
		35	8,241	6,647	80.66 %
Caldwell	PR29	43	5,041	54	1.07 %
		46	5,041	4,987	98.93 %
	PR33	43	8,538	7,830	91.71 %
		46	8,538	708	8.29 %
Randolph	RN	25	9,167	8,875	96.81 %
		29	9,167	292	3.19 %
Sampson	MING	8	3,942	3,662	92.90 %
		20	3,942	280	7.10 %
	PLVW	8	3,941	2,298	58.31 %
		20	3,941	1,643	41.69 %
Wake	01-28	13	7,107	5,392	75.87 %
		15	7,107	1,715	24.13 %
	04-05	15	5,069	970	19.14 %
		17	5,069	4,099	80.86 %
	05-07	15	14,766	12,639	85.60 %
		17	14,766	2,127	14.40 %
	07-12	14	4,145	197	4.75 %
		15	4,145	3,948	95.25 %
	15-01	13	6,482	1,941	29.94 %
		16	6,482	4,541	70.06 %
	17-10	13	2,507	180	7.18 %
		14	2,507	2,327	92.82 %
	19-16	12	4,340	2,697	62.14 %
		14	4,340	1,643	37.86 %
Total:				94,057	

Number of split VTDs: 15

# Incumbent-District Report

**District Plan: SST-4**

**Residence Set: NC Senate - 9/20/2021**

Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District	District in this Plan
Alexander	W. Ted	Republican	44	44
Ballard	Deanna	Republican	45	46
Barnes	Lisa	Republican	11	11
Batch	Sydney	Democratic	17	16
Bazemore	Ernestine	Democratic	3	1
Berger	Philip	Republican	30	26
Blue	Daniel	Democratic	14	13
Britt	Danny	Republican	13	24
Burgin	James	Republican	12	20
Chaudhuri	Jay	Democratic	15	15
Clark	Robert	Democratic	21	24
Corbin	Harold	Republican	50	50
Craven	David	Republican	26	29
Crawford	Sarah	Democratic	18	14
Daniel	Warren	Republican	46	47
Davis	Donald	Democratic	5	4
deViere	Kirk	Democratic	19	22
Edwards	Charles	Republican	48	48
Fitch	Milton	Democratic	4	9
Ford	Carl	Republican	33	33
Foushee	Valerie	Democratic	23	23
Galey	Amy	Republican	24	25
Garrett	Michael	Democratic	27	27
Harrington	Kathryn	Republican	43	45
Hise	Ralph	Republican	47	46
Jackson	Brent	Republican	10	8
Jackson	Jeffrey	Democratic	37	41
Jarvis	Steven	Republican	29	32
Johnson	Matthew	Republican	35	35
Krawiec	Joyce	Republican	31	30
Lazzara	Michael	Republican	6	5
Lee	Michael	Republican	9	6
Lowe	Paul	Democratic	32	31
Marcus	Natasha	Democratic	41	37
Mayfield	Julie	Democratic	49	49
McInnis	Thomas	Republican	25	29
Mohammed	Mujtaba	Democratic	38	38
Murdock	Natalie	Democratic	20	19
Newton	Paul	Republican	36	34
Nickel	George	Democratic	16	17
Perry	Jim	Republican	7	3
Proctor	Dean	Republican	42	43

District plan definition file: 'SST-4.csv', modified 10/14/2021 1:10 PM

Row shading indicates that the district in this plan is shared by more than one incumbent.

[G20-IncDist] - Generated 10/14/2021

## Incumbent-District Report

**District Plan: SST-4**

**Residence Set: NC Senate - 9/20/2021**

Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District	District in this Plan
Rabon	William	Republican	8	7
Robinson	Gladys	Democratic	28	27
Salvador	DeAndrea	Democratic	39	42
Sanderson	Norman	Republican	2	2
Sawyer	Vickie	Republican	34	37
Steinburg	Bob	Republican	1	2
Waddell	Joyce	Democratic	40	38
Woodard	Mike	Democratic	22	18

## District-Incumbent Report

**District Plan: SST-4**

**Residence Set: NC Senate - 9/20/2021**

District in this Plan	Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District
1	Bazemore	Ernestine	Democratic	3
2	Sanderson	Norman	Republican	2
	Steinburg	Bob	Republican	1
3	Perry	Jim	Republican	7
4	Davis	Donald	Democratic	5
5	Lazzara	Michael	Republican	6
6	Lee	Michael	Republican	9
7	Rabon	William	Republican	8
8	Jackson	Brent	Republican	10
9	Fitch	Milton	Democratic	4
10				
11	Barnes	Lisa	Republican	11
12				
13	Blue	Daniel	Democratic	14
14	Crawford	Sarah	Democratic	18
15	Chaudhuri	Jay	Democratic	15
16	Batch	Sydney	Democratic	17
17	Nickel	George	Democratic	16
18	Woodard	Mike	Democratic	22
19	Murdock	Natalie	Democratic	20
20	Burgin	James	Republican	12
21				
22	deViere	Kirk	Democratic	19
23	Foushee	Valerie	Democratic	23
24	Britt	Danny	Republican	13
	Clark	Robert	Democratic	21
25	Galey	Amy	Republican	24
26	Berger	Philip	Republican	30
27	Garrett	Michael	Democratic	27
	Robinson	Gladys	Democratic	28
28				
29	Craven	David	Republican	26
	McInnis	Thomas	Republican	25
30	Krawiec	Joyce	Republican	31
31	Lowe	Paul	Democratic	32
32	Jarvis	Steven	Republican	29
33	Ford	Carl	Republican	33
34	Newton	Paul	Republican	36
35	Johnson	Matthew	Republican	35
36				
37	Marcus	Natasha	Democratic	41
	Sawyer	Vickie	Republican	34

## District-Incumbent Report

**District Plan: SST-4**

**Residence Set: NC Senate - 9/20/2021**

District in this Plan	Last Name	First Name	Party	Current District
38	Mohammed	Mujtaba	Democratic	38
	Waddell	Joyce	Democratic	40
39				
40				
41	Jackson	Jeffrey	Democratic	37
42	Salvador	DeAndrea	Democratic	39
43	Proctor	Dean	Republican	42
44	Alexander	W. Ted	Republican	44
45	Harrington	Kathryn	Republican	43
46	Ballard	Deanna	Republican	45
	Hise	Ralph	Republican	47
47	Daniel	Warren	Republican	46
48	Edwards	Charles	Republican	48
49	Mayfield	Julie	Democratic	49
50	Corbin	Harold	Republican	50

– Ex. 6391 –  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA  
SESSION 2021

S

D

**SENATE BILL 739**  
**PROPOSED COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE S739-PCS15347-ST-38**

Short Title: Senate Redistricting Plan 2021/SBK-7.

(Public)

Sponsors:

Referred to:

November 1, 2021

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

AN ACT TO REALIGN THE DISTRICTS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE SENATE  
FOLLOWING THE RETURN OF THE 2020 FEDERAL DECENNIAL CENSUS.

The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts:

**SECTION 1.** G.S. 120-1(a), (b), and (c) are rewritten to read:

"(a) For the purpose of nominating and electing members of the Senate in 2022 and periodically thereafter, senatorial districts are established and seats in the Senate are apportioned among those districts so that each district elects one senator, and the composition of each district is as follows:

**District 1:** Bertie County, Camden County, Currituck County, Dare County, Gates County, Hertford County, Northampton County, Pasquotank County, Perquimans County, Tyrrell County.

**District 2:** Carteret County, Chowan County, Halifax County, Hyde County, Martin County, Pamlico County, Warren County, Washington County.

**District 3:** Beaufort County, Craven County, Lenoir County.

**District 4:** Greene County, Wayne County, Wilson County.

**District 5:** Edgecombe County, Pitt County.

**District 6:** Onslow County.

**District 7:** New Hanover County: VTD CF02, VTD CF05, VTD FP03, VTD FP04, VTD FP06, VTD FP07, VTD FP08, VTD H02, VTD H03, VTD H04, VTD H05, VTD H06, VTD H08, VTD H10, VTD H11, VTD H12, VTD H13, VTD M02, VTD M03, VTD M04, VTD M06, VTD M07, VTD W03, VTD W08, VTD W12, VTD W13, VTD W15, VTD W16, VTD W17, VTD W18, VTD W21, VTD W24, VTD W25, VTD W26, VTD W27, VTD W28, VTD W29, VTD W30, VTD W31, VTD WB.

**District 8:** Brunswick County, Columbus County, New Hanover County: VTD CF01, VTD CF06, VTD H01.

**District 9:** Bladen County, Duplin County, Jones County, Pender County, Sampson County: VTD AUTR, VTD CLCE, VTD CLEA, VTD CLEM, VTD CLNE, VTD CLSW, VTD CLWE, VTD GARL, VTD GIDD, VTD HARR, VTD HERR, VTD INGO, VTD KEEN, VTD KFRK, VTD LAKE, VTD MING: Block(s) 1639703021000, 1639703021001, 1639703021002, 1639703021003, 1639703021004, 1639703021005, 1639703021006, 1639703021007, 1639703021008, 1639703021009, 1639703021010, 1639703021011, 1639703021012, 1639703021013, 1639703021014, 1639703021015, 1639703021016, 1639703021017, 1639703021018, 1639703021019, 1639703021020, 1639703021021, 1639703021022, 1639703021023, 1639703021024, 1639703021025, 1639703021026, 1639703021027, 1639703021028, 1639703021029, 1639703021030, 1639703021031,



PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1472**

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1 1639703021032, 1639703021033, 1639703021034, 1639703021035, 1639703021036,  
2 1639703021037, 1639703021038, 1639703022000, 1639703022001, 1639703022012,  
3 1639703022013, 1639703022014, 1639703022015, 1639703022021, 1639703022022,  
4 1639703031000, 1639703031001, 1639703031002, 1639703031003, 1639703031004,  
5 1639703031005, 1639703031006, 1639703031007, 1639703031008, 1639703031009,  
6 1639703031010, 1639703031011, 1639703031012, 1639703031013, 1639703031014,  
7 1639703031015, 1639703031016, 1639703031017, 1639703031018, 1639703031019,  
8 1639703031020, 1639703031021, 1639703031022, 1639703031023, 1639703031024,  
9 1639703031025, 1639703031026, 1639703031027, 1639703031028, 1639703031029,  
10 1639703031030, 1639703031031, 1639703031032, 1639703032000, 1639703032001,  
11 1639703032002, 1639703032003, 1639703032004, 1639703032005, 1639703032006,  
12 1639703032007, 1639703032008, 1639703032009, 1639703032010, 1639703032011,  
13 1639703032012, 1639703042022; VTD NGRV, VTD PLVW: Block(s) 1639702021003,  
14 1639702021004, 1639702021009, 1639702021010, 1639702021031, 1639702021032,  
15 1639702021033, 1639703041000, 1639703041001, 1639703041002, 1639703041003,  
16 1639703041004, 1639703041005, 1639703041006, 1639703041007, 1639703041008,  
17 1639703041009, 1639703041010, 1639703041011, 1639703041012, 1639703041013,  
18 1639703041014, 1639703041015, 1639703041016, 1639703041018, 1639703041019,  
19 1639703041020, 1639703041021, 1639703041022, 1639703041023, 1639703041024,  
20 1639703041025, 1639703041030, 1639703041031, 1639703041033, 1639703041036,  
21 1639703042023, 1639703042024; VTD ROSE, VTD ROWA, VTD SBRG, VTD TURK,  
22 VTD WBRK.  
23 **District 10:** Johnston County.  
24 **District 11:** Franklin County, Nash County, Vance County.  
25 **District 12:** Harnett County, Lee County, Sampson County: VTD MING: Block(s)  
26 1639703042001, 1639703042002, 1639703042003, 1639703042010, 1639703042011,  
27 1639703042012, 1639703042019, 1639703042020, 1639703042021; VTD PLVW: Block(s)  
28 1639703041017, 1639703041026, 1639703041027, 1639703041028, 1639703041029,  
29 1639703041032, 1639703041034, 1639703041035, 1639703042000, 1639703042004,  
30 1639703042005, 1639703042006, 1639703042007, 1639703042008, 1639703042009,  
31 1639703042013, 1639703042014, 1639703042015, 1639703042016, 1639703042017,  
32 1639703042018.  
33 **District 13:** Granville County, Wake County: VTD 02-01, VTD 02-02, VTD 02-03, VTD 02-04,  
34 VTD 02-05, VTD 02-06, VTD 08-04, VTD 08-07, VTD 09-01, VTD 09-02, VTD 09-03,  
35 VTD 10-01: Block(s) 1830541082013, 1830541082014, 1830541082015, 1830541082067,  
36 1830544023000, 1830544023001, 1830544023002, 1830544023003, 1830544023014,  
37 1830544023015, 1830544023016, 1830544032005, 1830544032006, 1830544032007,  
38 1830544032008, 1830544032009, 1830544032012, 1830544032013, 1830544033000,  
39 1830544033001, 1830544033002, 1830544033003, 1830544033004, 1830544033005,  
40 1830544033006, 1830544033007, 1830544033008, 1830544033009, 1830544033010,  
41 1830544033011, 1830544033012, 1830544043016, 1830544043023, 1830544043024,  
42 1830544043041, 1830544043042, 1830544043043, 1830544043044, 1830544043045,  
43 1830544043046, 1830544043047, 1830544043048, 1830544043049, 1830544043050,  
44 1830544043051, 1830544043052, 1830544043053, 1830544043054, 1830544043055,  
45 1830544043056, 1830544043057, 1830544043058, 1830544043059, 1830544043060,  
46 1830544043061; VTD 10-02: Block(s) 1830544031000, 1830544031001, 1830544031002,  
47 1830544031003, 1830544031004, 1830544031005, 1830544031006, 1830544031007,  
48 1830544031008, 1830544031009, 1830544031010, 1830544031011, 1830544031012,  
49 1830544031013, 1830544031014, 1830544031015, 1830544032000, 1830544032001,  
50 1830544032002, 1830544032003, 1830544032004, 1830544032010, 1830544032011,  
51 1830544041000, 1830544041001, 1830544042000, 1830544042001, 1830544042002,

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1	1830544042003,	1830544042004,	1830544042005,	1830544042006,	1830544042007,
2	1830544042008,	1830544042009,	1830544042010,	1830544042011,	1830544042012,
3	1830544042013,	1830544042016,	1830544042019,	1830544043000,	1830544043001,
4	1830544043003,	1830544043004,	1830544043020,	1830544043021,	1830544043022,
5	1830544043025,	1830544043032,	1830544043083;	VD 14-01, VD 14-02, VD 19-03,	
6	VD 19-05, VD 19-07, VD 19-09, VD 19-11, VD 19-12, VD 19-15: Block(s)				
7	1830542031028,	1830542031029,	1830542031030,	1830542121000,	1830542121001,
8	1830542121002,	1830542121003,	1830542121004,	1830542121005,	1830542121006,
9	1830542121007,	1830542121008,	1830542121009,	1830542121010,	1830542121011,
10	1830542121012,	1830542121013,	1830542121014,	1830542121015,	1830542121016,
11	1830542121017,	1830542121018,	1830542121019,	1830542121020,	1830542121021,
12	1830542121022,	1830542121023,	1830542121024,	1830542121025,	1830542121026,
13	1830542122000,	1830542122001,	1830542122002,	1830542122003,	1830542122008,
14	1830542122009,	1830542122015,	1830542122016,	1830542122017,	1830542122018,
15	1830542123001,	1830542123002,	1830542123003,	1830542123004,	1830542123008; VD
16	19-16, VD 19-18, VD 19-19, VD 19-20, VD 19-21.				
17	<b>District 14:</b> Wake County: VD 01-19, VD 01-20, VD 01-22, VD 01-25, VD 01-26, VD				
18	01-28: Block(s) 1830505002000,	1830505002001,	1830505003020,	1830519001000,	
19	1830519001001,	1830519001002,	1830519001003,	1830519001004,	1830519001005,
20	1830519001006,	1830519001007,	1830519001008,	1830519001009,	1830519001010,
21	1830519001011,	1830519001012,	1830519001013,	1830519001014,	1830519001015,
22	1830519001016,	1830519001017,	1830519001018,	1830519001019,	1830519001020,
23	1830519001021,	1830519001022,	1830519001023,	1830519001024,	1830519001025,
24	1830519001026,	1830519001027,	1830519001028,	1830519001029,	1830519001030,
25	1830519001031,	1830519001032,	1830519001033,	1830519001034,	1830519001035,
26	1830519001036,	1830519001037,	1830519002000,	1830519002001,	1830519002002,
27	1830519002003,	1830519002004,	1830519002005,	1830519002006,	1830519002007,
28	1830519002008,	1830519002009,	1830519002010,	1830519002011,	1830519002012,
29	1830519002013,	1830519002014,	1830519002015,	1830519002016,	1830519002017,
30	1830519002018,	1830519003000,	1830519003001,	1830519003002,	1830519003003,
31	1830519003004,	1830519003005,	1830519003006,	1830519003007,	1830519003008,
32	1830519003009,	1830519003010,	1830519003012,	1830519003013,	1830519003014,
33	1830519003015,	1830527053017,	1830527053018,	1830527053019,	1830527053020,
34	1830527053021,	1830527053027,	1830527053029,	1830527061021,	1830527061022,
35	1830527061023,	1830527061024,	1830527062012,	1830527062013,	1830527062014,
36	1830527062015,	1830527062016,	1830527062017,	1830527062018,	1830527062019,
37	1830541064023; VD 01-34, VD 01-35, VD 01-40, VD 01-50, VD 10-01: Block(s)				
38	1830544043038,	1830544043039,	1830544043040,	1830544043062; VD 10-02: Block(s)	
39	1830544041002,	1830544041003,	1830544041004,	1830544041005,	1830544041006,
40	1830544041009,	1830544041010,	1830544041011,	1830544041013,	1830544041014,
41	1830544041015,	1830544041016,	1830544041017,	1830544041018,	1830544041019,
42	1830544041020,	1830544041021,	1830544041022,	1830544041023,	1830544041024,
43	1830544041030,	1830544041031,	1830544041032,	1830544041033,	1830544041036,
44	1830544041037,	1830544041038,	1830544041039,	1830544041040,	1830544041041,
45	1830544041042,	1830544041043,	1830544041044,	1830544041045,	1830544041050,
46	1830544041051,	1830544041070,	1830544041071,	1830544041072,	1830544042014,
47	1830544042015,	1830544042017,	1830544042018,	1830544043005,	1830544043006,
48	1830544043007,	1830544043008,	1830544043009,	1830544043010,	1830544043011,
49	1830544043012,	1830544043013,	1830544043014,	1830544043015,	1830544043017,
50	1830544043018,	1830544043019,	1830544043033,	1830544043034,	1830544043035,
51	1830544043071,	1830544043072,	1830544043073,	1830544043082; VD 10-03, VD	

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1	10-04, VTD 15-02: Block(s)	1830530094000,	1830530094001,	1830530094002,	
2	1830530094003,	1830530094004,	1830530094005,	1830530094006,	1830530094007,
3	1830530094008,	1830530094009,	1830530094010,	1830530095000,	1830530095001,
4	1830530095002,	1830530095003,	1830530095004,	1830530095005,	1830530095006,
5	1830530095007,	1830530095008,	1830530095009,	1830530095010,	1830530095011,
6	1830530095012,	1830530095013,	1830530095014,	1830530095015,	1830530095016,
7	1830530095017,	1830530095018,	1830530095019,	1830530095020,	1830530095021,
8	1830530095022,	1830530095023,	1830530095024,	1830530095025; VTD 15-04: Block(s)	
9	1830528011011,	1830528122012,	1830529031003,	1830529031006,	1830529031012,
10	1830529032000,	1830529032001,	1830529032002,	1830529032003,	1830529032004,
11	1830529032005,	1830529032006,	1830529032007,	1830529032008,	1830529032009,
12	1830529032010,	1830529032011,	1830529032012,	1830529032013; VTD 16-01, VTD	
13	16-02, VTD 16-03, VTD 16-04, VTD 16-05, VTD 16-06, VTD 16-07, VTD 16-09, VTD				
14	16-10, VTD 16-11, VTD 17-01, VTD 17-02, VTD 17-03, VTD 17-04: Block(s)				
15	1830541111000,	1830541111001,	1830541111002,	1830541111003,	1830541111004,
16	1830541111005,	1830541111006,	1830541111007,	1830541111008,	1830541111009,
17	1830541111010,	1830541111011,	1830541111012,	1830541111013,	1830541111014,
18	1830541111015,	1830541111016,	1830541111017,	1830541112004,	1830541112005,
19	1830541121000,	1830541121001,	1830541121002,	1830541121003,	1830541121004,
20	1830541121005,	1830541121006,	1830541121007,	1830541121008,	1830541121009,
21	1830541121010,	1830541121011,	1830541121012,	1830541121013,	1830541121014,
22	1830541121015,	1830541121016,	1830541122000,	1830541122001,	1830541122002,
23	1830541122003,	1830541122004,	1830541122005,	1830541122006,	1830541122007,
24	1830541122008,	1830541122009,	1830541122010,	1830541122011,	1830541122012,
25	1830541122013,	1830541122014,	1830541122015,	1830541122016,	1830541122017,
26	1830541122018,	1830541122019,	1830541122020,	1830541122021,	1830541122022,
27	1830541122023,	1830541122024,	1830541122025,	1830541122026,	1830541131000,
28	1830541131001,	1830541131002,	1830541131003,	1830541131004,	1830541131005,
29	1830541131006,	1830541131007,	1830541131008,	1830541131009,	1830541131010,
30	1830541131011,	1830541131012,	1830541131013,	1830541131014,	1830541131015,
31	1830541131016,	1830541131017,	1830541131018,	1830541131019,	1830541131020,
32	1830541131021,	1830541131022,	1830541131023,	1830541131024,	1830541131025,
33	1830541131026,	1830541131027,	1830541131028,	1830541131029,	1830541131030,
34	1830541131031,	1830541131032,	1830541131033,	1830541131034,	1830541131035,
35	1830541131036,	1830541131037,	1830541131038,	1830541131039,	1830541131040,
36	1830541131041,	1830541131042,	1830541132000,	1830541132001,	1830541132002,
37	1830541132003,	1830541132004,	1830541132005,	1830541132006,	1830541132007,
38	1830541132008,	1830541132009,	1830541132010,	1830541132011,	1830541132012,
39	1830541132013,	1830541132014,	1830541132015,	1830541132016,	1830541132017,
40	1830541132018,	1830541132019,	1830541132020,	1830541132021,	1830541132022,
41	1830541132023,	1830541132024,	1830541132025,	1830541132026,	1830541132027,
42	1830541132028,	1830541132029,	1830541132030,	1830541132031,	1830541132032,
43	1830541132033,	1830541132034,	1830541132035,	1830541132036,	1830541132037,
44	1830541132038,	1830541132039,	1830541132043,	1830541132044,	1830541132045,
45	1830541132046,	1830541132047,	1830541132048,	1830541132049,	1830541132050,
46	1830541132051,	1830541201015,	1830541201016,	1830541201017,	1830541201018,
47	1830541212033,	1830541212034,	1830541212036,	1830541212037,	1830541212038,
48	1830541212039,	1830541212040,	1830541212042; VTD 17-05, VTD 17-06, VTD 17-07,		
49	VTD 17-09, VTD 17-12, VTD 17-13, VTD 18-04: Block(s)	1830530091006,			
50	1830530091010,	1830530091011,	1830530091012,	1830530091014,	1830530091015,

1 1830530091016, 1830530091017, 1830530091018, 1830530091019, 1830530091020,  
2 1830530091021, 1830530091023.  
3 **District 15:** Wake County: VTD 01-01, VTD 01-02, VTD 01-03, VTD 01-04, VTD 01-05, VTD  
4 01-06, VTD 01-07, VTD 01-09, VTD 01-10, VTD 01-11, VTD 01-12, VTD 01-13, VTD  
5 01-14, VTD 01-16, VTD 01-21, VTD 01-23, VTD 01-27, VTD 01-28: Block(s)  
6 1830527053022, 1830527053023, 1830527053024, 1830527053025, 1830527053026,  
7 1830527053028; VTD 01-29, VTD 01-31, VTD 01-32, VTD 01-33, VTD 01-36, VTD 01-41,  
8 VTD 01-48, VTD 01-49, VTD 04-02: Block(s) 1830535062000, 1830535062012,  
9 1830535162005; VTD 04-03, VTD 04-05, VTD 04-12, VTD 04-21, VTD 05-05, VTD 07-01,  
10 VTD 07-10, VTD 08-03, VTD 08-08, VTD 11-01, VTD 11-02, VTD 18-01, VTD 18-03,  
11 VTD 18-06, VTD 18-08.  
12 **District 16:** Wake County: VTD 04-01, VTD 04-02: Block(s) 1830524011095, 1830535061000,  
13 1830535061001, 1830535061002, 1830535061003, 1830535061004, 1830535061005,  
14 1830535061006, 1830535061007, 1830535061008, 1830535061009, 1830535061010,  
15 1830535061011, 1830535062001, 1830535062002, 1830535062003, 1830535062004,  
16 1830535062005, 1830535062006, 1830535062007, 1830535062008, 1830535062009,  
17 1830535062010, 1830535062011, 1830535171000, 1830535171001, 1830535171002,  
18 1830535171003, 1830535171004, 1830535171005, 1830535171006, 1830535171007,  
19 1830535171008, 1830535171009, 1830535171010, 1830535171011, 1830535171012,  
20 1830535171013, 1830535171014, 1830535173000, 1830535173003, 1830535173004,  
21 1830535173005, 1830535173006, 1830535173007, 1830535173008, 1830535173009,  
22 1830535173010, 1830535173011, 1830535173012, 1830535173013, 1830535173014,  
23 1830535174018, 1830535174019, 1830535211051, 1830535211067, 1830535211068,  
24 1830535211072, 1830535211073, 1830535211074, 1830535211075; VTD 04-04, VTD  
25 04-06, VTD 04-07, VTD 04-08, VTD 04-09, VTD 04-10, VTD 04-11, VTD 04-13, VTD  
26 04-14, VTD 04-15, VTD 04-16, VTD 04-17, VTD 04-18, VTD 04-19, VTD 04-20, VTD  
27 05-01, VTD 05-03, VTD 05-06, VTD 05-07, VTD 05-08, VTD 20-01: Block(s)  
28 1830534291012, 1830534291013, 1830534291014, 1830534291016, 1830534311000,  
29 1830534311001, 1830534311002, 1830534311003, 1830534311004, 1830534311005,  
30 1830534311006, 1830534311007, 1830534311008, 1830534311009, 1830534311010,  
31 1830534311011, 1830534311012, 1830534311013, 1830534311015, 1830534311017,  
32 1830534311018, 1830534311019, 1830534312000, 1830534312007, 1830534361000,  
33 1830534361001, 1830534361002, 1830534361003, 1830534361004, 1830534361005,  
34 1830534361006, 1830534361007, 1830534361008, 1830534361009, 1830534361010,  
35 1830534361011, 1830534361012, 1830534361013, 1830534361014, 1830534361015,  
36 1830534361016, 1830534361017, 1830534361018, 1830534361019, 1830534361020,  
37 1830534361021, 1830534361022, 1830534361023, 1830534361024, 1830534361025,  
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43 1830534361052, 1830534361053, 1830534361054; VTD 20-03, VTD 20-04, VTD 20-05,  
44 VTD 20-08, VTD 20-09, VTD 20-10, VTD 20-12, VTD 20-14, VTD 20-15, VTD 20-16,  
45 VTD 20-17.  
46 **District 17:** Wake County: VTD 03-00, VTD 06-04, VTD 06-05, VTD 06-06, VTD 06-07, VTD  
47 06-08, VTD 06-09, VTD 06-10, VTD 12-01, VTD 12-02, VTD 12-04, VTD 12-05, VTD  
48 12-06, VTD 12-07, VTD 12-08, VTD 12-09, VTD 15-01, VTD 15-02: Block(s)  
49 1830529061000, 1830529061001, 1830529061002, 1830529061003, 1830529061004,  
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8 1830529032023, 1830529032024, 1830529032025; VTD 18-02, VTD 18-04: Block(s)  
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19 1830530102005, 1830530102006, 1830545011023; VTD 18-05, VTD 18-07, VTD 20-01:  
20 Block(s) 1830534311014, 1830534311016, 1830534311020, 1830534311021,  
21 1830534311022, 1830534311023, 1830534311024, 1830534311025, 1830534311026,  
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29 1830534312020, 1830534361049; VTD 20-06A, VTD 20-06B, VTD 20-11.  
30 **District 18:** Wake County: VTD 01-15, VTD 01-17, VTD 01-18, VTD 01-30, VTD 01-37, VTD  
31 01-38, VTD 01-39, VTD 01-42, VTD 01-43, VTD 01-44, VTD 01-45, VTD 01-46, VTD  
32 01-47, VTD 01-51, VTD 07-02, VTD 07-03, VTD 07-04, VTD 07-05, VTD 07-06, VTD  
33 07-07, VTD 07-09, VTD 07-11, VTD 07-12, VTD 07-13, VTD 08-02, VTD 08-05, VTD  
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35 13-06, VTD 13-07, VTD 13-08, VTD 13-09, VTD 13-10, VTD 13-11, VTD 17-04: Block(s)  
36 1830541212032, 1830541212035, 1830541212041; VTD 17-10, VTD 17-11, VTD 19-13,  
37 VTD 19-14, VTD 19-15: Block(s) 1830542122004, 1830542122005, 1830542122006,  
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42 1830542123006, 1830542123007, 1830542123009, 1830542123010, 1830542123011,  
43 1830542123014, 1830542123015, 1830542133000; VTD 19-17.  
44 **District 19:** Cumberland County: VTD AH49, VTD CC01, VTD CC03, VTD CC04, VTD  
45 CC05, VTD CC06, VTD CC07, VTD CC08, VTD CC10, VTD CC12, VTD CC13, VTD  
46 CC14, VTD CC15, VTD CC16, VTD CC17, VTD CC18, VTD CC19, VTD CC21, VTD  
47 CC24, VTD CC25, VTD CC26, VTD CC27, VTD CC29, VTD CC31, VTD CC32, VTD  
48 CC33, VTD CC34, VTD CL57-1, VTD CL57-2, VTD CU02, VTD G10A, VTD G1A, VTD  
49 G2A, VTD G2B, VTD G2C-1, VTD G2C-2, VTD G2E-1, VTD G2E-2, VTD G3A-1, VTD  
50 G3A-2, VTD G3B, VTD G3C, VTD G4A, VTD G4B, VTD G4C, VTD G5A-1, VTD G5A-2,

1 VTD G5B-1, VTD G5B-2, VTD G5C, VTD G8A, VTD G8B, VTD G8C, VTD LR63, VTD  
2 MB62, VTD MR02.  
3 **District 20:** Chatham County, Durham County: VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 014, VTD 016, VTD  
4 027, VTD 031, VTD 033, VTD 038, VTD 039, VTD 041, VTD 042, VTD 047, VTD 048,  
5 VTD 051, VTD 054, VTD 055-11, VTD 055-49, VTD 34-1, VTD 34-2, VTD 35.3, VTD  
6 53-1, VTD 53-2.  
7 **District 21:** Cumberland County: VTD AL51, VTD EO61-1, VTD EO61-2, VTD G10B, VTD  
8 G10C, VTD G11B, VTD G1B, VTD G2D, VTD G6A, VTD G6B, VTD G6C, VTD G7A,  
9 VTD G7B, VTD G8D, VTD G9A, VTD G9B-1, VTD G9B-2, VTD LI65, VTD SH77, VTD  
10 SL78-3; Moore County.  
11 **District 22:** Durham County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 003, VTD 004, VTD 005, VTD 006,  
12 VTD 007, VTD 008, VTD 009, VTD 010, VTD 015, VTD 017, VTD 018, VTD 019, VTD  
13 020, VTD 021, VTD 022, VTD 023, VTD 024, VTD 025, VTD 026, VTD 028, VTD 029,  
14 VTD 032, VTD 036, VTD 037, VTD 040, VTD 043, VTD 044, VTD 045, VTD 046, VTD  
15 050, VTD 052, VTD 30-1, VTD 30-2.  
16 **District 23:** Caswell County, Orange County, Person County.  
17 **District 24:** Hoke County, Robeson County, Scotland County.  
18 **District 25:** Alamance County, Randolph County: VTD DR, VTD LB, VTD LC, VTD PR, VTD  
19 RM, VTD RN: Block(s) 1510305031020, 1510305032005, 1510305032006,  
20 1510305032009, 1510305032011, 1510305032012, 1510305032013, 1510305032014,  
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10 1510314021026, 1510314021028, 1510314021029, 1510314021030, 1510314021043,  
11 1510314021045; VTD SE, VTD SO, VTD ST.  
12 **District 26:** Guilford County: VTD FEN2, VTD FR5B, VTD GIB, VTD GR, VTD JEF4, VTD  
13 MON3, VTD NCGR1, VTD NCGR2, VTD NCLAY1, VTD NCLAY2, VTD NDRI, VTD  
14 NMAD, VTD NWASH, VTD OR1, VTD OR2, VTD PG1, VTD PG2, VTD RC1, VTD RC2,  
15 VTD SCLAY, VTD SDRI: Block(s) 0810162033004, 0810162033005, 0810162033006,  
16 0810162033007, 0810162033008, 0810162033011; VTD SF1, VTD SF2, VTD SF3, VTD  
17 SF4, VTD SMAD, VTD STOK, VTD SUM2, VTD SUM3, VTD SUM4, VTD SWASH;  
18 Rockingham County.  
19 **District 27:** Guilford County: VTD FR1, VTD FR2, VTD FR3, VTD FR4, VTD FR5A, VTD  
20 G13, VTD G14, VTD G15, VTD G16, VTD G17, VTD G30, VTD G31, VTD G32, VTD  
21 G33, VTD G34, VTD G35, VTD G36, VTD G37, VTD G38, VTD G39, VTD G40A1, VTD  
22 G40A2, VTD G40B, VTD G41A, VTD G41B, VTD G42A, VTD G42B, VTD G43, VTD  
23 G48, VTD G49, VTD G62, VTD G63, VTD G64, VTD G65, VTD G66, VTD H01, VTD  
24 H02, VTD H03, VTD H04, VTD H05, VTD H06, VTD H07, VTD H08, VTD H09, VTD  
25 H10, VTD H11, VTD H12, VTD H13, VTD H14, VTD H15, VTD H16, VTD H17, VTD  
26 H18, VTD H19A, VTD H19B, VTD H20A, VTD H20B, VTD H21, VTD H22, VTD H23,  
27 VTD H24, VTD H25, VTD H26, VTD H27-A, VTD H27-B, VTD H28, VTD H29A, VTD  
28 H29B, VTD JAM1, VTD JAM2, VTD JAM3, VTD JAM4, VTD JAM5, VTD SDRI: Block(s)  
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13 0810162052012, 0810162052013, 0810162052014, 0810162052015, 0810162052016,  
14 0810162052017.  
15 **District 28:** Guilford County: VTD CG1, VTD CG2, VTD CG3A, VTD CG3B, VTD FEN1,  
16 VTD G01, VTD G02, VTD G03, VTD G04, VTD G05, VTD G06, VTD G07, VTD G08,  
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18 VTD G22, VTD G23, VTD G24, VTD G25, VTD G26, VTD G27, VTD G28, VTD G29,  
19 VTD G44, VTD G45, VTD G46, VTD G47, VTD G50, VTD G51, VTD G52, VTD G53,  
20 VTD G54, VTD G55, VTD G56, VTD G57, VTD G58, VTD G59, VTD G60, VTD G61,  
21 VTD G67, VTD G68, VTD G69, VTD G70, VTD G71, VTD G72, VTD G73, VTD G74,  
22 VTD G75, VTD JEF1, VTD JEF2, VTD JEF3, VTD MON1, VTD MON2A, VTD MON2B,  
23 VTD SUM1.  
24 **District 29:** Anson County, Montgomery County, Randolph County: VTD AE, VTD AN, VTD  
25 AR, VTD AS, VTD AW, VTD BC, VTD GR, VTD NM, VTD RN: Block(s) 1510303014000,  
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38 1510314022053, 1510314022060, 1510314022061; VTD SW, VTD TB, VTD TR, VTD TT,  
39 VTD UG; Richmond County, Union County: VTD 008, VTD 009, VTD 021, VTD 022, VTD  
40 024, VTD 026, VTD 027, VTD 036.  
41 **District 30:** Davidson County, Davie County.  
42 **District 31:** Forsyth County: VTD 011, VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 014, VTD 015, VTD 021,  
43 VTD 031, VTD 032, VTD 033, VTD 034, VTD 051, VTD 052, VTD 053, VTD 054, VTD  
44 055, VTD 061, VTD 062, VTD 063, VTD 064, VTD 065, VTD 066, VTD 067, VTD 068,  
45 VTD 071, VTD 072, VTD 073, VTD 074, VTD 075, VTD 081, VTD 082, VTD 083, VTD  
46 091, VTD 092, VTD 101, VTD 111, VTD 112, VTD 131, VTD 132, VTD 133, VTD 807;  
47 Stokes County.  
48 **District 32:** Forsyth County: VTD 042, VTD 043, VTD 122, VTD 123, VTD 201, VTD 203,  
49 VTD 204, VTD 205, VTD 206, VTD 207, VTD 301, VTD 302, VTD 303, VTD 304, VTD  
50 305, VTD 306, VTD 401, VTD 402, VTD 403, VTD 404, VTD 405, VTD 501, VTD 502,  
51 VTD 503, VTD 504, VTD 505, VTD 506, VTD 507, VTD 601, VTD 602, VTD 603, VTD

604, VTD 605, VTD 606, VTD 607, VTD 701, VTD 702, VTD 703, VTD 704, VTD 705,  
VTD 706, VTD 707, VTD 708, VTD 709, VTD 801, VTD 802, VTD 803, VTD 804, VTD  
805, VTD 806, VTD 808, VTD 809, VTD 901, VTD 902, VTD 903, VTD 904, VTD 905,  
VTD 906, VTD 907, VTD 908, VTD 909.

**District 33:** Rowan County, Stanly County.

**District 34:** Cabarrus County: VTD 01-02: Block(s) 0250415031058, 0250415031059,  
0250415031072, 0250415031086, 0250415031088, 0250415071015, 0250415071016,  
0250415071017, 0250415071018, 0250415071019, 0250415071020, 0250415071021,  
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0250416032012, 0250416032013, 0250416032014, 0250416032015, 0250416032049,  
0250416032055, 0250416032056, 0250416032057, 0250416032058, 0250416032059,  
0250416032062, 0250416032063, 0250416032064, 0250416032074, 0250416032075,  
0250416032076; VTD 01-04, VTD 01-07, VTD 01-08, VTD 01-10, VTD 01-11, VTD 02-01,  
VTD 02-02, VTD 02-03, VTD 02-05, VTD 02-06, VTD 02-07, VTD 02-08, VTD 02-09,  
VTD 03-00, VTD 04-01, VTD 04-03, VTD 04-08, VTD 04-09, VTD 04-11, VTD 04-12,  
VTD 04-13, VTD 05-00, VTD 06-00, VTD 07-00, VTD 08-00, VTD 09-00, VTD 10-00:  
Block(s) 0250416041002, 0250416041007, 0250416041030, 0250416041032,  
0250416041033, 0250416041034, 0250416041035, 0250416041038, 0250416042002,  
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0250416044003, 0250416044004, 0250416044005, 0250416044006, 0250416044007,  
0250416044010, 0250416044011; VTD 11-01, VTD 11-02, VTD 12-03, VTD 12-04, VTD  
12-05, VTD 12-06, VTD 12-08, VTD 12-09, VTD 12-10, VTD 12-11, VTD 12-12, VTD  
12-13.

**District 35:** Cabarrus County: VTD 01-02: Block(s) 0250415031087; VTD 10-00: Block(s)  
0250416031000, 0250416031001, 0250416031002, 0250416031003, 0250416031004,  
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0250416032054, 0250416032060, 0250416032061, 0250416032065, 0250416032066,  
0250416032067, 0250416032068, 0250416032069, 0250416032070, 0250416032071,

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1 0250416032072, 0250416032073, 0250416032077, 0250416032078, 0250416032079,  
2 0250416032080, 0250416032081, 0250416041015, 0250416041016, 0250416041017,  
3 0250416041018, 0250416041019, 0250416041020, 0250416041021, 0250416041022,  
4 0250416041023, 0250416041024, 0250416041025, 0250416041026, 0250416041027,  
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9 0250416042000, 0250416042001, 0250416042004, 0250416042005, 0250416042006,  
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12 0250416043003, 0250416043004, 0250416043005, 0250416043006, 0250416043007,  
13 0250416043008, 0250416043009, 0250416043010, 0250416043011, 0250416043012,  
14 0250416043013, 0250416043014, 0250416043015, 0250416043016, 0250416043017,  
15 0250416043018, 0250416043019, 0250416043020, 0250416043021, 0250416043022,  
16 0250416043023, 0250416043024, 0250416043025, 0250416043026, 0250416043027,  
17 0250416043028, 0250416043029, 0250416044008, 0250416044009, 0250416044012;  
18 Union County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 003, VTD 004, VTD 005, VTD 006, VTD 007,  
19 VTD 010, VTD 011, VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 014, VTD 015, VTD 016, VTD 018, VTD  
20 019, VTD 023, VTD 025, VTD 030, VTD 031, VTD 032, VTD 033, VTD 034, VTD 035,  
21 VTD 039, VTD 040, VTD 041, VTD 042, VTD 043, VTD 17A, VTD 17B, VTD 20A, VTD  
22 20B, VTD 28A, VTD 28B, VTD 28C, VTD 28D, VTD 29A, VTD 29B, VTD 29C, VTD 37A,  
23 VTD 37B, VTD 38A, VTD 38B.  
24 **District 36:** Alexander County, Surry County, Wilkes County, Yadkin County.  
25 **District 37:** Iredell County, Mecklenburg County: VTD 127, VTD 206, VTD 208, VTD 242.  
26 **District 38:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 128, VTD 133, VTD 134, VTD 135, VTD 141, VTD  
27 142, VTD 143, VTD 145, VTD 151, VTD 202, VTD 207, VTD 209, VTD 210, VTD 211,  
28 VTD 212, VTD 214, VTD 222, VTD 237, VTD 238.1, VTD 239, VTD 240, VTD 241.  
29 **District 39:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 022, VTD 023, VTD 024, VTD 025, VTD 031, VTD  
30 039, VTD 040, VTD 041, VTD 052, VTD 053, VTD 077, VTD 079, VTD 080, VTD 081,  
31 VTD 089, VTD 098, VTD 122, VTD 129, VTD 138, VTD 147, VTD 150, VTD 200, VTD  
32 223.1, VTD 224, VTD 225, VTD 228, VTD 229, VTD 230, VTD 231, VTD 243, VTD 78.1.  
33 **District 40:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 003, VTD 004, VTD 005, VTD 014, VTD 015, VTD  
34 016, VTD 026, VTD 027, VTD 028, VTD 029, VTD 030, VTD 042, VTD 043, VTD 044,  
35 VTD 045, VTD 054, VTD 055, VTD 056, VTD 060, VTD 061, VTD 082, VTD 083, VTD  
36 084, VTD 095, VTD 104, VTD 105, VTD 107.1, VTD 108, VTD 116, VTD 123, VTD 124,  
37 VTD 126, VTD 132, VTD 146, VTD 149, VTD 201, VTD 203, VTD 204.1, VTD 205, VTD  
38 213.  
39 **District 41:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 069, VTD 070, VTD 072, VTD 073, VTD 075, VTD  
40 086, VTD 087, VTD 088, VTD 090, VTD 091, VTD 092, VTD 093, VTD 100, VTD 101,  
41 VTD 110, VTD 111, VTD 112, VTD 113, VTD 114, VTD 119, VTD 121, VTD 131, VTD  
42 136, VTD 137, VTD 139.1, VTD 140, VTD 144, VTD 148, VTD 215, VTD 216, VTD 217,  
43 VTD 218, VTD 219, VTD 220, VTD 221, VTD 226, VTD 227, VTD 232, VTD 233, VTD  
44 234, VTD 235, VTD 236.  
45 **District 42:** Mecklenburg County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 006, VTD 007, VTD 008, VTD  
46 009, VTD 010, VTD 011, VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 017, VTD 018, VTD 019, VTD 020,  
47 VTD 021, VTD 032, VTD 033, VTD 034, VTD 035, VTD 036, VTD 037, VTD 038, VTD  
48 046, VTD 047, VTD 048, VTD 049, VTD 050, VTD 051, VTD 057, VTD 058, VTD 059,  
49 VTD 062, VTD 063, VTD 064, VTD 065, VTD 066, VTD 067, VTD 068, VTD 071, VTD  
50 074, VTD 076, VTD 085, VTD 094, VTD 096, VTD 097, VTD 099, VTD 102, VTD 103,  
51 VTD 106, VTD 109, VTD 115, VTD 117, VTD 118, VTD 120, VTD 125, VTD 130.

1 **District 43:** Gaston County: VTD 001, VTD 002, VTD 003, VTD 004, VTD 005, VTD 006,  
2 VTD 007, VTD 008, VTD 009, VTD 010, VTD 011, VTD 012, VTD 013, VTD 014, VTD  
3 015, VTD 016, VTD 017, VTD 018, VTD 019, VTD 020, VTD 021, VTD 022, VTD 023,  
4 VTD 024, VTD 025, VTD 026, VTD 027, VTD 028, VTD 029, VTD 030, VTD 031, VTD  
5 032, VTD 038, VTD 039, VTD 040, VTD 041, VTD 042, VTD 043, VTD 044, VTD 045,  
6 VTD 046.  
7 **District 44:** Cleveland County, Gaston County: VTD 033, VTD 034, VTD 035, VTD 036, VTD  
8 037; Lincoln County.  
9 **District 45:** Caldwell County: VTD PR01, VTD PR02, VTD PR13, VTD PR14, VTD PR21,  
10 VTD PR22, VTD PR24, VTD PR25, VTD PR29; Block(s) 0270303003005, 0270303003006,  
11 0270303003007, 0270303003013, 0270303003015, 0270303003034, 0270303003035; VTD  
12 PR33: Block(s) 0270304001022, 0270304001023, 0270304001024, 0270304001025,  
13 0270304001026, 0270304001027, 0270304001028, 0270304004000, 0270304004001,  
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16 0270304004017, 0270304004020, 0270304004021, 0270304004024, 0270304004027,  
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19 0270306001000, 0270306001001, 0270306001002, 0270306001003, 0270306001004,  
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32 0270307001000, 0270307001003, 0270307001016, 0270307001017, 0270307001018,  
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49 0270307004034, 0270307004035, 0270307004036, 0270307004037, 0270307004038,  
50 0270307005015, 0270312021022, 0270312021023, 0270312021024, 0270312021026,

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1 0270312021027, 0270312021029, 0270312021045, 0270312022012, 0270312022013,  
2 0270312022023, 0270312022024; VTD PR34, VTD PR35; Catawba County.  
3 **District 46:** Buncombe County: VTD 32.1, VTD 33.2, VTD 33.3, VTD 34.1, VTD 35.1, VTD  
4 36.1, VTD 37.1, VTD 38.2, VTD 38.3, VTD 39.2, VTD 39.3, VTD 40.2, VTD 41.1: Block(s)  
5 0210026042000, 0210026042001, 0210026042002, 0210026042003, 0210026042004,  
6 0210026042005, 0210026042006, 0210026042007, 0210026042008, 0210026042009,  
7 0210026042010, 0210026042011, 0210026042012, 0210026042013, 0210026042014,  
8 0210026042015, 0210026042016, 0210026042017, 0210026042018, 0210026042019,  
9 0210026042022, 0210026042025, 0210026043000, 0210026043005, 0210026044005,  
10 0210026044011, 0210026044012, 0210027023023, 0210027023024, 0210028031005,  
11 0210028031006, 0210028031007, 0210028031008, 0210028031009, 0210028031010,  
12 0210028031016, 0210028031017, 0210028031019, 0210028032002, 0210028032003,  
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20 0210028033022, 0210028033023, 0210028033024, 0210028033025, 0210028033026,  
21 0210028033027, 0210028033028, 0210028033029, 0210028033030; VTD 50.1, VTD 51.2,  
22 VTD 52.1, VTD 53.1, VTD 57.1, VTD 63.1, VTD 64.1, VTD 65.1, VTD 66.1; Burke County,  
23 McDowell County.  
24 **District 47:** Alleghany County, Ashe County, Avery County, Caldwell County: VTD PR07,  
25 VTD PR08, VTD PR16, VTD PR17, VTD PR18, VTD PR29: Block(s) 0270301004011,  
26 0270301004012, 0270301004013, 0270301004014, 0270301004015, 0270301004016,  
27 0270301004017, 0270301004018, 0270301004019, 0270301004020, 0270301004021,  
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49 0270303004005, 0270303004006, 0270303004007, 0270303004014, 0270303004016,  
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1 0270304003002, 0270304003003, 0270304003004, 0270304003005, 0270304003006,  
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3 0270304003012, 0270304003013, 0270304003014, 0270304003015, 0270304003024,  
4 0270304003025, 0270304003026, 0270304003027, 0270304003028, 0270304003029,  
5 0270304003034; VTD PR30, VTD PR31, VTD PR32, VTD PR33: Block(s) 0270304004006,  
6 0270304004007, 0270304004008, 0270304004009, 0270304004013, 0270304004035,  
7 0270304004036, 0270306002000, 0270306003015, 0270306003016, 0270306003017,  
8 0270312021025, 0270312021035; Haywood County: VTD BE-1, VTD BE-2, VTD BE-3,  
9 VTD BE-4, VTD BE-7, VTD BE56, VTD CL-N, VTD CL-S, VTD CR, VTD FC-1, VTD  
10 FC-2, VTD WO; Madison County, Mitchell County, Watauga County, Yancey County.

11 **District 48:** Henderson County, Polk County, Rutherford County.

12 **District 49:** Buncombe County: VTD 1.1, VTD 10.1, VTD 11.1, VTD 12.1, VTD 13.1, VTD  
13 14.2, VTD 14.3, VTD 15.1, VTD 16.2, VTD 17.1, VTD 18.2, VTD 19.1, VTD 2.1, VTD 20.1,  
14 VTD 21.1, VTD 22.2, VTD 23.2, VTD 23.3, VTD 24.1, VTD 25.1, VTD 26.1, VTD 27.2,  
15 VTD 28.1, VTD 29.2, VTD 3.1, VTD 30.2, VTD 30.3, VTD 31.1, VTD 4.1, VTD 41.1:  
16 Block(s) 0210026042026, 0210026042027; VTD 42.1, VTD 43.2, VTD 44.1, VTD 45.1,  
17 VTD 46.1, VTD 47.1, VTD 48.1, VTD 49.1, VTD 5.1, VTD 54.2, VTD 55.1, VTD 56.2, VTD  
18 58.1, VTD 59.1, VTD 6.1, VTD 60.2, VTD 60.4, VTD 61.1, VTD 62.1, VTD 67.1, VTD 68.1,  
19 VTD 69.1, VTD 7.1, VTD 70.1, VTD 71.1, VTD 8.2, VTD 8.3, VTD 9.1.

20 **District 50:** Cherokee County, Clay County, Graham County, Haywood County: VTD AC, VTD  
21 BC, VTD CE, VTD EF, VTD HA, VTD ID, VTD IH, VTD JC, VTD LJ, VTD P, VTD PC,  
22 VTD SA, VTD WC, VTD WE, VTD WS-1, VTD WS-2, VTD WW; Jackson County, Macon  
23 County, Swain County, Transylvania County.

24 (b) The names and boundaries of voting tabulation districts and blocks specified in this  
25 section are as shown on the Census Redistricting Data P.L. 94-171 TIGER/Line Shapefiles  
26 associated with the most recent federal decennial census.

27 (c) If any voting tabulation district boundary is changed, that change shall not change the  
28 boundary of a Senate district, which shall remain the same as it is depicted by the Census  
29 Redistricting Data P.L. 94-171 TIGER/Line Shapefiles associated with the most recent federal  
30 decennial census."

31 **SECTION 2.** This act is effective when it becomes law and applies to elections held  
32 on or after January 1, 2022.

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1473 – Video of Oct. 8, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Station 04 (544) (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1474 – Video of Oct. 7, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Station 04 (544) (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1475 – Video of Oct. 11, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Station 04 (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1476 – Video of Oct. 14, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Station 04 (544) (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1477 – Video of Oct. 14, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Station 01 (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1478 – Video of Oct. 18, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Station 03 (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1479 – Video of Oct. 28, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Station 04 (544) (submitted in native format)**

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION  
21 CVS 015426

NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF  
CONSERVATION VOTERS, INC., et al.,

REBECCA HARPER, et al.,

COMMON CAUSE,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his  
official capacity as Chair of the House Standing  
Committee on Redistricting, et al.

*Defendants.*

**AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT PHILLIPS  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF COMMON CAUSE NORTH CAROLINA**

I, Robert “Bob” Phillips, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:

1. I am a resident of Wake County, where I have lived since 1981. I am a native of Charlotte, North Carolina and have lived in the Triangle area for the past 45 years.
2. Since 2001, I have served as Executive Director of Common Cause North Carolina (“CCNC”), a state chapter of National Common Cause (“Common Cause”), which is a 501(c)(4) registered nonpartisan, nonprofit grassroots organization dedicated to upholding the core values of American democracy. Before becoming Executive Director of CCNC, I was hired as a full-time consultant to manage CCNC’s 501(c)(3) grant awarded for nonpartisan public outreach and education on pro-democracy reforms. Prior to joining Common Cause, I worked as a local television journalist and Communications Director for the Office of Lieutenant Governor.

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1480**

3. As Executive Director of CCNC, I manage a diverse staff of eight people who work in the Triangle, Triad and Charlotte regions. I help design and implement policy and program priorities for Common Cause NC. I represent CCNC before the public, the media, decision-makers, and donors. I am also a registered lobbyist for Common Cause at the North Carolina General Assembly, and have worked with lawmakers on both sides of the aisle on matters related to redistricting reform.
4. I am authorized to speak for Common Cause in this case.

#### *Common Cause Background*

5. Since its founding in 1970, Common Cause has been dedicated to fair elections and making government at all levels more representative, open, and responsive to the interests of ordinary people. Common Cause regularly assists voters in understanding and navigating the election process, provides resources to help voters determine their districts and polling locations, and mobilizes voters to engage in political advocacy.
6. Common Cause has been one of the leading proponents of redistricting reform, conducting public education, advocacy, legislative lobbying, and participating in litigation in order to secure fair maps for all North Carolinians. Common Cause has been particularly active in efforts to curb partisan gerrymandering, working on legislative advocacy with both Democrats and Republicans in North Carolina for the past 20 years. Common Cause has also served as the lead plaintiff in multiple partisan gerrymandering lawsuits, including *Common Cause v. Rucho* in federal court and *Common Cause v. Lewis* in state court.
7. Partisan gerrymandering frustrates Common Cause’s organizational mission of increasing democratic engagement and voter participation by insulating elected officials from the democratic process. When election results are preordained by partisan gerrymanders, voters are much less likely to contact their representatives, vote in elections, or engage in the democratic process. All of these effects directly impede Common Cause’s organizational purpose.

#### *Common Cause North Carolina Membership*

8. As part of my Executive Director responsibilities, I oversee the maintenance of CCNC’s statewide membership, supporter, and staff lists, records and information. Common Cause currently has over 25,000 members, staff, and supporters in North Carolina.
9. Based on my review and comparison of the Common Cause member database and with publicly available information in the North Carolina voter registration database, I am personally aware that Common Cause has members in the following counties as of October 2021 in the numbers indicated below, and do not have reason to believe these figures have changed appreciably since then:
  - a. 310 members in Alamance County;
  - b. 441 members in Brunswick County;

- c. 2,005 members in Buncombe County;
  - d. 411 members in Cumberland County;
  - e. 136 members in Davidson County;
  - f. 1,717 members in Durham County;
  - g. 972 members in Forsyth County;
  - h. 1,540 members in Guilford County;
  - i. 198 members in Johnston County;
  - j. 2,441 members in Mecklenburg County;
  - k. 109 members in Nash County;
  - l. 743 members in New Hanover County;
  - m. 162 members in Onslow County;
  - n. 62 members in Robeson County;
  - o. 259 members in Union County;
  - p. 4,166 members in Wake County;
  - q. 79 members in Wayne County;
10. Common Cause members include voters who self-identify as Black throughout North Carolina. Based on my review of the Common Cause member database and of publicly available information in the North Carolina voter registration database, I am personally aware that we have members who have self-identified as Black in at least the following areas:
- a. Bertie County;
  - b. Gates County;
  - c. Hertford County;
  - d. Hoke County;
  - e. Nash County;
  - f. Northampton County;
  - g. Pasquotank County;

- h. Scotland County;
  - i. Wake County;
  - j. Wayne County; and
  - k. Wilson County.
11. CCNC’s strength as an organization comes from our members and supporters. All across North Carolina, our members drive our efforts to hold those in power accountable, and to create public mechanisms and institutions that ensure that the people are the ones in charge. Our members staff our volunteer campaigns, call other North Carolinians and legislators alike to advocate for democracy-enabling policies, and power our movement forward. Nothing we do would be possible without our members.
12. Our members also help drive our efforts to assist voters in North Carolina to increase civic engagement. For example, the mission of CCNC’s HBCU Student Action Alliance, launched in 2006, is to raise civic engagement among students of color at each of North Carolina’s ten Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Additionally, we identify and nurture student leadership by selecting campus ambassadors whom we identify as our Democracy Fellows. Each Fellow receives a semester stipend for being our civic leader on their campus. Much of the HBCU campus work revolves around encouraging civic engagement, which includes registering to vote and voting in every election. Moreover, we strive to help every student understand that participating in democracy is more than just voting. We engage students to help us with our public education efforts and civic outreach activities, along with holding local elected officials accountable through contacts with their representatives.

*The 2021 Redistricting Process*

13. As part of my role as Executive Director of CCNC, I closely monitored the 2021 North Carolina redistricting process. My monitoring activities included physically attending meetings of the House Redistricting Committee and the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee, attending public hearings, and watching livestreamed legislative meetings, as specified below, from August 2021 until the final maps were enacted in November 2021. This work was part of CCNC’s initiative to amplify the transparency and accessibility of the redistricting process by educating our members and the public about the process and notifying them of opportunities to engage and provide input, such as the time(s) and location(s) of scheduled public hearings, the topics to be discussed at those hearings and the availability of draft maps for their review.
14. I am aware that the Legislative Defendants in this matter have insisted, both in public statements during the redistricting process and in litigation about this process, that the 2021 redistricting process was the most open and transparent process in North Carolina’s history. Having worked in an advocacy role through three prior redistricting cycles and the remedial redistrictings this past decade, this assertion does not accurately reflect the process I personally experienced this year, both as a member of the public and as a nonpartisan advocate for voters.

15. From the beginning of this redistricting process, Common Cause advocated for a fair, transparent, timely, and inclusive redistricting process that would allow for meaningful public input. We understood that the delay in decennial census data (which is usually issued in the spring but was delayed until August this year) might require accommodations to the redistricting process, but given our experience in past redistricting cycles, we were confident that with adequate planning, it was still feasible to provide the public with a fulsome opportunity to provide input both before and after draft maps were publicly available. This would have enabled legislators to hear from the public on what types of maps would best serve their communities, as well as to hear feedback on proposed maps and, based on that feedback, make any changes necessary to ensure that communities across the state were adequately represented. Unfortunately, this is not the process that occurred.
16. The 2021 redistricting process was so riddled with obstacles to monitoring and engagement that I found myself – an experienced advocate who has followed many past iterations of redistricting – struggling to follow the process. These obstacles included late, inaccurate, and conflicting notices of scheduled public hearings from the House and Senate Committees on Redistricting, fewer public hearings than were provided in the 2011 redistricting process, and uncertainty as to whether/when the public would be given an opportunity to review and provide feedback on draft maps. Overall, it felt extremely chaotic and left advocates like those of us at Common Cause rushing last-minute to notify members of the public of when, where, and how they could provide input.
17. When public hearings were first proposed on August 18, 2021, legislative leaders announced that there would only be 10 public hearings before any draft maps were released.<sup>1</sup> This is in stark contrast to the dozens of public hearings held during the 2011 cycle.<sup>2</sup> After public pushback, the legislature announced a slightly expanded schedule of 13 public hearings on September 1, 2021, to be held from September 8 – 30.<sup>3</sup> This gave advocates and members of the public less than a week to prepare for the first hearing, with no indication of whether remote participation would be possible in light of COVID considerations. There was also no public information as to whether or not there would be any draft maps available during these hearings.
18. These obstacles caused unnecessary confusion and presented burdens to advocates like myself, as well as voters and other members of the public, many of whom expressed their eagerness to participate in these hearings to me directly. For example, the hearing location for the first public hearing on September 8, 2021, in Caldwell County was announced as the Caldwell Community College and Technical Institute.<sup>4</sup> But the actual location was at the J.E. Broyhill Civic Center Auditorium, which is in downtown Lenoir County and two miles from the college campus. I observed that this created great confusion amongst the

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<sup>1</sup> See <https://ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/House2021-182/2021/08-18-21/Chairs%20Potential%20Sites%20Handout%20v1.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> See <https://www.ncleg.gov/Legislation/SupplementalDocs/2011/publichearings/redistricting>

<sup>3</sup> See <https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/House2021-182/2021/Public%20Hearing%20Schedule.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> See <https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/House2021-182/2021/Public%20Hearing%20Schedule.pdf>

public who planned to attend. I showed up at the wrong location at Caldwell Community College, where I could not identify anyone who knew where the hearing would be. Signage directing people to the new site was so sparse that it took me 15 minutes of searching for information before I finally found it. In fact, I arrived to the community college campus at the same time Mecklenburg County House Representative Becky Carney did who was planning on being one of the lawmakers presiding over the hearing. She too had no idea at the time where the meeting was. After I finally made it to the J.E. Broyhill Civic Center Auditorium, I observed that a number of people who were called out to provide public comment did not appear to be present when their names were called to provide public comment. In fact, the first four people called upon were no shows, and I became the first speaker at number five. I could not help but wonder how many of the no shows were folks who, like me, did not have the correct location for the hearing.

19. This was not the only issue with the public hearing notices in September. The public hearing in Forsyth County on September 14 was also noticed with the wrong location. The legislature's schedule advertised this hearing's location as the Strickland Auditorium when in fact the hearing took place at the Dewitt Rhoades Conference Center in Winston Salem.
20. On another occasion, there was conflicting information about the same hearing posted by the House and Senate Committees. The legislature posted conflicting schedules on the House Redistricting Committee and Senate Redistricting Committee websites in mid-September 2021. These different schedules indicated different times for the same Robeson County hearing scheduled for September 28, 2021. It was only after community follow up that the correct time for the Robeson hearing was clarified.
21. The public hearing process concluded on September 28, 2021 with no indication of what would come next. Two days later, on September 30, 2021, the legislature noticed meetings of the House and Senate Redistricting Committees for the following week without a specific agenda. These are just a few examples of the obstacles that advocates and other members of the public were confronted with in their efforts to provide public comment before maps were drawn.
22. During the public comment period before there were any draft maps, I observed firsthand the passion many people expressed as they pleaded with lawmakers to draw fair maps, often making specific suggestions based on local knowledge of their community in these public hearings. But since the Chairs chose to limit public hearings to the period before there were any draft maps that citizens could examine and review, they were unable to provide any such comments specifically in response to actual proposed maps and how those maps would impact their communities. I believe this process significantly undermined citizens' ability to access their right to participate in the redistricting process. I also question whether the location and time choices deliberately excluded three of the largest metropolitan areas - including Raleigh, Greensboro, and Asheville - which I understand were directly impacted by the lines struck down as unlawful last cycle. Finally, these meetings were held in September, at a time when the Delta COVID-19 variant was rampant in North Carolina, and I knew many of the North Carolinians we engage in our work were eager to engage in the redistricting process without deviating from the CDC's advisory regarding the increased health risk associated with attending public gatherings in indoor

spaces. Yet lawmakers made no provisions to livestream a single public hearing in this series of meetings. There was no way for a citizen to watch or participate in real time from the safety of their home - yet “virtual participation” was provided at public meetings on the maps in late October.

### *Map-Drawing Process*

23. On October 5, 2021, the House and Senate Redistricting Committees met separately, and I watched these on livestream. In both meetings, the respective Chairs announced the process legislators would have to use in drawing proposed state Legislative and Congressional maps. This included leaving specific committee rooms with four map-drawing computer stations open during business hours and allowing members to come in and, with the assistance of staff, draw maps at the stations. The Chairs did not indicate how long these stations would be available or how long the map-drawing process would extend, and did not provide lawmakers with any set deadline for when they had to draw and propose maps.
24. CCNC devoted multiple staff members to monitor the map drawing process in the General Assembly. This was part of our effort to provide some substantive transparency out of the surface-level transparency that the Chairs’ redistricting process offered. However, the way in which the map-drawing was set up, with 10 live-stream cameras running more than 40 hours per week with no public information as to when legislators would be drawing maps, was daunting for our organization. We had to dedicate staff to monitoring these cameras at the expense of other use of this staff time and resources. Despite our best efforts and the increased resources we had to dedicate to this issue, we fell far short of being able to fully monitor and educate the public on the map-drawing process while it was happening.
25. These efforts were made all the more difficult by the various obstacles to in-person observation. Citizens were relegated to sitting in the back of the room in both committee meeting rooms where map-drawing occurred, where they had no ability to actually hear lawmakers or other individuals involved in the map drawing at work, or see what information they had brought with them to the map drawing computer stations. There was also no indication of who was seated at the work stations. I did not see anyone - lawmakers, nonpartisan staff, or partisan staff - make any effort to identify who they were or who was participating in the map-drawing. Additionally, watching the screens of each work station was also more confusing than it was informative, as maps would randomly appear, with lines shifting and various visual filters all changing rapidly without any context or explanation. In short, it felt like a waste of time to attend these sessions in person, and the times that I did go (early on in the process) I saw few if any members of the public in the room.
26. For these reasons, I strongly disagree that this process was transparent, given that members of the public did not know who was involved in drawing the maps, what information was being taken into the room or used while in the room, or the reasons certain lines were being drawn or altered at any particular time. Finally, while I was on-site during the map-drawing process, I observed lawmakers and others participating in the map-drawing process freely entering and exiting the committee rooms with papers and communications devices, including cell phones, and I saw nothing that would have hindered them from viewing

partisan or other data outside the committee room between map-drawing session, or from bringing in draft maps and materials with them from outside the room to the computer work station.

*Limited public hearings on draft maps*

25. Late on Wednesday, October 20, 2021, the General Assembly noticed two hearings for public comment: one on Monday, October 25, 2021 for the Congressional maps and one on Tuesday, October 26, 2021 for the Senate and House maps. The hearing notices did not specify which maps specifically would be discussed. This last-minute timing and lack of specifics gave members of the public very little opportunity to review, analyze, and prepare their public comment on the draft maps that had been publicly released, and made it very difficult for us at CCNC to notify the public about their ability to weigh in on map proposals. It also left exceedingly little time for that public comment to be incorporated into the maps that were passed shortly thereafter in the first week of November.
26. As in September, I observed that the North Carolinians attending the October public hearings were well-informed and passionate about conveying to lawmakers their desire to have fair maps, but I also observed confusion and frustration for members of the public who were unable to clearly identify which maps lawmakers were actually considering and would be voting on so they could provide comment on them. The sign-up process was also unnecessarily limited to less than 300 public speaking slots total across the two hearings - in a state of more than 10 million - to comment on legislative and Congressional maps that will be in place for the next decade. There was also no opportunity for citizens to sign up in the room of the in-person hearings. I believe this process failed to provide a meaningful opportunity for members of the public who wanted to speak to be able to do so.

*RPV Analysis and NC NAACP v. Berger suit*

27. During the process, my colleagues at CCNC and I grew increasingly concerned about the criteria prohibiting any use of racial data during redistricting, particularly as it prevented legislators from formally using data needed to protect voters of color in redistricting. This was especially concerning given the state's long history of targeting and discriminating against these voters in past redistricting cycles. When we saw the draft member-submitted map "SST-4" posted online, and particularly two of the proposed Senate Districts (marked Districts 1 and 9 on that map) we became concerned that Black voters in these areas would be deprived of the chance to re-elect their candidates of choice. We obtained a preliminary racially polarized voting analysis showing that Black voters would likely be unable to elect their candidates of choice as the result of racially polarized voting in these areas, and I sent this analysis via email to the legislative leaders, as well as the House and Senate Redistricting Committee members.
28. My hope was that the legislators would use this information to remedy these issues in the map, and to undertake additional analysis of racially polarized voting in North Carolina before enacting final maps. I sent this in part because the Chairs had indicated they would be open to viewing this type of information in committee meetings. This email is appended to this affidavit as **Exhibit A**. My understanding is that the legislators did not follow-up on

these issues even after receiving my email, or conduct any other analysis of racial data to mitigate the destruction of districts that perform for Black voters in the House and Senate maps.

29. We had serious concerns about this process, and therefore filed a complaint on October 29, 2021, asking for judicial review of this process and alleging that it would harm voters of color and specifically Black voters, including our own members and the voters we served. *See N.C. NAACP v. Berger*, No. 21 CVS 014776 (N.C. Super. Ct., Wake Cty.). We voluntarily withdrew our appeal of the dismissal of that complaint before asking to intervene in this matter after the maps were passed.

*Vote on Final Maps*

30. As the redistricting process wound toward a vote on final maps, the legislature’s process continued to be wrought with obstacles to transparency. For example, the version of the state House bill filed on October 28, 2021 was just a placeholder that did not include any specific district lines. The proposed state House map was not posted on the General Assembly’s website under “member-submitted maps” as would have been expected. In the November 1, 2021 House Redistricting Committee meeting, Chair Hall spoke at length about the transparency of the legislature’s redistricting process. While he was making those comments, the proposed House map was not publicly available anywhere, including on the “Member Submitted Maps” page designated for posting the maps under consideration.
31. The final maps were passed very quickly over just a few days in early November. Overall, I found the entire process confusing and frustrating for its lack of context and transparency. My observation as an advocate who works with members of the public on civic engagement is that the average North Carolinian could not meaningfully have a voice in this process.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on December 23, 2021.

Bob Phillips  
Bob Phillips

Sworn and subscribed before me this 23<sup>rd</sup> day of December, 2021.

Talia Ray  
Notary Public

Name: Talia Ray

My commission expires: 11-6-2024



PHILLIPS AFFIDAVIT EXHIBIT A

From: Bob Phillips <[bphillips@commoncause.org](mailto:bphillips@commoncause.org)>  
Subject: RPV Analysis for proposed SD9 and SD1 in member submitted map “SST-4”  
Date: October 26, 2021 at 11:54:06 AM EDT  
To: "[Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov](mailto:Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov)" <[Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov](mailto:Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov)>, "[Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov)" <[Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov)>, "[Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov](mailto:Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov)" <[Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov](mailto:Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov)>, "[Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov)" <[Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov)>, "[Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov)" <[Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov)>, "[Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov)" <[Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov)>, "[Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov)" <[Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov)>, "[Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov](mailto:Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov)" <[Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov](mailto:Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov)>, "[Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov)" <[Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov)>, "[Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov)" <[Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov)>, "[Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov](mailto:Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov)" <[Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov](mailto:Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov)>, "[Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov)" <[Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov)>, "[Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov)" <[Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov)>, "[Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov)" <[Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov)>, "[Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov)" <[Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov)>, "[Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov)" <[Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov)>, "[Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov)" <[Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov)>, "[Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov)" <[Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov)>, "[Don.Davis@ncleg.gov](mailto:Don.Davis@ncleg.gov)" <[Don.Davis@ncleg.gov](mailto:Don.Davis@ncleg.gov)>, "[Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov](mailto:Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov)" <[Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov](mailto:Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov)>, "[Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov](mailto:Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov)" <[Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov](mailto:Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov)>, "[Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov)" <[Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov)>, "[Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov)" <[Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov)>, "[Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov)" <[Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov)>, "[Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov)" <[Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov)>, "[Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov)" <[Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov)>, "[Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov)" <[Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov)>, "[William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov)" <[William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov)>, "[Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov](mailto:Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov)" <[Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov](mailto:Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov)>, "[Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov](mailto:Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov)" <[Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov](mailto:Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov)>, "[Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov)" <[Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov)>, "[Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov)" <[Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov)>, "[Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov](mailto:Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov)" <[Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov](mailto:Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov)" <[Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov)>, "[Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov)" <[Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov)>, "[Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov)" <[Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov)" <[Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov)>, "[LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov](mailto:LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov)" <[LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov](mailto:LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov)>, "[Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov)" <[Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov)>, "[Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov)" <[Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov)>, "[William.Richardson@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Richardson@ncleg.gov)" <[William.Richardson@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Richardson@ncleg.gov)>, "[Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov](mailto:Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov)" <[Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov](mailto:Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov)" <[Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov)>, "[MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov](mailto:MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov)" <[MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov](mailto:MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov)>, "[John.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Torbett@ncleg.gov)" <[John.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Torbett@ncleg.gov)>, "[Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov)" <[Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov)>, "[Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov)" <[Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov)>, "[Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov](mailto:Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov)" <[Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov](mailto:Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov)>, "[Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov](mailto:Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov)" <[Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov](mailto:Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov)>, "[Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov)" <[Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov)>, "[Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov](mailto:Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov)" <[Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov](mailto:Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov)>, "[Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov)" <[Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov)" <[Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov)>, "[Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov)" <[Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov)" <[Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov)" <[Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov)>, "[Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov](mailto:Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov)" <[Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov](mailto:Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov)>, "[Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov)" <[Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov)>, "[Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov)" <[Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov)>, "[Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov)" <[Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov)>, "[Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov)" <[Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov)>, "[Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov](mailto:Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov)" <[Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov](mailto:Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov)>, "[Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov)" <[Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov)>, "[Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov)" <[Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov)>, "[Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov)" <[Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov)>, "[Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov)" <[Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov)>, "[David.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:David.Rogers@ncleg.gov)" <[David.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:David.Rogers@ncleg.gov)>, "[Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov)" <[Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov)>, "[John.Szoka@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Szoka@ncleg.gov)" <[John.Szoka@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Szoka@ncleg.gov)>, "[Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov)" <[Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov)>, "[Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov](mailto:Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov)" <[Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov](mailto:Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov)>, "[Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov)" <[Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov)>, "[Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov)" <[Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov)>, "[Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov)" <[Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov)>

Subject: RPV Analysis for proposed SD9 and SD1 in member submitted map “SST-4”

Dear Senators and Representatives,

Attached are analyses of recent state-wide election results in the proposed SD9 and SD1 as drawn in the member submitted map “SST-4” that we believe are indicative of racially polarized voting in these jurisdictions. We strongly urge the House and Senate Redistricting Committees to consider this information, and to take care this redistricting cycle to ensure that House and Senate maps do not dilute the voting power of voters of color, particularly for voters in Northeast North Carolina.

RPV in SD1 in SST4 Bertie-Camden-Currituck-Dare-Gates-Hertford-Northampton-Pasquotank-Perquimans-Tyrrell (Ernestine Bazemore)

Beasley vs. Newby - NC Supreme Court 2020GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Ecological Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (0)	≥ 90% White Precincts (18)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Beasley		34.58%	90.74%	27.00%	98.71%	21.02%	95.80%	23.69%	46.55%
Newby		65.42%	9.26%	73.00%	1.86%	78.94%	4.20%	76.31%	53.45%

Holmes vs. Dobson - NC Commissioner of Labor 2020GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Ecological Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (0)	≥ 90% White Precincts (18)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Holmes		33.59%	91.96%	26.15%	98.61%	20.31%	96.41%	22.50%	46.40%
Dobson		66.41%	8.04%	73.85%	0.98%	79.73%	3.59%	77.50%	53.60%

Blue vs. Folwell - NC Treasurer 2016GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Ecological Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (1)	≥ 90% White Precincts (25)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Blue	93.86%	34.11%	93.41%	26.70%	98.79%	24.05%	97.19%	25.73%	48.07%
Folwell	6.14%	65.89%	6.59%	73.31%	0.79%	75.90%	2.81%	74.27%	51.93%

Coleman vs. Forest vs. Cole - Lt. Governor 2016GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Ecological Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (1)	≥ 90% White Precincts (25)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Coleman	93.69%	33.83%	91.15%	25.49%	98.16%	22.79%	90.05%	27.98%	46.58%
Forest	5.74%	62.71%	8.85%	74.51%	1.16%	74.73%	9.13%	70.36%	50.98%
Cole	0.56%	3.47%			0.57%	3.42%	0.82%	1.66%	2.44%

RPV in SD9 in SST-4 Greene-Wayne-Wilson (Milton "Toby" Fitch Jr.)

Beasley vs. Newby - NC Supreme Court 2020GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (1)	≥ 90% White Precincts (0)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Beasley	94.90%		99.31%	18.74%	98.69%	8.57%	97.28%	10.60%	48.28%
Newby	5.10%		0.69%	81.26%	1.13%	91.40%	2.72%	89.40%	51.72%

Holmes vs. Dobson - NC Commissioner of Labor 2020GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (1)	≥ 90% White Precincts (0)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Holmes	95.87%		100.00%	16.96%	99.11%	7.29%	97.89%	8.67%	47.68%
Dobson	4.13%		0.00%	83.04%	0.02%	92.70%	2.11%	91.33%	52.32%

Blue vs. Folwell - NC Treasurer 2016GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (2)	≥ 90% White Precincts (1)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Blue	96.55%	15.82%	100.00%	17.62%	99.02%	13.55%	97.40%	15.83%	48.71%
Folwell	3.45%	84.18%	0.00%	82.38%	0.84%	86.28%	2.60%	84.17%	51.29%

Coleman vs. Forest vs. Cole - Lt. Governor 2016GEN									
	Homogeneous Precinct Analysis		Bivariate Regression		King's Iterative EI		RxC EI		Percent Vote
	≥ 90% Black Precincts (2)	≥ 90% White Precincts (1)	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	Support from Black Voters	Support from White Voters	
Coleman	96.76%	13.79%	99.86%	14.28%	99.19%	9.91%	83.13%	22.97%	46.32%
Forest	2.19%	84.90%	0.14%	85.72%	0.90%	87.47%	16.19%	76.55%	51.96%
Cole	1.05%	1.31%			1.68%	1.80%	0.67%	0.48%	1.72%

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION  
21 CVS 015426

NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF  
CONSERVATION VOTERS, INC., et al.,

REBECCA HARPER, et al.,

COMMON CAUSE,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his  
official capacity as Chair of the House Standing  
Committee on Redistricting, et al.

*Defendants.*

(Three-Judge Court Pursuant  
to N.C. Gen. Stat. § 1-267.1)

**AFFIDAVIT OF CHRISTOPHER DALTON KETCHIE**

I, Christopher Dalton Ketchie, swear under penalty of perjury, that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:

1. I am over 18 years of age, legally competent to give this Affidavit, and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this Affidavit.

2. I am a graduate of North Carolina State University with a master's degree in Forestry and Environmental Resources and a concentration in Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Additionally, I have over 11 years of professional GIS experience.

3. I am employed by the Southern Coalition for Social Justice in Durham, North Carolina as a Demographer and Data Analyst, which includes the frequent use of GIS.

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1482**

4. I have attached as Exhibit 1 to this affidavit, a table containing 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the North Carolina Congressional Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-249).

5. I have attached as Exhibit 2 to this affidavit, a table containing 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the North Carolina Congressional Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-174).

6. I have attached as Exhibit 3 to this affidavit, a table containing 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the North Carolina Senate Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-219).

7. I have attached as Exhibit 4 to this affidavit, a table containing 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the North Carolina Senate Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-173).

8. I have attached as Exhibit 5 to this affidavit, a table containing 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the North Carolina House Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-220).

9. I have attached as Exhibit 6 to this affidavit, a table containing 2020 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and election data as described further herein from the

North Carolina House Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-175).

10. Exhibits 1 to 6 each contain the following fields of information concerning the district plan that is indicated: the district number [District]; the name of the incumbent representative [Representative]; the race [Race] and party [Party] of the incumbent representative; the Non-Hispanic White Voting Age Population by Percentage [% NH18+\_Wht]; the Any Part Black Voting Age Population by Percentage [% 18+\_AP\_Bl]; the Hispanic Voting Age Population by Percentage [% H18+\_Pop]; the Any Part American Indian and Alaska Native by Percentage [% 18+\_AP\_Ind]; the Democratic Candidate Election Composite Percentage [% Dem]; and the Republican Candidate Election Composite Percentage [% Rep].

11. Race and partisan affiliation information for the incumbent representatives were retrieved manually using the Voter Search Tool provided by the North Carolina State Board of Elections at <https://vt.ncsbe.gov/RegLkup/>.

12. The racial demographic data used in my preparation of Exhibits 1 to 6 was provided by the Caliper Corporation for use with Maptitude for Redistricting software, which utilizes the full set of Public Law 94-171 data needed for redistricting.<sup>1</sup> I identified the racial demographic data associated with each of the redistricting plans named above by (1) loading in Maptitude the block assignment file for each plan as made available by the North Carolina State Legislature at <https://www.ncleg.gov/Redistricting>, (2) selecting the racial demographic categories - [NH18+\_Wht]; [18+\_AP\_Bl]; [H18+\_Pop]; and [18+\_AP\_Ind] - within the Plan Settings Summary Fields window and setting the Denominator as Voting Age Population ([18+\_Pop]), and (3) exporting the resulting data from the District Dataview.

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<sup>1</sup> See <https://www.caliper.com/redistricting/data-included.htm>

13. The partisan demographic data used in preparation of Exhibits 1 to 6 was provided by Dave’s Redistricting App software. For partisan demographic data, Dave’s Redistricting App software utilizes election data for a range of elections, varying by state. For North Carolina, the Election Composite uses data from 2016 President, 2016 Senator, 2020 Attorney General, 2020 Senator, 2020 President, and 2020 Governor.<sup>2</sup> I identified the partisan demographic data associated with each of the redistricting plans named above by (1) navigating to the “Official North Carolina Plans in DRA 2020” at <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#list::Official-Maps,filter::state:NC%20and%20plan:2020>, (2) selecting an individual plan and toggling to the plan’s Statistics tab, and (3) exporting the resulting data from the Statistics page.

14. I have attached as Exhibit 7 to this affidavit, a true and correct copy of the raw 2020 VTD-level election data file used to create the North Carolina Election Composite utilized by Dave’s Redistricting App software. This file, which contains VTD election data for each separate election within the composite, is available at [https://github.com/dra2020/vtd\\_data/blob/master/2020\\_VTD/NC/2020\\_election\\_NC.csv](https://github.com/dra2020/vtd_data/blob/master/2020_VTD/NC/2020_election_NC.csv).

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<sup>2</sup> See <https://davesredistricting.org/maps#aboutdata>

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

Executed this the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of December, 2021.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Christopher Dalton Ketchie

Sworn and subscribed before me this the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of December, 2021.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Notary Public

Name: Talia Ray

My commission expires: 11/6/2024



Exhibit 1

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	G.K. Butterfield	Black	Democratic	51.03%	42.38%	4.89%	1.25%	54.65%	43.76%
2	Deborah Ross	White	Democratic	64.24%	20.97%	8.40%	1.02%	62.36%	34.97%
3	Gregory Murphy	White	Republican	70.98%	20.77%	6.11%	1.05%	37.75%	60.01%
4	David Price	White	Democratic	60.85%	26.11%	8.50%	1.02%	65.70%	32.13%
5	Virginia Foxx	White	Republican	84.80%	9.61%	3.83%	0.76%	32.22%	65.47%
6	Kathy Manning	White	Democratic	57.42%	31.76%	7.29%	1.04%	60.49%	37.22%
7	David Rouzer	White	Republican	73.63%	17.75%	6.68%	1.51%	40.68%	57.00%
8	Richard Hudson	White	Republican	63.48%	25.29%	8.06%	1.77%	45.92%	51.59%
9	Dan Bishop	White	Republican	63.85%	18.68%	6.45%	8.88%	44.57%	53.18%
10	Patrick McHenry	White	Republican	82.20%	10.09%	5.78%	0.74%	31.58%	66.08%
11	Madison Cawthorn	White	Republican	89.18%	3.90%	4.24%	2.00%	43.01%	54.61%
12	Alma Adams	Black	Democratic	47.73%	35.77%	11.77%	1.11%	68.00%	29.33%
13	Tedd Budd	White	Republican	78.09%	13.64%	6.61%	0.96%	32.60%	65.25%

Exhibit 2

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Gregory Murphy	White	Republican	65.57%	23.31%	6.90%	2.13%	41.76%	56.04%
2	G.K. Butterfield	Black	Democratic	50.61%	39.99%	6.72%	2.25%	51.99%	46.38%
3	David Rouzer	White	Republican	67.31%	16.44%	6.90%	8.16%	41.39%	56.29%
4	None			53.99%	29.19%	11.95%	3.35%	46.21%	51.43%
5	Deborah Ross	White	Democratic	58.31%	24.47%	10.89%	1.90%	62.23%	35.19%
6	David Price	White	Democratic	54.50%	21.42%	10.01%	1.80%	71.60%	26.12%
7	None			69.34%	16.02%	10.37%	2.45%	41.27%	56.54%
8	None			66.72%	17.22%	8.29%	3.33%	40.63%	57.08%
9	Alma Adams	Black	Democratic	40.09%	37.95%	14.87%	1.95%	71.61%	25.72%
	Dan Bishop	White	Republican						
10	Ted Budd	White	Republican	68.88%	16.97%	8.02%	2.22%	38.26%	59.29%
	Richard Hudson	White	Republican						
11	Virginia Foxx	White	Republican	69.11%	19.97%	6.67%	2.06%	42.83%	54.92%
	Kathy Manning	White	Democratic						
12	Patrick McHenry	White	Republican	67.88%	17.86%	9.80%	2.25%	42.47%	55.16%
13	None			72.62%	15.43%	7.08%	2.29%	38.67%	59.04%
14	Madison Cawthorn	White	Republican	84.49%	3.96%	6.29%	3.46%	45.10%	52.44%

Exhibit 3

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Bob Steinburg	White	Republican	66.87%	28.44%	3.15%	1.01%	42.77%	55.35%
2	Norman W. Sanderson	White	Republican	77.75%	15.83%	3.96%	1.04%	34.77%	63.02%
3	Ernestine Bazemore	Black	Democratic	51.04%	44.36%	3.43%	1.33%	52.88%	45.55%
4	Milton F. 'Toby' Fitch Jr.	Black	Democratic	46.15%	47.46%	4.53%	1.62%	58.31%	40.27%
5	Don Davis	Black	Democratic	59.81%	32.94%	5.17%	0.80%	52.72%	45.22%
6	Michael A. Lazzara	Two or More Races	Republican	71.18%	16.88%	8.55%	1.53%	33.93%	62.77%
7	Jim Perry	White	Republican	57.44%	33.93%	7.04%	0.83%	45.47%	52.81%
8	Bill Rabon	White	Republican	76.89%	16.91%	4.52%	1.45%	37.89%	60.00%
9	Michael V. Lee	White	Republican	79.69%	13.85%	4.35%	1.00%	48.71%	48.28%
10	Brent Jackson	White	Republican	64.14%	21.85%	12.50%	1.53%	36.12%	62.26%
11	Lisa S. Barnes	White	Republican	62.30%	28.04%	8.36%	1.02%	45.90%	52.09%
12	Jim Burgin	White	Republican	67.67%	19.67%	10.60%	1.63%	39.05%	58.61%
13	Danny Earl Britt Jr.	White	Republican	40.43%	26.37%	5.73%	27.42%	42.30%	56.20%
14	Dan Blue	Black	Democratic	49.07%	37.19%	9.69%	1.17%	72.87%	24.50%
15	Jay J. Chaudhuri	Asian	Democratic	67.14%	19.39%	9.62%	0.90%	59.66%	37.87%
16	Wiley Nickel	White	Democratic	69.12%	13.14%	7.60%	0.97%	64.24%	33.04%
17	Sydney Batch	Black	Democratic	76.71%	10.03%	5.62%	0.88%	53.48%	43.78%
18	Sarah Crawford	Undesignated	Democratic	65.34%	24.47%	7.94%	1.16%	51.32%	46.23%
19	Kirk deViere	White	Democratic	57.08%	31.69%	6.52%	3.19%	50.32%	47.24%
20	Natalie S. Murdock	Black	Democratic	41.30%	40.35%	12.10%	1.15%	82.11%	15.80%
21	Ben Clark	Black	Democratic	41.92%	42.15%	10.14%	4.12%	65.70%	31.47%
22	Mike Woodard	White	Democratic	59.74%	30.80%	7.13%	0.98%	58.50%	39.45%
23	Valerie P. Foushee	Black	Democratic	73.73%	12.81%	7.81%	0.99%	67.12%	30.89%
24	Amy S. Galey	White	Republican	71.30%	19.63%	7.27%	1.07%	45.73%	52.29%
25	Tom McInnis	White	Republican	66.34%	25.89%	3.79%	3.35%	41.45%	56.68%
26	David W. Craven Jr.	White	Republican	76.55%	12.19%	8.24%	1.17%	29.99%	67.86%
27	Michael Garrett	White	Democratic	68.44%	22.39%	4.78%	0.87%	52.01%	45.69%
28	Gladys A. Robinson	Black	Democratic	45.63%	43.64%	6.58%	1.24%	74.06%	23.69%
29	Steve Jarvis	White	Republican	82.13%	10.24%	5.64%	0.87%	27.86%	69.99%
30	Phil Berger	White	Republican	80.13%	15.22%	3.55%	0.82%	31.59%	66.27%
31	Joyce Krawiec	White	Republican	67.38%	22.08%	9.19%	0.91%	45.18%	52.50%
32	Paul A. Lowe Jr.	Black	Democratic	63.69%	25.50%	8.26%	0.82%	57.93%	39.60%
33	Carl Ford	White	Republican	79.12%	14.25%	4.90%	0.76%	29.98%	67.62%
34	Vickie Sawyer	White	Republican	82.06%	10.12%	5.86%	0.72%	30.57%	66.94%
35	Todd Johnson	White	Republican	76.06%	12.31%	9.29%	0.87%	36.36%	61.28%
36	Paul Newton	White	Republican	76.38%	14.10%	7.19%	0.75%	41.80%	55.62%
37	Jeff Jackson	White	Democratic	74.43%	14.09%	6.96%	0.72%	55.66%	41.68%
38	Mujtaba A. Mohammed	Asian	Democratic	36.74%	50.03%	7.42%	1.07%	77.85%	19.47%
39	DeAndrea Salvador	Black	Democratic	58.05%	20.38%	14.26%	0.92%	60.28%	37.01%
40	Joyce Waddell	Black	Democratic	37.68%	40.34%	18.27%	1.40%	71.06%	26.31%

Exhibit 3

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
41	Natasha R. Marcus	White	Democratic	63.55%	25.90%	6.39%	0.96%	59.99%	37.43%
42	Dean Proctor	White	Republican	82.98%	8.03%	5.95%	0.68%	29.45%	68.18%
43	Kathy Harrington	White	Republican	78.37%	14.75%	4.93%	0.89%	35.58%	62.12%
44	W. Ted Alexander	White	Republican	81.82%	13.30%	3.62%	0.66%	30.64%	67.28%
45	Deanna Ballard	White	Republican	91.31%	2.64%	4.87%	0.68%	32.49%	65.06%
46	Warren Daniel	White	Republican	88.12%	5.82%	3.78%	0.79%	27.57%	70.15%
47	Ralph Hise	White	Republican	90.41%	5.33%	3.08%	0.83%	30.14%	67.81%
48	Chuck Edwards	White	Republican	89.65%	3.16%	5.43%	0.99%	41.36%	56.30%
49	Julie Mayfield	White	Democratic	85.57%	7.12%	5.15%	1.04%	61.00%	36.31%
50	Kevin Corbin	White	Republican	90.20%	1.38%	3.15%	4.87%	34.28%	63.43%

Exhibit 4

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Ernestine Bazemore	Black	Democratic	63.29%	29.49%	3.97%	2.16%	45.48%	52.72%
2	Norman W. Sanderson	White	Republican	63.13%	30.01%	3.14%	2.99%	44.73%	53.53%
	Bob Steinburg	White	Republican						
3	Jim Perry	White	Republican	63.59%	26.66%	6.00%	1.86%	41.36%	56.65%
4	Milton F. 'Toby' Fitch Jr.	Black	Democratic	52.04%	35.02%	10.02%	2.04%	47.24%	51.11%
5	Don Davis	Black	Democratic	50.59%	40.35%	6.02%	1.66%	56.05%	41.97%
6	Michael A. Lazzara	Two or More Races	Republican	65.71%	15.33%	12.50%	3.11%	33.38%	63.19%
7	Michael V. Lee	White	Republican	77.33%	12.19%	6.13%	1.97%	49.06%	47.94%
8	Bill Rabon	White	Republican	77.25%	14.38%	4.41%	2.87%	37.77%	60.24%
9	Brent Jackson	White	Republican	61.22%	23.76%	11.97%	3.03%	39.16%	59.10%
10	None			66.76%	16.73%	13.18%	2.47%	36.94%	60.71%
11	Lisa S. Barnes	White	Republican	53.77%	36.65%	7.05%	2.02%	50.30%	47.96%
12	Jim Burgin	White	Republican	62.08%	20.74%	13.25%	2.97%	39.93%	57.77%
13	None			66.35%	21.29%	7.78%	1.89%	47.75%	49.95%
14	Dan Blue	Black	Democratic	37.44%	43.25%	15.41%	2.26%	72.04%	25.61%
15	Jay J. Chaudhuri	Asian	Democratic	67.68%	14.91%	7.55%	1.59%	67.19%	30.04%
16	Wiley Nickel	White	Democratic	55.90%	8.82%	7.00%	1.34%	62.24%	35.15%
17	Sydney Batch	Black	Democratic	72.99%	10.86%	8.55%	1.93%	48.81%	48.38%
18	Sarah Crawford	White	Democratic	58.66%	22.83%	11.94%	1.90%	63.57%	33.74%
19	Kirk deViere	White	Democratic	35.69%	48.07%	10.23%	3.73%	64.71%	32.66%
20	Natalie S. Murdock	Black	Democratic	54.99%	27.34%	10.32%	1.91%	70.77%	27.18%
21	None			66.07%	19.56%	8.60%	3.47%	39.03%	58.79%
22	Mike Woodard	White	Democratic	44.71%	34.45%	14.37%	2.18%	77.50%	20.47%
23	Valerie P. Foushee	Black	Democratic	66.84%	16.73%	7.51%	2.02%	64.73%	33.26%
24	Danny Earl Britt Jr.	White	Republican	33.85%	29.63%	8.35%	28.23%	48.56%	49.56%
	Ben Clark	Black	Democratic						
25	Amy S. Galey	White	Republican	67.42%	17.93%	10.89%	2.59%	39.84%	58.17%
26	Phil Berger	White	Republican	73.04%	17.44%	5.13%	2.10%	36.73%	61.13%
27	Michael Garrett	White	Democratic	56.15%	27.32%	7.84%	1.95%	59.36%	38.25%
28	Gladys A. Robinson	Black	Democratic	33.55%	51.45%	9.72%	2.17%	75.05%	22.81%
29	David W. Craven Jr.	White	Republican	68.82%	17.86%	9.20%	2.80%	32.72%	65.17%
	Tom McInnis	White	Republican						
30	Steve Jarvis	White	Republican	80.42%	9.21%	6.44%	2.43%	26.69%	71.12%
31	Joyce Krawiec	White	Republican	76.75%	12.11%	6.74%	2.27%	36.92%	60.72%
32	Paul A. Lowe Jr.	Black	Democratic	46.63%	35.30%	14.28%	2.22%	68.06%	29.49%
33	Carl Ford	White	Republican	74.09%	14.88%	7.18%	2.44%	29.98%	67.62%
34	Paul Newton	White	Republican	62.84%	20.02%	10.20%	2.24%	43.47%	53.88%
35	Todd Johnson	White	Republican	70.65%	11.79%	11.05%	2.00%	36.09%	61.58%
36	None			85.61%	4.48%	7.17%	2.05%	23.26%	74.60%

Exhibit 4

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
37	Natasha R. Marcus	White	Democratic	77.15%	11.19%	6.72%	1.88%	34.88%	62.62%
	Vickie Sawyer	White	Republican						
38	Mujtaba A. Mohammed	Asian	Democratic	47.38%	34.95%	9.72%	1.75%	63.84%	33.48%
39	DeAndrea Salvador	Black	Democratic	34.02%	40.75%	17.55%	2.22%	71.02%	26.31%
40	Joyce Waddell	Black	Democratic	25.47%	49.54%	18.92%	2.14%	81.07%	16.36%
41	Jeff Jackson	White	Democratic	69.65%	10.79%	8.12%	1.54%	49.50%	47.92%
42	None			58.43%	21.59%	13.02%	1.81%	63.91%	33.24%
43	Kathy Harrington	White	Republican	69.62%	18.57%	7.59%	2.43%	36.50%	61.19%
44	W. Ted Alexander	White	Republican	78.82%	13.14%	4.64%	2.15%	29.87%	68.05%
45	Dean Proctor	White	Republican	79.30%	7.49%	7.59%	2.46%	28.82%	68.83%
46	Warren Daniel	White	Republican	84.64%	4.85%	5.61%	2.84%	35.35%	62.24%
47	Deanna Ballard	White	Republican	87.62%	3.63%	5.10%	2.17%	36.05%	61.47%
	Ralph Hise	White	Republican						
48	Chuck Edwards	White	Republican	83.02%	5.51%	7.88%	2.20%	35.09%	62.81%
49	Julie Mayfield	White	Democratic	80.61%	7.29%	7.20%	2.37%	63.19%	34.09%
50	Kevin Corbin	White	Republican	85.96%	1.98%	4.67%	6.31%	35.39%	62.35%

Exhibit 5

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Edward C. Goodwin	White	Republican	57.23%	39.71%	1.93%	0.76%	45.25%	53.12%
2	Larry Yarborough	White	Republican	65.76%	27.79%	5.28%	1.12%	41.27%	56.64%
3	Steve Tyson	White	Republican	69.92%	21.24%	5.41%	1.02%	40.95%	56.55%
4	Jimmy Dixon	White	Republican	62.43%	22.93%	13.63%	0.99%	35.16%	63.12%
5	Howard J. Hunter III	Native American	Democratic	51.26%	44.32%	2.75%	1.21%	54.09%	44.35%
6	Bobby Hanig	White	Republican	85.20%	9.20%	4.02%	1.01%	35.06%	62.80%
7	Matthew Winslow	White	Republican	65.95%	25.47%	7.65%	1.05%	41.58%	56.23%
8	Kandie D. Smith	Black	Democratic	51.89%	41.37%	4.63%	0.79%	59.32%	38.67%
9	Brian Farkas	White	Democratic	68.66%	24.69%	4.05%	0.70%	49.66%	48.12%
10	John R. Bell IV	White	Republican	68.98%	21.44%	7.95%	0.88%	32.32%	66.02%
11	Allison A. Dahle	White	Democratic	65.00%	16.51%	9.87%	1.21%	68.43%	28.15%
12	Chris Humphrey	White	Republican	56.88%	36.98%	5.23%	0.73%	47.21%	51.13%
13	Pat McElraft	White	Republican	85.84%	9.41%	2.75%	1.08%	30.17%	67.74%
14	George G. Cleveland	White	Republican	68.84%	17.78%	9.03%	1.56%	38.07%	58.35%
15	Phil Shepard	White	Republican	72.63%	14.93%	9.38%	1.58%	30.59%	66.00%
16	Carson Smith	White	Republican	70.37%	22.22%	4.58%	2.78%	36.49%	61.30%
17	Frank Iler	White	Republican	80.58%	13.16%	4.62%	1.27%	38.86%	59.00%
18	Deb Butler	White	Democratic	66.81%	25.97%	5.26%	1.20%	56.33%	40.30%
19	Charles W. Miller	White	Republican	86.81%	7.79%	3.69%	1.09%	40.55%	57.02%
20	Ted Davis Jr.	White	Republican	89.50%	4.73%	3.36%	0.76%	44.45%	52.76%
21	Raymond E. Smith Jr.	Black	Democratic	48.86%	39.00%	10.08%	1.41%	54.57%	43.66%
22	William D. Brisson	White	Republican	56.85%	31.49%	9.30%	2.42%	41.42%	57.01%
23	Shelly Willingham	Black	Democratic	44.85%	51.83%	2.78%	0.64%	59.44%	39.06%
24	Linda Cooper-Suggs	Black	Democratic	53.16%	38.11%	7.60%	0.64%	52.08%	46.45%
25	James D. Gailliard	Black	Democratic	55.05%	39.96%	3.32%	1.19%	53.90%	44.68%
26	Donna McDowell White	White	Republican	75.15%	14.79%	8.67%	0.92%	40.54%	56.81%
27	Michael H. Wray	White	Democratic	41.54%	53.71%	1.53%	3.11%	61.70%	37.02%
28	Larry C. Strickland	White	Republican	69.28%	16.52%	13.16%	1.09%	33.75%	64.23%
29	Vernetta Alston	Black	Democratic	42.28%	37.49%	12.41%	1.12%	85.98%	12.02%
30	Marcia Morey	White	Democratic	59.09%	28.74%	8.24%	0.88%	71.81%	26.13%
31	Zack Hawkins	Black	Democratic	31.89%	49.56%	14.99%	1.27%	80.31%	17.54%
32	Terry E. Garrison	Black	Democratic	44.97%	49.12%	4.13%	1.96%	61.75%	36.75%
33	Rosa U. Gill	Black	Democratic	41.61%	45.10%	12.01%	1.18%	72.93%	24.63%
34	Grier Martin	White	Democratic	76.66%	13.14%	7.03%	0.73%	57.89%	39.56%
35	Terence Everitt	White	Democratic	74.58%	16.24%	5.26%	0.80%	51.52%	46.06%
36	Julie von Haefen	White	Democratic	81.01%	7.74%	5.99%	0.93%	53.53%	43.73%
37	Erin Paré	White	Republican	76.16%	13.83%	6.76%	1.11%	47.85%	49.22%
38	Abe Jones	Black	Democratic	31.82%	48.30%	16.24%	1.39%	79.47%	18.14%
39	James Roberson	Black	Republican	49.29%	35.45%	12.40%	1.37%	65.66%	31.93%
40	Joe John	White	Democratic	76.23%	9.76%	3.99%	0.76%	55.14%	42.29%

Exhibit 5

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
41	Gale Adcock	White	Democratic	69.66%	7.40%	4.09%	0.69%	60.51%	37.09%
42	Marvin W. Lucas	Black	Democratic	46.66%	39.67%	9.69%	2.05%	66.11%	30.90%
43	Diane Wheatley	White	Republican	57.73%	34.34%	4.25%	2.78%	48.04%	49.69%
44	William O. Richardson	White	Democratic	38.65%	45.91%	10.59%	2.13%	70.31%	26.98%
45	John Szoka	White	Republican	59.67%	27.44%	7.50%	3.96%	49.67%	47.88%
46	Brenden H. Jones	White	Republican	38.99%	27.01%	6.96%	27.31%	41.53%	57.15%
47	Charles Graham	Native American	Democratic	33.92%	24.48%	5.13%	36.00%	43.97%	54.46%
48	Garland E. Pierce	Black	Democratic	46.39%	36.13%	6.42%	10.62%	53.35%	44.34%
49	Cynthia Ball	White	Democratic	75.00%	13.29%	6.49%	0.93%	65.82%	31.52%
50	Graig R. Meyer	White	Democratic	71.28%	21.15%	4.96%	1.12%	56.45%	41.64%
51	John Sauls	White	Republican	64.51%	20.54%	12.94%	1.43%	42.99%	54.46%
52	James L. Boles Jr.	White	Republican	80.41%	12.96%	4.57%	1.23%	36.46%	61.58%
53	Howard Penny Jr.	White	Republican	68.96%	20.79%	7.97%	1.91%	37.42%	60.51%
54	Robert T. Reives II	Black	Democratic	71.96%	15.74%	8.79%	0.93%	60.23%	37.82%
55	Mark Brody	White	Republican	62.17%	28.64%	7.82%	0.94%	41.10%	56.83%
56	Verla Insko	White	Democratic	71.95%	10.30%	7.37%	0.90%	84.08%	13.81%
57	Ashton Wheeler Clemmons	White	Democratic	51.31%	38.36%	5.98%	1.09%	67.53%	30.29%
58	Amos L. Quick III	Black	Democratic	43.28%	39.97%	10.31%	1.41%	73.69%	23.86%
59	Jon Hardister	White	Republican	69.17%	25.17%	3.77%	1.08%	47.76%	50.26%
60	Cecil Brockman	Black	Democratic	50.25%	36.53%	6.99%	1.17%	63.05%	34.68%
61	Pricey Harrison	White	Democratic	54.10%	40.33%	3.39%	1.03%	72.57%	25.19%
62	John Faircloth	White	Republican	79.53%	11.45%	4.38%	0.77%	43.36%	54.26%
63	Ricky Hurtado	Undesignated	Democratic	62.96%	23.90%	11.49%	1.36%	50.02%	47.93%
64	Dennis Riddell	White	Republican	78.67%	13.98%	5.38%	0.81%	40.41%	57.69%
65	Armor Pyrtle	White	Republican	74.93%	19.63%	4.29%	0.86%	35.22%	62.68%
66	Ben T. Moss Jr.	White	Republican	66.01%	24.86%	6.19%	2.09%	40.30%	57.55%
67	Wayne Sasser	White	Republican	88.92%	6.91%	2.36%	0.68%	21.90%	75.81%
68	David Willis	White	Republican	84.13%	7.94%	4.62%	0.70%	36.47%	61.18%
69	Dean Arp	White	Republican	74.90%	11.45%	11.51%	0.93%	34.82%	62.83%
70	Pat B. Hurley	White	Republican	82.13%	6.30%	9.36%	1.06%	24.46%	73.34%
71	Evelyn Terry	Black	Democratic	41.53%	42.12%	15.29%	1.08%	70.03%	27.62%
72	Amber M. Baker	Black	Democratic	50.86%	39.02%	7.96%	0.91%	70.86%	26.75%
73	Lee Zachary	White	Republican	76.36%	13.23%	9.15%	0.72%	35.68%	61.93%
74	Jeff Zenger	White	Republican	81.38%	10.66%	4.56%	0.62%	46.62%	50.95%
75	Donny Lambeth	White	Republican	76.68%	13.13%	8.44%	0.94%	38.59%	59.04%
76	Harry Warren	White	Republican	69.45%	22.26%	6.46%	0.86%	39.97%	57.51%
77	Julia C. Howard	White	Republican	86.25%	7.29%	5.35%	0.73%	25.14%	72.58%
78	Allen McNeill	White	Republican	86.19%	6.51%	5.97%	1.10%	21.31%	76.67%
79	Keith Kidwell	White	Republican	70.17%	24.26%	4.64%	0.88%	36.03%	62.08%
80	Sam Watford	White	Republican	84.92%	8.41%	5.12%	0.92%	25.11%	72.73%

Exhibit 5

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
81	Larry W. Potts	White	Republican	83.73%	9.14%	4.75%	0.86%	28.16%	69.65%
82	Kristin Baker	White	Republican	71.05%	17.78%	8.59%	0.75%	46.43%	50.98%
83	Larry G. Pittman	White	Republican	75.88%	14.05%	7.70%	0.80%	43.97%	53.28%
84	Jeffrey C. McNeely	White	Republican	78.43%	13.85%	6.11%	0.67%	31.15%	66.41%
85	Dudley Greene	White	Republican	91.46%	3.50%	3.70%	0.85%	24.66%	73.35%
86	Hugh Blackwell	White	Republican	85.67%	6.27%	4.43%	0.82%	31.82%	65.77%
87	Destin Hall	White	Republican	90.58%	4.87%	3.45%	0.73%	25.20%	72.50%
88	Mary Belk	White	Democratic	60.09%	21.98%	13.42%	0.86%	61.91%	35.33%
89	Mitchell S. Setzer	White	Republican	82.80%	8.61%	5.47%	0.70%	27.45%	70.33%
90	Sarah Stevens	White	Republican	90.02%	3.43%	5.54%	0.68%	25.08%	72.88%
91	Kyle Hall	White	Republican	90.10%	5.07%	3.88%	0.74%	23.53%	74.20%
92	Terry M. Brown Jr.	Black	Democratic	38.62%	43.03%	12.41%	1.12%	70.56%	26.72%
93	Ray Pickett	White	Republican	93.55%	1.59%	3.27%	0.77%	43.80%	53.25%
94	Jeffrey Elmore	White	Republican	88.84%	5.74%	4.15%	0.63%	23.60%	74.03%
95	Grey Mills	White	Republican	82.22%	9.85%	4.97%	0.84%	33.81%	63.53%
96	Jay Adams	White	Republican	80.04%	8.42%	7.83%	0.64%	35.16%	62.41%
97	Jason Saine	White	Republican	87.67%	5.67%	5.50%	0.68%	26.85%	70.83%
98	John R. Bradford III	White	Republican	83.37%	7.83%	5.53%	0.63%	47.66%	49.74%
99	Nasif Majeed	Black	Democratic	48.51%	35.59%	12.80%	1.27%	63.75%	33.65%
100	John Autry	White	Democratic	40.26%	34.70%	20.67%	1.34%	71.56%	25.49%
101	Carolyn G. Logan	Black	Democratic	40.71%	47.63%	7.48%	1.47%	71.84%	25.59%
102	Becky Carney	White	Democratic	40.46%	45.49%	10.75%	1.11%	77.54%	19.61%
103	Rachel Hunt	White	Democratic	74.36%	13.23%	7.08%	0.78%	52.58%	44.81%
104	Brandon Lofton	White	Democratic	74.55%	12.62%	8.80%	0.75%	53.53%	43.91%
105	Wesley Harris	White	Democratic	71.57%	11.67%	8.24%	0.73%	54.21%	43.15%
106	Carla D. Cunningham	Black	Democratic	35.68%	42.17%	12.13%	1.11%	81.71%	15.65%
107	Kelly M. Alexander Jr.	Black	Democratic	38.54%	49.04%	7.74%	1.04%	77.87%	19.69%
108	John A. Torbett	White	Republican	77.29%	16.47%	4.48%	0.91%	37.04%	60.60%
109	Dana Bumgardner	White	Republican	79.46%	12.76%	5.14%	0.84%	37.68%	59.92%
110	Kelly E. Hastings	White	Republican	81.74%	13.02%	4.04%	0.82%	27.31%	70.71%
111	Tim Moore	White	Republican	73.84%	22.55%	2.26%	0.67%	37.44%	60.71%
112	David Rogers	White	Republican	85.76%	10.23%	2.58%	0.79%	26.89%	71.17%
113	Jake Johnson	White	Republican	91.85%	3.20%	3.71%	0.86%	38.34%	59.62%
114	Susan C. Fisher	White	Democratic	89.34%	3.48%	5.18%	1.08%	57.75%	39.64%
115	John Ager	White	Democratic	86.81%	7.47%	3.67%	1.11%	59.71%	37.64%
116	Brian Turner	White	Democratic	84.53%	8.05%	5.24%	0.98%	58.38%	38.89%
117	Timothy D. Moffitt	White	Republican	85.91%	3.62%	8.35%	1.00%	39.43%	58.18%
118	Mark Pless	White	Republican	95.36%	1.12%	2.33%	0.92%	35.31%	62.41%
119	Mike Clampitt	White	Republican	84.59%	1.80%	3.51%	9.70%	43.80%	53.43%
120	Karl E. Gillespie	White	Republican	93.13%	1.12%	3.21%	2.11%	26.43%	71.63%

Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Edward C. Goodwin	White	Republican	75.07%	18.16%	3.28%	2.03%	37.28%	60.76%
	Bobby Hanig	White	Republican						
2	Larry Yarborough	White	Republican	64.34%	24.39%	7.03%	2.09%	51.86%	46.07%
3	Steve Tyson	White	Republican	69.04%	20.18%	5.47%	1.97%	39.48%	58.25%
4	Jimmy Dixon	White	Republican	54.09%	25.59%	18.46%	2.15%	40.06%	58.63%
5	Howard J. Hunter III	Native American	Democratic	53.43%	38.59%	4.81%	2.31%	50.22%	48.09%
6	None			61.63%	20.71%	12.83%	3.43%	38.77%	58.54%
7	Matthew Winslow	White	Republican	66.08%	22.94%	7.86%	2.38%	42.48%	55.16%
8	Kandie D. Smith	Black	Democratic	44.26%	45.45%	7.21%	1.62%	62.87%	34.97%
9	Brian Farkas	White	Democratic	64.56%	25.63%	5.69%	1.86%	45.55%	52.34%
10	John R. Bell IV	White	Republican	55.16%	34.27%	6.78%	1.90%	45.31%	52.74%
	Raymond E. Smith Jr.	Black	Democratic						
11	Allison A. Dahle	White	Democratic	60.32%	15.24%	11.19%	1.95%	67.68%	28.98%
12	Chris Humphrey	White	Republican	52.41%	38.48%	7.19%	1.72%	46.58%	51.94%
13	Pat McElraft	White	Republican	82.02%	8.84%	4.50%	2.48%	30.00%	67.76%
14	George G. Cleveland	White	Republican	62.04%	19.93%	11.16%	3.38%	38.07%	58.35%
15	Phil Shepard	White	Republican	66.85%	11.77%	14.95%	2.74%	31.02%	65.55%
16	Carson Smith	White	Republican	74.94%	13.84%	7.08%	2.90%	32.17%	65.25%
17	Frank Iler	White	Republican	80.52%	10.72%	5.15%	2.27%	38.32%	59.60%
18	Deb Butler	White	Democratic	65.36%	22.53%	7.80%	2.41%	58.01%	38.64%
19	Charles W. Miller	White	Republican	86.42%	5.45%	4.09%	2.31%	38.02%	59.61%
20	Ted Davis Jr.	White	Republican	85.16%	5.67%	4.80%	1.42%	44.29%	52.91%
21	None			71.64%	11.58%	8.52%	1.72%	52.74%	44.63%
22	William D. Brisson	White	Republican	54.65%	28.47%	13.31%	3.90%	41.51%	56.96%
23	Shelly Willingham	Black	Democratic	41.67%	53.41%	3.57%	1.39%	59.82%	38.77%
24	Linda Cooper-Suggs	Black	Democratic	50.09%	37.52%	9.84%	2.14%	50.72%	47.84%
25	James D. Gailliard	Black	Democratic	50.87%	41.00%	5.39%	2.04%	51.56%	46.97%
26	Donna McDowell White	White	Republican	67.10%	17.78%	11.36%	2.39%	40.99%	56.36%
27	Michael H. Wray	White	Democratic	41.39%	51.88%	2.36%	4.45%	62.25%	36.39%
28	Larry C. Strickland	White	Republican	64.29%	16.99%	16.18%	2.39%	33.19%	64.97%
29	Vernetta Alston	Black	Democratic	41.70%	39.58%	12.24%	1.91%	84.62%	13.38%
30	Marcia Morey	White	Democratic	43.50%	34.44%	13.38%	1.99%	85.71%	12.34%
31	Zack Hawkins	Black	Democratic	37.01%	39.72%	14.91%	2.33%	79.96%	17.73%
32	Terry E. Garrison	Black	Democratic	47.09%	43.24%	7.91%	1.70%	56.19%	42.19%
33	Rosa U. Gill	Black	Democratic	53.35%	30.91%	9.78%	1.61%	81.27%	16.35%
34	Grier Martin	White	Democratic	64.95%	19.18%	10.87%	1.53%	64.63%	32.70%
35	Terence Everitt	White	Democratic	71.79%	15.68%	6.52%	1.65%	47.12%	50.35%
36	Julie von Haefen	White	Democratic	68.95%	8.78%	7.58%	1.76%	54.76%	42.51%
37	Erin Paré	White	Republican	73.42%	12.62%	9.28%	2.16%	45.06%	52.05%
38	Abe Jones	Black	Democratic	33.91%	45.44%	16.56%	2.18%	73.92%	23.73%

Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
39	James Roberson	Black	Democratic	47.76%	33.04%	15.03%	2.63%	58.86%	38.73%
40	Joe John	White	Democratic	75.44%	11.53%	5.61%	1.52%	56.32%	41.04%
41	Gale Adcock	White	Democratic	47.61%	8.60%	5.15%	1.12%	64.28%	33.24%
42	Marvin W. Lucas	Black	Democratic	39.90%	40.97%	13.54%	2.90%	65.74%	31.29%
43	Diane Wheatley	White	Republican	50.84%	36.68%	6.42%	4.31%	49.28%	48.41%
44	William O. Richardson	White	Democratic	29.79%	51.68%	12.44%	3.49%	70.35%	26.92%
45	John Szoka	White	Republican	50.27%	32.44%	9.50%	5.25%	48.37%	49.22%
46	Brenden H. Jones	White	Republican	51.15%	29.31%	3.72%	16.09%	40.08%	58.49%
47	Charles Graham	Native American	Democratic	25.08%	22.60%	10.16%	42.65%	45.18%	53.23%
48	Garland E. Pierce	Black	Democratic	42.04%	37.09%	8.59%	11.61%	53.35%	44.34%
49	Cynthia Ball	White	Democratic	61.81%	13.91%	6.43%	1.36%	64.93%	32.54%
50	Graig R. Meyer	White	Democratic	69.09%	18.48%	8.24%	2.39%	56.45%	41.64%
51	John Sauls	White	Republican	65.34%	16.73%	14.43%	2.67%	39.81%	58.01%
52	James L. Boles Jr.	White	Republican	66.24%	23.07%	5.44%	3.83%	42.53%	55.21%
	Ben T. Moss Jr.	White	Republican						
53	Howard Penny Jr.	White	Republican	66.69%	19.65%	10.01%	2.74%	36.71%	61.09%
54	Robert T. Reives II	Black	Democratic	73.26%	11.60%	10.60%	2.14%	52.79%	45.36%
55	Mark Brody	White	Republican	62.10%	24.68%	10.02%	2.03%	39.86%	58.03%
56	Verla Insko	White	Democratic	64.80%	10.94%	8.11%	1.51%	84.08%	13.81%
57	Ashton Wheeler Clemmons	White	Democratic	44.28%	41.34%	7.35%	2.10%	67.53%	30.29%
58	Amos L. Quick III	Black	Democratic	34.62%	44.65%	13.03%	2.53%	72.95%	24.60%
59	Jon Hardister	White	Republican	63.07%	27.68%	5.44%	2.38%	45.99%	52.03%
60	Cecil Brockman	Black	Democratic	44.53%	36.15%	9.99%	2.12%	63.59%	34.16%
61	Pricey Harrison	White	Democratic	47.33%	42.32%	6.53%	1.66%	73.00%	24.78%
62	John Faircloth	White	Republican	70.84%	14.00%	5.86%	1.73%	43.22%	54.40%
63	Ricky Hurtado	Undesignated	Democratic	56.53%	25.45%	14.40%	2.99%	49.38%	48.58%
64	Dennis Riddell	White	Republican	70.80%	16.21%	8.96%	2.09%	40.81%	57.28%
65	Armor Pyrtle	White	Republican	72.79%	19.45%	5.16%	2.02%	34.98%	62.85%
66	None			49.35%	28.89%	14.47%	2.19%	64.52%	33.05%
67	Wayne Sasser	White	Republican	76.62%	13.37%	6.16%	2.13%	28.21%	69.54%
68	David Willis	White	Republican	75.17%	8.70%	6.57%	1.67%	36.86%	60.78%
69	Dean Arp	White	Republican	69.02%	12.24%	13.60%	2.24%	34.82%	62.83%
70	Pat B. Hurley	White	Republican	76.35%	7.38%	11.65%	2.68%	24.02%	73.79%
71	Evelyn Terry	Black	Democratic	38.42%	41.19%	17.77%	2.52%	69.65%	27.99%
72	Amber M. Baker	Black	Democratic	51.06%	34.96%	10.12%	1.88%	68.98%	28.63%
73	None			66.47%	18.13%	8.99%	2.22%	40.09%	57.22%
74	Jeff Zenger	White	Republican	74.60%	12.01%	6.66%	1.95%	44.91%	52.65%
75	Donny Lambeth	White	Republican	69.54%	16.11%	10.67%	2.62%	38.59%	59.04%
76	Harry Warren	White	Republican	66.95%	20.99%	8.38%	2.43%	38.23%	59.28%

## Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP_Bl	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
77	Julia C. Howard	White	Republican	83.70%	5.80%	7.49%	2.31%	24.14%	73.63%
	Lee Zachary	White	Republican						
78	Allen McNeill	White	Republican	83.21%	5.77%	7.56%	2.21%	25.78%	72.41%
79	Keith Kidwell	White	Republican	74.67%	17.35%	5.51%	1.76%	37.95%	60.11%
80	Sam Watford	White	Republican	79.55%	9.84%	6.87%	2.39%	25.05%	72.75%
81	Larry W. Potts	White	Republican	79.40%	10.00%	6.15%	2.49%	28.27%	69.58%
82	Kristin Baker	White	Republican	61.54%	22.14%	12.85%	2.58%	44.20%	53.10%
	Larry G. Pittman	White	Republican						
83	None			70.28%	12.55%	7.96%	2.17%	34.20%	63.45%
84	Jeffrey C. McNeely	White	Republican	71.29%	16.59%	8.53%	2.07%	33.00%	64.56%
85	Dudley Greene	White	Republican	88.52%	3.46%	4.70%	2.35%	26.86%	71.13%
86	Hugh Blackwell	White	Republican	81.24%	6.41%	6.38%	3.25%	30.75%	66.86%
87	Destin Hall	White	Republican	86.79%	5.23%	4.71%	2.34%	26.75%	70.92%
88	Mary Belk	White	Democratic	63.64%	24.25%	5.96%	1.36%	64.26%	33.13%
89	Mitchell S. Setzer	White	Republican	81.61%	7.02%	5.99%	2.20%	25.41%	72.30%
90	Sarah Stevens	White	Republican	85.10%	3.84%	8.51%	2.07%	24.45%	73.56%
91	Kyle Hall	White	Republican	74.02%	14.74%	7.63%	2.28%	36.80%	60.77%
92	Terry M. Brown Jr.	Black	Democratic	34.49%	40.82%	15.95%	2.07%	68.85%	28.46%
93	Ray Pickett	White	Republican	86.10%	3.53%	6.30%	1.81%	41.66%	55.40%
94	Jeffrey Elmore	White	Republican	86.43%	5.52%	5.15%	1.98%	23.43%	74.30%
95	Grey Mills	White	Republican	79.26%	8.11%	6.16%	1.90%	33.66%	63.66%
96	Jay Adams	White	Republican	72.17%	10.47%	10.56%	2.59%	36.24%	61.36%
97	Jason Saine	White	Republican	84.41%	5.81%	6.23%	2.17%	26.85%	70.83%
98	John R. Bradford III	White	Republican	79.61%	8.06%	6.74%	1.44%	46.78%	50.68%
99	Nasif Majeed	Black	Democratic	24.43%	48.91%	20.76%	2.31%	76.84%	20.63%
100	John Autry	White	Democratic	38.50%	32.80%	20.67%	2.23%	71.72%	25.28%
101	Carolyn G. Logan	Black	Democratic	32.65%	48.79%	13.15%	2.20%	70.99%	26.42%
102	Becky Carney	White	Democratic	39.67%	39.09%	16.31%	1.92%	80.17%	17.07%
103	Rachel Hunt	White	Democratic	70.19%	12.65%	8.80%	1.79%	46.92%	50.50%
104	Brandon Lofton	White	Democratic	77.64%	9.10%	6.16%	1.33%	51.97%	45.47%
105	Wesley Harris	White	Democratic	58.69%	13.17%	10.81%	1.66%	53.84%	43.54%
106	Carla D. Cunningham	Black	Democratic	29.84%	45.47%	11.10%	1.93%	78.96%	18.30%
107	Kelly M. Alexander Jr.	Black	Democratic	34.27%	49.16%	11.36%	1.60%	73.22%	24.27%
108	John A. Torbett	White	Republican	68.24%	20.01%	7.52%	2.58%	37.31%	60.26%
109	Dana Bumgardner	White	Republican	70.08%	17.41%	7.85%	2.26%	38.07%	59.60%
110	Kelly E. Hastings	White	Republican	75.79%	16.19%	4.87%	2.35%	29.42%	68.62%
111	Tim Moore	White	Republican	76.40%	16.90%	3.53%	2.07%	30.73%	67.44%
112	None			37.95%	29.58%	25.20%	2.59%	70.11%	26.91%
113	Jake Johnson	White	Republican	83.23%	7.19%	6.13%	2.36%	33.83%	64.24%
	David Rogers	White	Republican						

Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
114	Susan C. Fisher	White	Democratic	80.61%	8.00%	6.55%	2.38%	70.43%	26.80%
115	John Ager	White	Democratic	83.57%	6.62%	5.26%	2.36%	59.06%	38.31%
116	Brian Turner	White	Democratic	82.96%	3.95%	8.15%	2.55%	44.94%	52.47%
117	Timothy D. Moffitt	White	Republican	81.75%	3.77%	10.50%	2.05%	39.69%	57.95%
118	Mark Pless	White	Republican	91.24%	1.54%	3.50%	2.58%	37.62%	60.00%
119	Mike Clampitt	White	Republican	80.68%	2.95%	5.10%	10.25%	42.79%	54.59%
120	Karl E. Gillespie	White	Republican	89.02%	1.31%	4.63%	3.95%	26.43%	71.63%

## **Exhibit 7**

File named “2020\_election\_NC.csv”  
to be produced in native format.

# An Evaluation of North Carolina's Congressional, State Senate, and State House District Maps

Daniel B. Magleby, Ph.D

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# 1 Introduction

I am an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Binghamton University, SUNY where I also hold a courtesy appointment in the Department of Economics. At Binghamton, I am also the director of the Center for the Analysis of Voting and Elections at Binghamton University. In 2007, I received an M.S. in Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences from Northwestern University. I hold an M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor where I also received a Ph.D in political science in 2011. I have published academic papers on legislative districting and political geography in several political science journals, including *Political Analysis*, the *Election Law Journal*, *American Politics Research*, and *Social Science Quarterly*. My academic areas of expertise include legislative elections, geographic information systems (GIS) data, redistricting, voting rights, legislatures, and political geography. I have expertise in analyzing political geography, elections, and redistricting using computer simulations and other techniques. I have been retained by plaintiff Common Cause to perform the analysis described below at a rate of \$250 an hour. My compensation is not predicated on arriving at any particular opinion.

## 1.1 Data

My opinions follow from analysis of the following data:

- VTD boundaries provided as ESRI Shapefiles by the US Census Bureau available on at the following URL
- Census block boundaries and population data provided by the US Census Bureau. These are collected as part of the constitutionally mandated decennial census that most recently concluded in 2020.
- County boundaries as reported by the US Census Bureau.
- County clusterings provided Christopher Cooper, Blake Esselstyn, Gregory Herschlag,

Jonathan Mattingly, and Rebecca Tippet in a report that may be accessed at the following URL. <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf>

- Election returns as reported by the Voting and Election Science Team<sup>1</sup> group and aggregated to Census-provided VTD boundaries and provided on the Redistricting Data Hub<sup>2</sup> website. I aggregate statewide elections returns from 2016 and 2020 to set of legislature drawn districts and to the districts in each of the hypothetical alternative maps. In my analysis, I set aside election returns from 2018 because the only statewide races held that year were judicial elections which follow very different patterns compared to elections for other offices.
- 1,000 alternative, hypothetical maps of North Carolina’s congressional, Senate, and House districts generated by a neutral, partisan-blind computer algorithm. The redistricting algorithm I use in my analysis was developed by me and a collaborator, Daniel Mosesson (consultant in private practice), in a paper that is forthcoming in *Political Analysis*. In our published work, we show that the algorithm produces a large number of unique maps of legislative districts without any indication of bias.
- Legislature-drawn boundaries of districts intended to elect representatives to Congress, the North Carolina Senate, and the North Carolina House of Representatives. These data are available on the North Carolina General Assembly website and may be accessed at the following URLs. <https://www.ncleg.gov/Redistricting>

## 2 Methods and Data

In this section I inform my analysis of North Carolina’s map using computer-simulated redistricting methods. I discuss the data I use to analyze the maps, and describe the methods

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<sup>1</sup><https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/electionscience>

<sup>2</sup><https://redistrictingdatahub.org>

for measuring partisan bias in electoral maps. The purpose of these methods is to assess and describe potential biases that arise from the legislature-drawn electoral maps. In particular, I will describe how computer simulations may be used to evaluate alternative, hypothetical scenarios that are free of bias that human mapmakers may incorporate into a system of electoral districts. For the purposes of this report, I will define bias to mean a party receiving more representation than it should given underlying patterns of partisan support. Critically, I will not measure bias as an absolute deviation from proportionality, but rather as deviation from patterns of representation we would expect if an electoral map were drawn in a neutral manner.

## 2.1 Computer-Drawn Maps

The purpose of my analysis is to determine if the legislature intended to discriminate against a particular group in North Carolina, or if the dilution of one group’s influence arises for other more benign reasons. For example, political scientists have observed that even in systems that award representation in an unbiased manner, political parties receive a representational “bonus” for votes they receive over the majoritarian threshold of 50%. That is, a 1% increase in votes produces an increase of more than 1% in representation. As a result, parties that receive a little more than a majority of the votes may receive much more than a majority of seats in a legislature (see Edgeworth 1898; Butler 1952, 1951; Niemi and Deegan 1978 ). Likewise, electoral advantages may arise out of the geographic distribution of voters. For example, one group of voters may be evenly distributed across a jurisdiction that must be divided into multiple districts. If the distribution is even enough, it may be that it is impossible for a neutral process to draw a single-member district in which that group constitutes a majority. Alternatively, it may be that voters of one particular type are concentrated in an area or region. If that is the case, even a neutral process may collect those voters into a district in which they form a large majority leaving likeminded voters in neighboring districts in which they form a modest minority. My academic work focuses on developing

tools to account for natural sources of bias through dilution and over-concentration of voters as a result of residential geography (Magleby and Mosesson 2018).

One way to evaluate a districting plan’s bias is to compare a set of districts to an alternative set that we know to be unbiased. If the enacted plan is similar to the unbiased alternative, we may conclude that the enacted plan is also unbiased. Alternatively, if the enacted plan differs significantly from the alternative we know to be unbiased, we may conclude that the enacted plan is unbiased.

For this report, I used a computer algorithm I developed as part of my academic research to generate a large set of fair, hypothetical alternatives against which we may compare the North Carolina’s legislature drawn maps. The algorithm has been subject to peer review (see Magleby and Mosesson 2018) and has formed an important part of the analysis for several other peer reviewed articles (see e.g. Best et al. 2017; Krasno et al. 2018). The algorithm simulates a redistricting process constrained to draw districts that are contiguous and contain roughly equal population.<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this report, I have constrained the algorithm to prioritize maintaining VTDs, roughly voting precincts, in North Carolina whole. The algorithm builds districts using data provided by the US Census Bureau. Census data include information about the number of people who reside within a geographic units and the geographies to which blocks are adjacent. Critically, the algorithm is blind to partisanship and race, so it does not consider the political preferences or race of residents as it constructs various hypothetical districts.

I use the algorithm to generate large sets (between 20,000 and 100,000) of maps from which I take a random sample of 1,000 maps that meet the set of redistricting criteria announced by the North Carolina legislature in advance of the last round of redistricting there. Each iteration of the computer algorithm combines geographies in different ways, so the result is 1,000 maps that contain unique combinations of contiguous districts that meet the legislature’s announced criteria. This large set of maps constitutes a sample of the larger

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<sup>3</sup>For a more technical discussion of the algorithm please see Appendix ??

set of possible maps that mapmakers could have drawn. Each map represents a distinct, hypothetical example of a map of North Carolina’s congressional, Senate, or House districts that was produced by a neutral process.

The maps generated by the computer are examples of outcomes we would expect if mapmakers were not motivated by partisan goals. Since each map is slightly different, the set of maps represents a range of possible outcomes from a neutral redistricting process. If the partisan characteristics of the enacted plan of congressional, Senate, and House districts in North Carolina falls outside the normal range of neutral outcomes generated by the algorithm, we can conclude that the map represents a significant deviation from a fair outcome.

This approach to evaluating districting plans is common in academic settings. Advances in computers made it possible for scholars to implement methods for developing a neutral, unbiased counterfactual of a jurisdiction’s legislative districts (see Chen and Cottrell 2014; Chen and Rodden 2013; Tam Cho and Liu 2016; Cirincione, Darling and O’Rourke 2000; Engstrom and Wildgen 1977; Fifield et al. 2015; McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal 2009; O’Loughlin and Taylor 1982 ). Recently, courts have also relied upon maps generated by computer algorithms to determine the presence of dilution in enacted plans of legislative districts.

## 2.2 Measuring Gerrymanders

### *Measuring Partisanship in the Simulated Districts*

To assess the partisanship of the maps produced by the computer algorithm, I use election returns from the 2016 and 2020 general election in North Carolina aggregated to the VTD-level. For each hypothetical map, I determine which simulated district a precinct would fall, and assign the votes cast in that precinct to that district. If a precinct falls in more than one simulated district, I assign the the votes in that precinct to a simulated district according to the proportion of the precinct’s population that falls inside that district.

I use statewide races (as opposed to congressional races) because scholars have shown

those data to be reliable predictors of future behavior (Meier 1975). Moreover, a focus on statewide races serves to avoid problems of endogeneity that could be a problem with data from congressional elections. That is, differences in partisan performance in congressional elections can arise for many reasons besides the location of district boundaries. For example, incumbency, quality of challengers, campaign contributions, and campaign organization have all been shown to influence election outcomes, and those can vary widely across districts. By contrast, all those factors are held constant in statewide elections.

Statewide races have an additional advantage: the candidates on the ballot in statewide races appear in every precinct across the state. For this reason, returns from statewide contests are imperative when analyzing the computer generated, hypothetical maps. The computer frequently assigns precincts that fall in different districts in North Carolina’s legislature-drawn map to the same district in a hypothetical map. In such a scenario, voters considered different candidates for Congress, and comparing a vote for Democratic candidate for Congress in one district to a Democrat running for Congress in another district requires that we assume away possible differences between contests and candidates. On the other hand, these factors are held constant when if we consider statewide contests.

For robustness, I use returns from multiple statewide contests. For each district in the legislature-drawn map and algorithm drawn maps I calculate a composite partisan score based the election results from the 2016 and 2020 election cycles. In those elections North Carolina held statewide contests for President, US Senate, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Auditor, Agriculture Commissioner, Insurance Commissioner, Labor Commissioner, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. To calculate the composite score, I take the sum the votes cast for Republican candidates for statewide office in 2016. I likewise sum the votes cast for Democratic candidates for statewide office. Then I determine the proportion of votes cast for the Democratic candidates by dividing the total votes cast for the Democratic candidates by the sum of the total votes cast for Republicans and total votes cast for Democrats. The result, the Democratic

proportion of total votes cast in that district, is a composite measure of underlying support of for Democrats for voters living that district.

Using precinct-level returns for statewide races, I can determine the partisanship of the hypothetical districts drawn by the computer algorithm. The vast majority of VTDs are wholly contained within one district; however, I allow the computer algorithm to “break” VTDs into census blocks. It is therefore possible for the districts drawn by the algorithm to split existing VTDs. When that happens, I presume that the votes are distributed across blocks according to the proportion of a VTD’s voting age population (VAP) that resides within a block. For example, suppose a precinct has a VAP of 100, and that voters cast 20 votes for a Republican candidate and 30 votes for a Democratic candidate. If a block within that precinct has a VAP of 10 people, I calculate that 2 votes for the Republican and 3 votes for the Democrat came from that block.

#### *Districts Carried*

I use the composite partisanship to calculate the number of districts carried in each map. I presume that districts in which the Democratic proportion of the composite votes exceeds 0.5 is a district that is more likely than to elect a Democrat than a Republican. Conversely, if the Democratic proportion of the composite vote falls below 0.5, I presume that that Republicans carried the district. For example, suppose Democrats received proportions of the composite vote equaling 0.47, 0.58, and 0.52 in a three-district jurisdiction. In such a scenario, I say that Democrats “carried” the second and third district and failed to carry the first. In this analysis I consider three jurisdictions, a 14-district congressional map, a 50-district Senate map, and a 120-district House map.

#### *Median-Mean Difference*

I also use the proportion of the composite partisan vote to calculate the median-mean difference metric. Consider the same example districts in which Democrats received proportions of the voted equaling 0.47, 0.58, and 0.52. To find the mean, we divide the sum of the Democratic proportions by the number of districts. In this case,  $(0.47+0.58+0.52)/3$

$= 1.57/3 = 0.52$ . To find the median we sort the Democratic proportions so that they are ordered from smallest to largest. The median is the proportion for which number of proportions that are larger is equal to the number of proportions that are smaller. In this example, we would order 0.47, 0.52, 0.58. Here, the median is 0.52 because there is one proportion that is larger and one that is smaller. Of course, in my analysis in this report, I take the number of districts in the map as the denominator in each map I analyze.

### 3 Findings: Partisan Bias

In this section, I describe the results of 1000 simulations of the redistricting process for North Carolina’s congressional districts, Senate districts, and House districts. I show that the legislature drawn map of electoral districts for Congress, the Senate, and the House show significant bias against Democratic voters and that bias goes beyond anything we would expect based on the patterns of electoral geography in North Carolina. I begin by discussing the results of my simulations of the House map and comparing those results to the characteristics of the map drawn by the legislature. Next, I present the results of computer simulated redistricting for the North Carolina Senate electoral map and show that the legislature-drawn map exhibits more bias than we would expect based on chance alone. Finally, I repeat the analysis focused on the electoral map used to elected North Carolina’s congressional delegation. I show that, as with the other maps, the legislature-drawn map shows bias above and beyond what we would expect had the legislature used a neutral process, free from an intent to produce a partisan bias, to determine district boundaries.

#### 3.1 State House Districts

To draw a set neutral and partisan-blind maps of North Carolina’s House districts, I take the following steps.

1. Build a map consisting of VTDs that are appropriate to the electoral map.

2. Divide that map into House-specific clusters as described by Cooper et. al.
3. Determine which VTDs are adjacent to each other in the cluster by cluster maps.
4. Run simulations for up to 40,000 maps per cluster.
5. For each cluster, I aggregate the characteristics of each VTD to the district to which it is assigned in each hypothetical map.
6. Aggregate the characteristics of each hypothetical map to ascertain its demographic and partisan characteristics. At this point, I subset the resulting maps to remove any maps in which the population of each district does not fall within 1.5% of constitutional requirements that districts contain equal population.<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of exposition, I randomly sample remaining maps and focus my analysis on 1000 of those randomly sampled.
7. Finally, I combine the data from each of the clusters and describe the partisan characteristics of the full set of maps.

The result of this process is a set of maps that approximate the legislatures announced districting criteria. Each systemwide map is a unique combination of North Carolina’s geography. At no point in developing the sample of 1000 maps upon which I base my analysis do I consider any factors besides population and the geographic characteristics of units of geography upon which the maps are base. Thus, taken together, the maps represent the distribution of outcomes we might expect from a neutral redistricting process.

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<sup>4</sup>Because of the compressed time available, a few counties posed coding problems because the average population deviation within clusters abutted the constitutional limit. Thus I allowed the algorithm slightly more flexibility. The algorithm draws maps randomly, there is no reason to believe this slight deviation from exact population parity should create an advantage for either Democrats or Republicans.

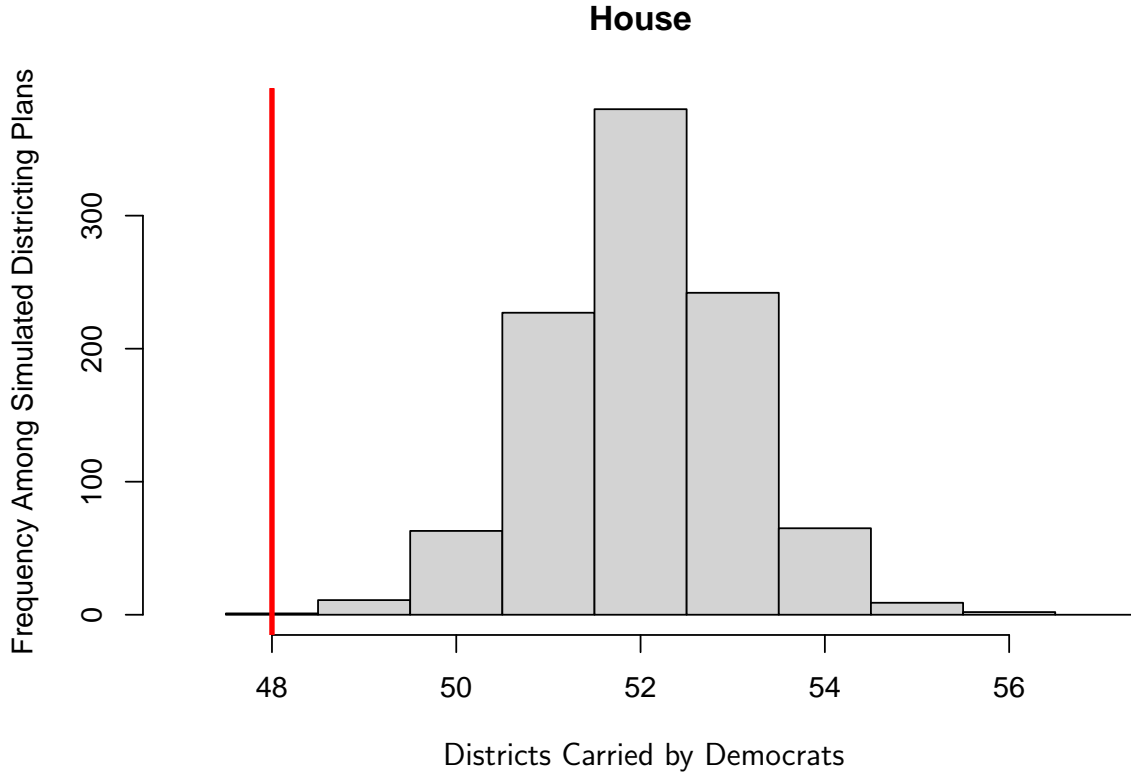


Figure 1: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s House districts. The x-axis represents the number of districts carried (out of 120) by Democrats using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the number of districts carried by Democrats in the legislature-drawn map. Democrats carried in 48/120 districts in the legislature-drawn map. Democrats carried just one of the 1000 sampled algorithm-drawn maps ( $p = 0.001$ ).

Figure 1 summarizes the partisan characteristics of set of algorithm-drawn maps and compares the distribution of those characteristics to the characteristics of the Legislature-drawn map of House districts. Here, I summarize the number of districts carried by Democrats. Recall that I say a Democrats carry a district if Democrats received more votes in that district in statewide contests during the 2016 and 2020 elections. Along the  $x$ -axis, numbers correspond to the number of districts favoring Democrats in a particular map. The  $y$ -axis describes the frequency with which I observe maps that exhibit a particular set of partisan characteristics. Thus, the relative height of the bars corresponds to the relative frequency with which I observe maps with particular characteristics in the set of Algorithm-drawn maps I analyzed.

In the sample of maps represented here, Democrats carried as few as 48 (out of 120) and as many as 56. In the sample, the most common outcome was one in which Democrats carried in 52/120 districts. By contrast, Democrats carried just 48 of the legislature-drawn districts. The algorithm drew just one map in which Democrats carried so few districts. Thus, based on this sample of maps, I may say that there is about a 1 in 1000 chance of drawing a map in which Democrats carried as few or fewer districts. In short, it is highly unlikely that the legislature-drawn map was developed through a process that treated partisanship of voters neutrally.

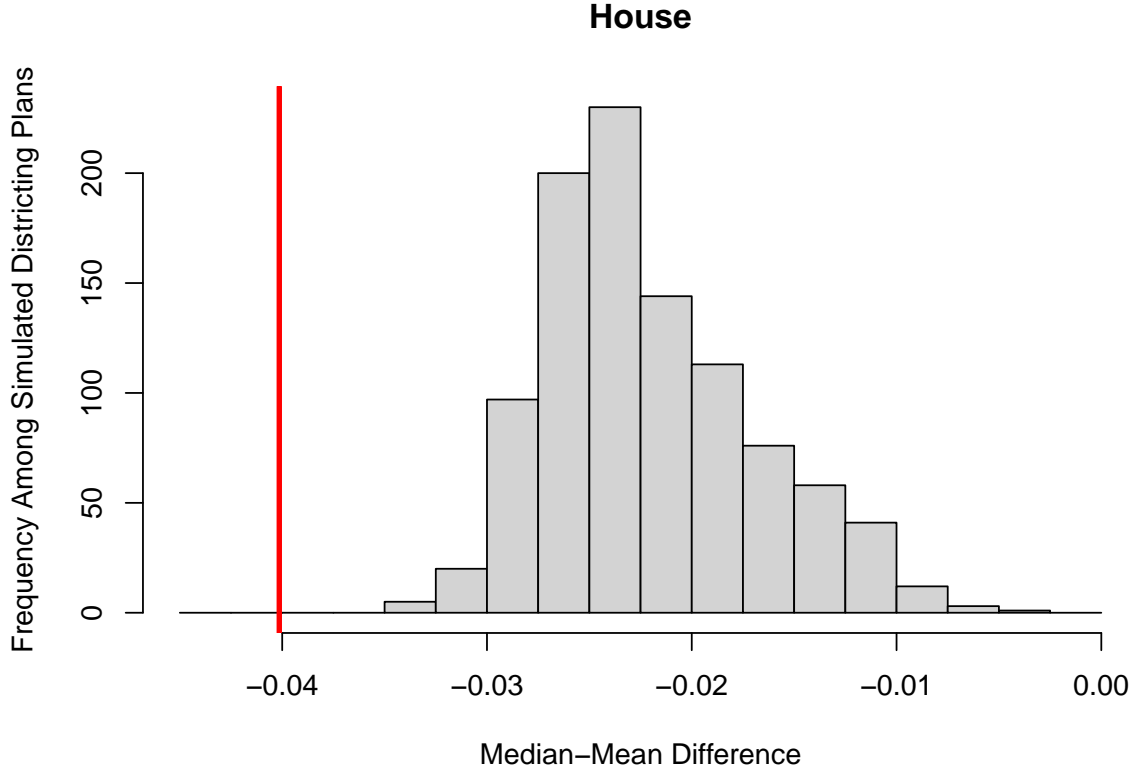


Figure 2: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s House districts. The x-axis represents the difference in the median Democratic vote share and the mean Democratic vote share calculated using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the difference in the median Democratic vote share and mean of Democratic vote share in the legislature-drawn map. The legislature drawn map has a median-mean difference of  $-0.04$ . None of the algorithm-drawn maps had a median-mean difference that extreme ( $p = 0.0$ ).

The degree to which Democrats are disadvantaged by the legislature drawn map is even more stark when I consider the median-mean difference. Figure 4 summarizes the partisan characteristics of set of algorithm-drawn maps and compares the distribution of those characteristics to the characteristics of the Legislature-drawn map. Here, I summarize the median-mean difference in the algorithm-drawn map and the legislature-drawn map. Recall that the median-mean difference is found by taking the map-level median and the map-level mean of Democratic share of the two-party vote. If the difference takes a negative number, the map is biased against Democrats. If the difference takes a positive value, the map is biased in favor of Democrats. If the difference equals 0, then the map is neither biased in

favor nor biased against Democrats. Along the  $x$ -axis, numbers correspond to the number of districts carried by Democrats in a particular map. Maps are sorted into bins depending on whether the median-mean difference exhibited in the map falls into the interval the bar covers on the  $x$ -axis. The  $y$ -axis describes the frequency with which I observe maps that exhibit a particular set of partisan characteristics. Thus, the relative size of the bars corresponds to the relative frequency with which I observe maps with particular characteristics in the set of algorithm-drawn maps I analyzed.

In the sample of maps represented in my analysis, the most common median-mean difference in Democratic vote share fell between  $-0.0225$  and  $-0.025$ . The lowest median-mean difference in the sample of maps I analyze here was  $-0.034$ , and the highest median-mean difference was  $-0.005$ . By contrast, the legislature-drawn map has a median-mean difference of  $-0.04$ . No map in the sample of algorithm drawn maps showed a degree of bias as extreme as the bias I observe in the legislature-drawn map. The data indicate that there is less than a 1 in 1000 chance that we would observe a map as extreme as the map drawn by the legislature if the legislature was following a neutral, party-blind process.

### 3.2 State Senate Districts

To draw a set neutral and partisan-blind maps of North Carolina’s House districts, I take follow the same steps I took to develop maps for the House.

1. Build a map consisting of VTDs that are appropriate to the electoral map.
2. Divide that map into Senate-specific clusters as described by Cooper et. al.
3. Determine which VTDs are adjacent to each other in the cluster by cluster maps
4. Run simulations for up to 40,000 maps per cluster
5. For each cluster, I aggregate the characteristics of each VTD to the district to which it is assigned in each hypothetical map.

6. Aggregate the characteristics of each hypothetical map to ascertain its demographic and partisan characteristics. At this point, I subset the resulting maps to remove any maps in which the population of each district does not fall within 1.5% of constitutional requirements that districts contain equal population.<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of exposition, I randomly sample remaining maps and focus my analysis on the 1000 randomly sampled maps.
7. Finally, I combine the data from each of the clusters and describe the partisan characteristics of the full set of maps.

The result of this process is a set of maps that approximate the legislatures announced districting criteria. Each systemwide map is a unique combination of North Carolinas geography. At no point in developing the sample of 1000 maps upon which I base my analysis do I consider any factors besides population and the geographic characteristics of units of geography upon which the maps are base. Thus, taken together, the maps represent the distribution of outcomes we might expect from a neutral redistricting process.

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<sup>5</sup>As described in an earlier footnote, we allow the algorithm more leeway to account for highly constrained average population deviations in some clusters.

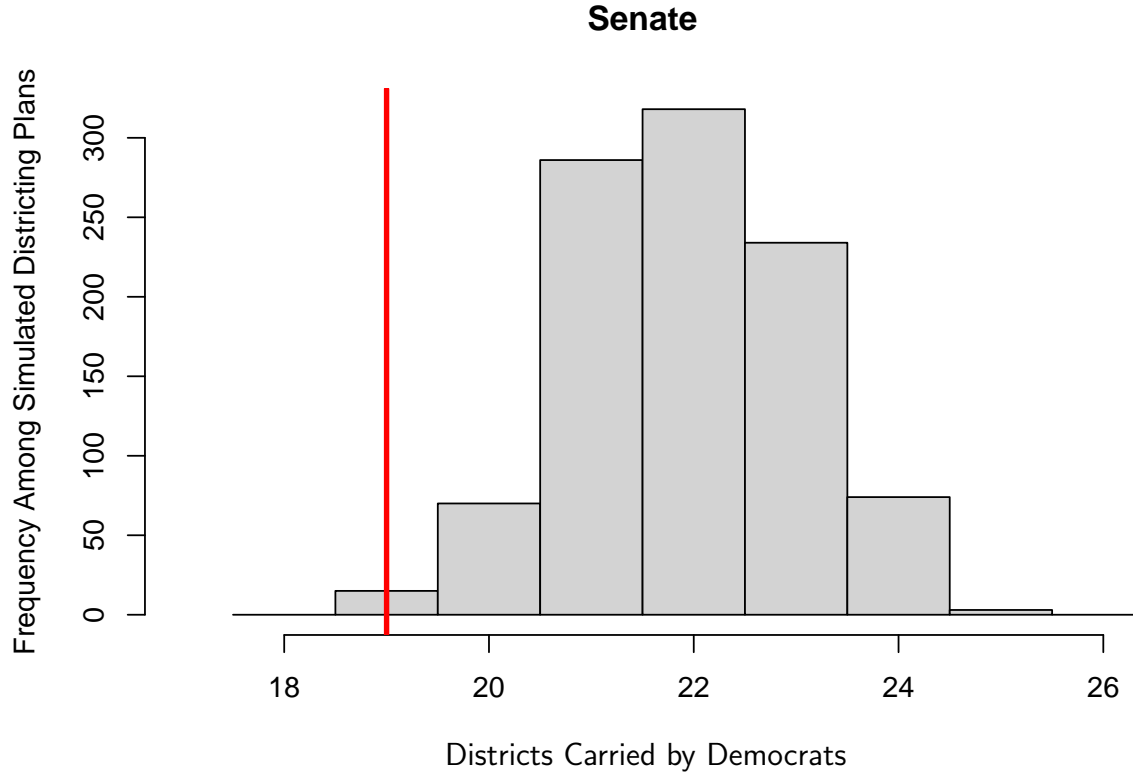


Figure 3: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s Senate districts. The x-axis represents the number of districts carried (out of 50) by Democrats using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the number of districts carried by Democrats in the legislature-drawn map. Democrats carried 19/50 districts in the legislature-drawn map. Just 15 out of 1000 of the algorithm-drawn maps had so few districts carried by Democrats ( $p = 0.015$ ).

Figure 3 summarizes the partisan characteristics of set of algorithm-drawn maps and compares the distribution of those characteristics to the characteristics of the Legislature-drawn map of Senate districts. Here, I summarize the number of districts carried by Democrats. Recall that I say Democrats carry a district if Democrats received more votes in that district in statewide contests during the 2016 and 2020 elections. Along the  $x$ -axis, numbers correspond to the number of districts carried by Democrats in a particular map. The  $y$ -axis describes the frequency with which I observe maps that exhibit a particular set of partisan characteristics. Thus, the relative size of the bars corresponds to the relative frequency with which I observe maps with particular characteristics in the set of Algorithm-drawn maps I analyzed.

In the sample of maps represented here, Democrats carried as few as 19 (out of 50) and as many as 25. In the sample, the most common outcome was one in which Democrats carried 22/50 districts. By contrast, Democrats carried just 18 of the legislature-drawn districts. The algorithm drew 15 maps in which Democrats carried so few districts. Thus, based on this sample of maps, I may say that there is about a 1.5 in 100 chance of drawing a map in which Democrats carried as few or fewer districts. In short, it is highly improbable that the legislature-drawn map was developed through a process that treated partisanship of voters neutrally.

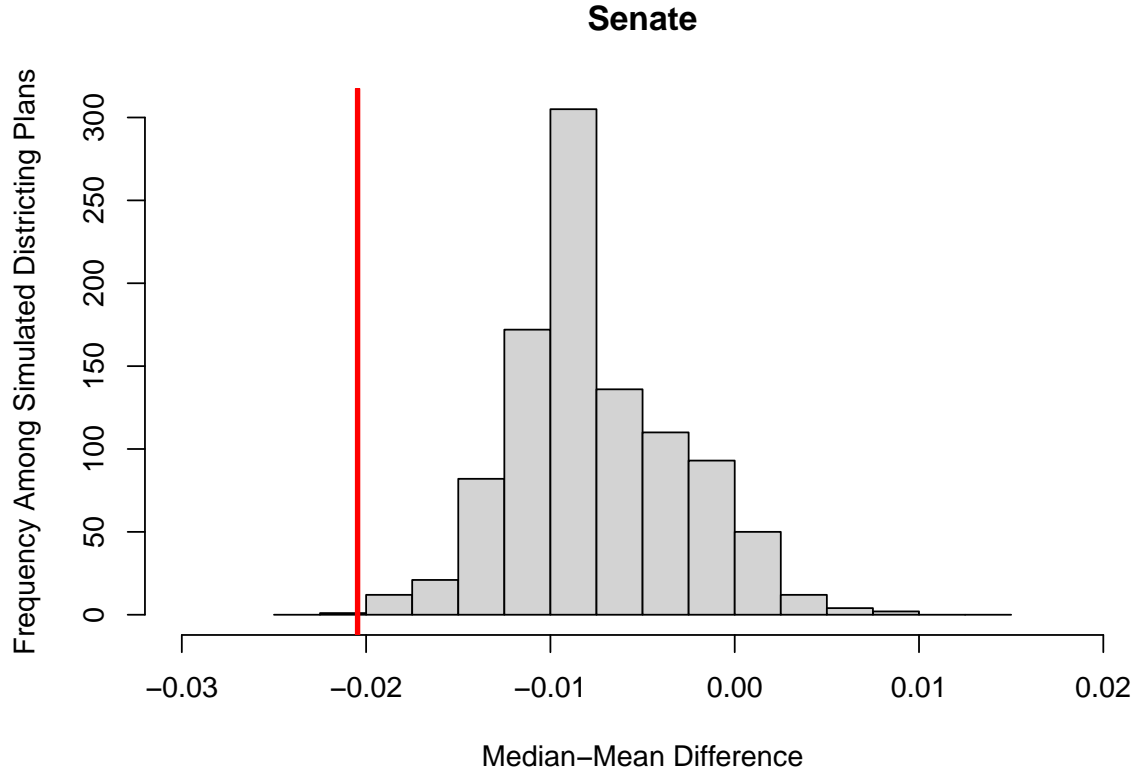


Figure 4: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s Senate districts. The x-axis represents the difference in the median Democratic vote share and the mean Democratic vote share calculated using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the difference in the median Democratic vote share and mean of Democratic vote share in the legislature-drawn map. The legislature drawn map has a median-mean difference of  $-0.0204$ . None of the algorithm-drawn maps had a median-mean difference that extreme ( $p = 0.0$ ).

The degree to which Democrats are disadvantaged by the legislature drawn map is even more stark when I consider the median-mean difference. Figure 4 summarizes the partisan characteristics of set of algorithm-drawn maps of Senate districts and compares the distribution of those characteristics to the characteristics of the Legislature-drawn map in terms of median-mean difference. Recall that the median-mean difference is found by taking the map-level median and the map-level mean of Democratic share of the two-party vote. If the difference takes a negative number, the map is biased against Democrats. If the difference takes a positive value, the map is biased in favor of Democrats. If the difference equals 0, then the map is neither biased in favor nor biased against Democrats. Along the  $x$ -axis, numbers correspond to the number of districts carried by Democrats in a particular map. Maps are sorted into bins depending on whether the median-mean difference exhibited in the map falls into the interval the bar covers on the  $x$ -axis. The  $y$ -axis describes the frequency with which I observe maps that exhibit a particular set of partisan characteristics. Thus, the relative size of the bars corresponds to the relative frequency with which I observe maps with particular characteristics in the set of algorithm-drawn maps I analyzed.

In the sample of maps represented in my analysis, the most common median-mean difference in Democratic vote share fell between  $-0.0075$  and  $-0.01$ . The lowest median-mean difference in the sample of maps I analyze here was  $-0.0201$ , and the highest median-mean difference was  $-0.005$ . By contrast, the legislature-drawn map has a median-mean difference of  $-0.009$ . No map in the sample of algorithm drawn maps showed a degree of bias as extreme as the bias I observe in the legislature-drawn map. The data indicate that there is less than a 1 in 1000 chance that the legislature would arrive a map as biased as their map of Senate districts if they followed a neutral, party-blind process.

### 3.3 Congressional Districts

To draw a set neutral and partisan-blind maps of North Carolina’s House districts, I take follow the same steps I took to develop maps for the House.

1. Build a map consisting of VTDs that are appropriate to the electoral map. In the case of the congressional map, I maintained whole all counties that the legislature did not break in their map.
2. Divide that map into Senate-specific clusters as described by Cooper et. al.
3. Determine which VTDs are adjacent to each other in the cluster by cluster maps.
4. Run simulations for 100,000 maps.
5. For each cluster, I aggregate the characteristics of each VTD to the district to which it is assigned in each hypothetical map.
6. Aggregate the characteristics of each hypothetical map to ascertain its demographic and partisan characteristics. At this point, I subset the resulting maps to remove any maps in which the population of each district does not fall within 0.01 of constitutional requirements that districts contain equal population. For the purposes of exposition, I randomly sample remaining maps and focus my analysis on 1000.
7. Finally, I combine the data from each of the clusters and describe the partisan characteristics of the full set of maps.

The result of this process is a set of maps that approximate the legislature’s announced districting criteria. Each systemwide map is a unique combination of North Carolinas geography. At no point in developing the sample of 1000 maps upon which I base my analysis do I consider any factors besides population and the geographic characteristics of units of geography upon which the maps are based. Thus, taken together, the maps represent the distribution of outcomes we might expect from a neutral redistricting process.

Figure 5 presents histogram summarizing findings from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process in North Carolina. The x-axis corresponds the possible number of districts that Democrats could carry by the composite partisan vote. The y-axis corresponds to the

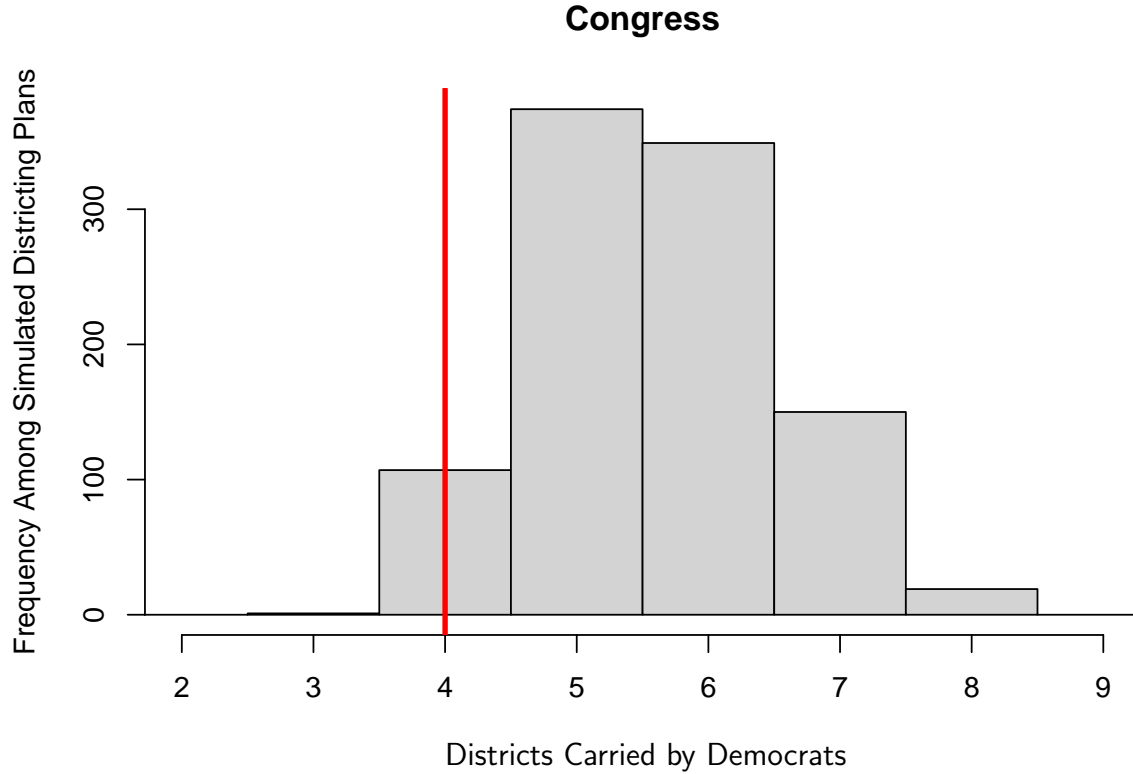


Figure 5: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s congressional districts. The x-axis represents the number of districts carried (out of 14) by Democrats using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the number of districts carried by Democrats in the legislature-drawn map.

frequency with which maps with a particular count of districts carried appear in the set of simulated maps. Higher bars correspond to outcomes that occurred more often in the set of simulated maps. The simulations produced maps with as few as 3 and as many as 8 districts that would favor a Democratic candidate. The most common outcome, occurring in 374/1000 simulations, in the simulation was Democrats carrying 5/14 districts based on the composite partisan score. Democrats carried 6/14 districts in nearly as many districts (349/1000 simulations). Democrats carried 7/10 and 8/10 districts in 150/1000 and 19/1000 maps respectively. In the enacted map, we would expect Democrats to carry 4 districts by the composite partisan index. In 108/1000, Democrats carried 4 or fewer districts. Thus the legislature drawn map shares characteristics with roughly 1/10 of the maps drawn by the algorithm.

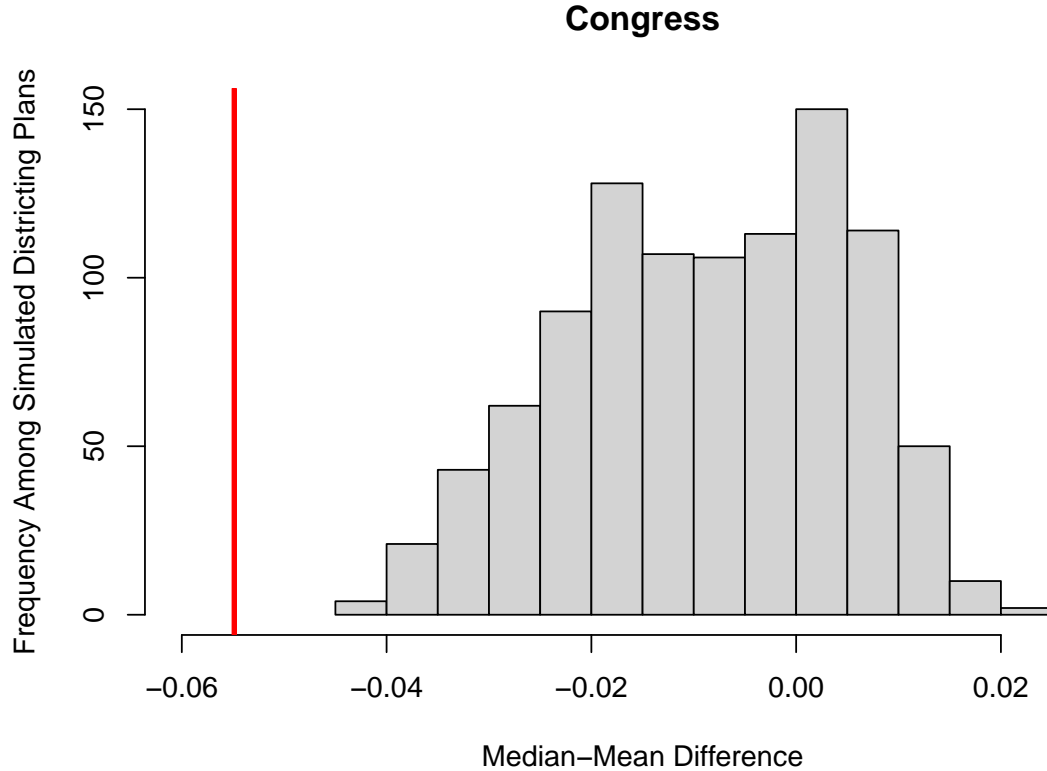


Figure 6: Distribution of outcomes from 1000 simulations of the redistricting process used to draw North Carolina’s congressional districts. The x-axis represents the difference in the median Democratic vote share and the mean Democratic vote share calculated using the partisan composite score. The vertical red line corresponds to the difference in the median Democratic vote share and mean of Democratic vote share in the legislature-drawn map.

Figure 6 presents a histogram that summarizes the difference in median composite partisan vote share and mean composite partisan vote share for 1000 simulated maps of North Carolina’s Congressional districts. Here the x-axis corresponds to possible values that the median-mean difference may take. The y-axis corresponds to frequency with which particular values appear in the algorithm-drawn map. As before, the vertical red line corresponds to the median-mean difference in the legislature-drawn map.

In the simulated maps, the median-mean difference ranged from  $-0.042$  to  $0.025$ . the distribution is bimodal with two peaks at just greater than  $-0.02$  and another peak at a little above  $0.0$ . The fact that simulations regularly median-mean difference of greater than  $0.0$  which corresponds to no votes being weight roughly equally in the system of districts.

In fact, 326/1000, just shy of a third of the simulations, corresponds to maps that were not skewed against Democrats. The legislature drawn map showed a median-mean score of  $-0.055$ . Not a single algorithm-drawn map was more extreme than the map drawn by the legislature. By contrast, the minimum median-mean difference observed in the simulated maps was just  $-0.041$ .

## 4 Conclusion

Each legislature-drawn map represents a significant deviation from unbiased alternatives produced by the computer algorithm I describe here. Based on the simulations, there is less than a 1 in 1000 chance that a neutral process produced the House map. There is less than a 2 in 100 chance that a neutral process led to the Senate map. The odds of arriving at the a congressional map as biased as the legislature-drawn map are similarly long.

As independent events, the emergence of these three maps would be cause for concern that partisan biased actions were taken in the construction. Taken together, concern compounds. The computer simulations that I described in this report suggest that the legislature drew three maps that represent gerrymanders in favor of Republicans.

## A A Description of the Magleby-Mosesson Algorithm

The process we use to develop a large set of neutral counterfactuals draws maps in a four-step process. For a more technical representation along with evaluations of the authors’ claims of neutrality (see Magleby and Mosesson 2018).

### **Step 1: Convert map into a graph**

We reduce the map to a connected graph where each geographic unit, a VTD in this setting, is a vertex of the graph. Two vertices are connected by edges if the units of geography share more than a single point of their boundary (thus, the resulting districts will be “rook” contiguous).

### **Step 2: Divide the graph randomly**

The algorithm randomly collects connected vertices into groups and joins them into a new vertex that aggregates the demography of each of its constituent vertices and preserves the connectedness with any vertex with which a constituent vertex was adjacent. It continues to randomly join groups of vertices until the number of groups is equal to the number of districts in the state.

### **Step 3: Refine the divided graph**

In order to achieve balance (population parity between districts), Magleby and Mosesson use an algorithm proposed by Kernigan and Lin to switch constituent vertices between groups of vertices. If it is not possible to achieve balance with a moderate number of switches, then we discard the map and start over. If balance is possible after a fixed number of switches, then we record the map for future analysis.

**Step 4: Repeat**

Repeat steps 1, 2, and 3 until we find a large sample maps that contain roughly equal district populations.

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

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Date: 12/23/21

# Expert Report on the North Carolina State Legislature and Congressional Redistrictings

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December 23, 2021

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## 1 Introduction

I am a Professor of Mathematics and Statistical Science at Duke University. My degrees are from the North Carolina School of Science and Math (High School Diploma), Yale University (B.S.), and Princeton University (Ph.D.). I grew up in Charlotte, North Carolina and currently live in Durham, North Carolina.

I lead a group at Duke University which conducts non-partisan research to understand and quantify gerrymandering. This report grows out of aspects of our group’s work around the current North Carolina legislative districts which are relevant to the case being filed.

I previously submitted an expert report in *Common Cause v. Rucho*, No. 18-CV-1026 (M.D.N.C.), *Diamond v. Torres*, No. 17-CV-5054 (E.D. Pa.), *Common Cause v. Lewis* (N.C. Sup. Ct No. 18-cvs-014001), and *Harper v. Lewis* (No. 19-cv-012667) and was an expert witness for the plaintiffs in *Common Cause v Rucho* and *Common Cause v. Lewis*. I am being paid at a rate of \$400/per hour for the work on this case. Much of the work derives from an independent research effort, unrelated to this lawsuit, to understand gerrymandering nationally and in North Carolina specifically. Much of the core analysis described in this report was previously released publicly as part of a non-partisan effort to inform the discussion around the redistricting process.

## 2 General Overview

I was asked in this case to analyze whether the enacted Congressional, state House, and state Senate redistricting plans for North Carolina were drawn intentionally for partisan advantage. In summary, to conduct our analysis, we used historic voting data to compare election results under the enacted plans with elections results under a collection of non-partisan maps generated using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods, referred to throughout this report as an “ensemble.” No partisan information is used to construct this ensemble of maps; only the generally accepted districting criteria of approximately equal population per district, contiguous and relatively compact districts, reducing traversals, and keeping counties, precincts, and possibly municipalities whole. One strength of the ensemble method is that it makes no assumptions in advance about what structure an election should have such as a relation to proportional representation or some type of symmetry considerations. Rather it shows what results would naturally occur, and the structure of those results, because of political geography of the state when non-partisan maps are used. We examine both the number of seats that would have been won under these vote counts, along with the expected margins of victory.

We see that each of the enacted plans is an extreme outlier with respect to its partisan properties in comparison to the ensemble. The Congressional, House, and Senate plans each systematically favor the Republican Party to an extent which is rarely, if ever, seen in the non-partisan collection of maps. Under many historic elections considered, each of the enacted maps elects significantly fewer Democrats than the typical number of Democrats found in the collection of maps. Specifically, the enacted Congressional plan produces 10 Republican seats and 4 Democratic seats across a wide range of historic elections, spanning roughly a 6-point differential in the statewide two-party vote share. In other words, Republicans win 10 congressional seats despite large shifts in the statewide vote fraction and across a variety of election structures. Over

the statewide vote Democratic partisan vote range of 46.59% to 52.32%, the enacted map only twice changes the number of Republicans elected. The outcome of the election is largely stuck at 4 Democrats. Our non-partisan ensemble plans, by contrast, are far more responsive to changes in the election structure and the statewide vote fraction.

Under the enacted Senate and House plans, at times the Democratic Party is either denied a majority of seats or denied breaking a Republican supermajority when the overwhelming majority of maps in our ensemble would have resulted in either a Democratic majority or a simple Republican majority. In the Senate, we find instances in which the Republicans would have gained a supermajority under the enacted plan, but would have lost a supermajority in nearly every map in our collection. In the House, we find instances in which the Republicans won the supermajority of seats under the enacted plan but they would have not won the supermajority in the majority of maps in our collection.

In the House and Senate plans, the extreme statewide tilt towards the Republican Party is the result of a significant number of truly independent choices at the level of the county-clusters into which the state is divided. The chance of making so many independent choices which bias the results towards the Republican Party unintentionally, without corresponding choices favoring the Democratic party, is astronomically small.

In addition to this systematic bias towards the Republican Party which when aggregated produces highly atypical results, the enacted House and Senate plans also have highly atypical results in a number of county clusters even when viewed alone. Beyond often creating atypical results in terms of the number of seats won in a given cluster, our results also show a durability in the results in certain clusters under the enacted plans. By durable, we mean that the results remain atypically unchanged over a wide range of elections. This unresponsiveness to changes in vote counts is another problematic feature revealed by our analysis of the enacted plans.

Our analyses show that each of the three enacted plans is an extreme gerrymander over a range of voter behavior seen historically in North Carolina. The effect of these extreme gerrymanders is to prevent the Democrats from winning as many seats in Congress, the House, and the Senate as they would have had the maps been drawn in a neutral way without political considerations. In many cases, the enacted maps reduce the extent to which the results of an election respond to the changing options of the electorate as expressed at the ballot box.

### **3 Discussion on Interpreting The Ensemble Method**

#### **3.1 The Political Geography**

In redistricting conversations, there are often discussions of the urban versus rural divide and natural packing. These points demonstrate the need for a methodology that accounts for this political geography; ensemble methods precisely capture it. The distribution on redistricting plans can distinguish between typical plans and atypical plans. This determination is fundamentally informed by the geometry of the state, its political geography, and the spatial structure of the elections used to probe the redistricting plan.

The fundamental power of the ensemble method is that it begins with a clear set of redistricting criteria as an input. It then creates a representative ensemble of redistricting plans which accounts for the geometry of the state and the geography of where people live and how they vote. Any collection of voting data can then be applied to this ensemble of restricting plans to obtain a collection of election results. The election results give a benchmark against which a particular redistricting may be compared under the same set of voting data. It is only the relative difference between the ensemble and the enacted plan which matters. Our ensemble of restricting plans naturally incorporates how nonpartisan redistricting criteria interact with the political geography and geometry of the state. It naturally adapts to natural packing in urban areas and other effects. It is capable of separating these natural effects from those of partisan gerrymandering. Because of this, this mode of analysis can separate bias that natural packing might induce from other effects.

Additionally, none of these analyses rely on any forms of partisan symmetry or ideas of proportional representation. The ensemble method does not impose any idea of fairness nor does it select for a particular seats-to-votes curve. Rather it illuminates what the result would have typically been had only the stated redistricting criteria been utilized. It is quite possible, and often happens, that the results from the ensemble method do not yield proportional representation and one party has a natural advantage relative to the statewide vote fraction. One can then use this natural advantage as a benchmark to detect when a particular plan is biased beyond the neutral standard the ensemble establishes.

### 3.2 Different Elections have Different Voting Patterns

Elections differ both in the statewide partisan vote fraction and the spatial patterns of voting across the state. Hence, it is not at all surprising that a given map can act differently under different voting patterns; even those that share the same statewide partisan vote fractions. For instance, a map could be designed to neutralize the effectiveness of a particular set of coalitions, and hence would only be a statistical outlier in elections when those coalitions are active.

On a number of occasions, we have seen maps that particularly show the effect of the Gerrymander when there is a danger that the majority or supermajority are lost. To better understand why this is natural, consider the following example. Let us assume that a region has three varieties of people who always vote as a block and are spatially contiguous. For definiteness, let us call them red, purple, and blue people. We will assume that red always vote for the red candidate and blue for the blue candidate. Sometimes the purple vote for the red candidate and sometimes for the blue candidate. Hence, sometimes red wins two seats, and sometimes three seats, depending on how the purple people vote. Let us assume that most redistricting plans that one would naturally draw (without knowing where the red, purple, and blue people lived) would produce 2 majority red districts, 2 majority blue districts, and one majority purple district. We will call these neutral plans. Now let us consider a plan which is carefully drawn so that the purple people are never a majority but rather the purple people are split such that there are three majority blue districts and two majority red. We will call this the gerrymandered plan.

Under the gerrymandered plan the red candidates always win two of the five seats, but never more. This is typical of elections where the purple people vote with the blue people. It is typical because the majority purple district in the neutral plans would vote for the blue candidate to elect three blue candidates. On the other hand, in elections where the purple people vote with the red people, the outcome would be highly atypical as the neutral maps would have always produced three red winners but the gerrymandered plan only produces two red winners. In summary, atypical maps may lead to a typical split of elected officials under some vote counts, but not under others. It is not unusual for gerrymandered maps to sometimes produce typical results.

### 3.3 Collected Seat Histograms and Uniform Swing Analysis

It is a misconception that a gerrymandered map will behave atypically under all different types of elections. Gerrymandered maps can behave atypically under some types of elections and typically under other types of elections. For example, a map may only become atypical when a party is in danger of losing the majority. We demonstrate this through a type of plot we call *Collected Seat Histograms*. The election data use can either be historical elections or data generated using a uniform swing hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

In both cases, we plot the histograms tabulating the fraction of the ensemble maps which produce a particular number of Democratic seats under a particular choice of statewide votes (tabulated at the precinct level). We then collect these histograms on a single plot where they are arranged on the vertical axis according to their statewide vote fractions, with the most Republican at the bottom and the most Democratic at the top. On each of the individual histograms, we also place a mark corresponding to the number of seats the enacted map would produce using those votes. Using these plots, one can identify trends and types of elections where the enacted maps produces outlier results. When considering the NC State House and Senate, we also place vertical lines on each plot to mark where the supermajorities are in effect and where the simple majority in the chamber changes hand.

In addition to using historical statewide votes to produce our Collected Seat Histograms, we also create a collection of Collected Seat Histograms built from a single historical vote which is shifted using the Uniform Swing Hypothesis to produce a collection of votes which preserve the relative voting pattern across the state while seeing the effect of shifting the partisan tilt of the election.

Both kinds of Collected Seat Histograms are effective at identifying maps that are non-responsive to changing voter opinions or under-respond to those changes. A district map that results in different representation when the number of votes for a particular party changes sufficiently is a minimal requirement of a democratic process that is responsive to the changing will of the people. The Collected Seat Histograms can be used to determine the level of responsiveness to changes in the votes one should expect of the maps that were drawn without a partisan bias. The Rank Ordered Boxplots in the next section can help illuminate the structure of the map which is responsible for any systematic bias or lack of responsiveness relative to the nonpartisan benchmark embodied in the ensemble.

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<sup>1</sup>The uniform swing hypothesis takes a single election and then uniformly increases (or decreases) the percentage for a given party across all the predicts. This creates a new set of voting data with the same spatial structure but a different statewide partisan percentage for each party.

### 3.4 Structure of Maps and Rank-Ordered Marginal Boxplots and Histograms

While the partisan seat count is clearly a quantity of interest, it can be less effective at illuminating the structure of a map that also explores how the elections are won. To this end, we introduce the *Rank-Ordered Marginal Boxplots and Histograms*. These are formed by considering the partisan vote fraction for one of the political parties (say the Democrats, or equally the Republicans) in each of the districts for a given redistricting plan. These marginal vote fractions are then ordered from smallest to largest, that is to say; from most Republican district to most Democratic district. These ordered numbers are then tabulated over all of the plans in the ensemble.

The Rank-Ordered Marginal Boxplots plot the typical range of the most Republican district to most Democratic district. Ranges are represented by box-plots. In these box-plots, 50% of all plans have corresponding ranked districts that lie within the box; the median is given by the line within the box; the ticks mark the 2.5%, 10%, 90% and 97.5% quartiles; the extent of the lines outside of the boxes represent the range of results observed in the ensemble. The number of boxes is the same as the number of seats. That is 120 seats for the NC House, 50 seats for the NC Senate, and 14 seats for the NC Congressional Delegation. Any box that lies above the 50% line on the vertical axis will elect (or typically elect) a Democrat; any box that lies below the 50% line will elect (or typically elect) a Republican.

We take the enacted plan with each set of votes and plot the ordered district returns over the box plots. If the districts of an enacted plan lie either far above or far below the ensemble at a particular ranking, this can indicate that the district was either packed or cracked to provide an atypical result.

## 4 State Legislature

Using historic voting data, we compare election results under the enacted districting plans for the North Carolina House and North Carolina Senate with election results under a collection of non-partisan maps. One strength of this method is that it makes no assumptions in advance about what structure an election should have such as a relation to proportional representation or some type of symmetry considerations. We examine both the number of seats that would have been won under these vote counts, along with the expected margins of victory.

### 4.1 State Legislature: Overview of Findings

### 4.2 State Legislature: Overview of Method

We generate a collection of alternative restricting maps using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods, and used this collection to characterize what would be expected if only non-partisan redistricting criteria were used. We have described this method in detail in our academic work. See [7, 3, 8, 10, 1, 2]. (References in this report to numbers in brackets are to articles cited in a numbered bibliography at the end of this report). No partisan information is used to construct this ensemble of maps; only the generally accepted districting criteria of approximately equal population per district, contiguous and relatively compact districts, reducing traversals, and keeping counties, precincts, and municipalities whole.

For both the NC House and NC Senate, we generate a *Primary Ensemble* whose non-partisan properties are close to those of the enacted plan. Because of this, we sometimes label this plan as the *Matched Ensemble*. For both the NC Senate and NC House, we produce a *Secondary Ensemble* which makes different policy choices concerning the preservation of municipalities. In a third ensemble built, we also consider the pairing of incumbents.

The ensembles are generated by using the Metropolis-Hasting Markov Chain Monte Carlo Algorithm in a parallel tempering framework which employs proposal from the Multiscale Forest RECOM algorithm [2, 1] and the single-node flip algorithm [7]. Using these proposals, the Metropolis-Hasting algorithm is then used to produce samples from the desired policy-informed, non-partisan distribution on redistrictings; such algorithms are widely accepted for sampling high-dimensional distributions. The Markov Chain Monte Carlo and Metropolis-Hasting algorithms are a cornerstone of modern computational statistics, protein folding and drug discovery, and weather prediction. They date back to at least the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos are used in a huge range of mathematical and statistical applications.

The distributions we use are defined to be concentrated on districting plans that contain districts near the ideal district population based on the one-person-one-vote principle (including the 5% population deviation acceptable for legislative districts). They are also designed to produce contiguous districts that are relatively compact and to reduce the number of counties and, in some cases, the number of people split out of a municipality. For the Primary Ensemble, the distribution on redistricting plans is tuned so that these non-partisan qualities, including the number of counties, municipalities, and precincts which are split, are similar to the enacted plan. We also respect the county-clustering requirement for State Legislative maps.

We will see that the enacted NC Senate preserves municipalities to a high degree; in a way consistent with the most municipality preserving distributions we could produce. Hence, we also provide a *Secondary Ensemble* for the NC Senate which does not explicitly preserve municipalities (thought compactness and the county preservation lead to a degree of municipality preservation.) It coincides with the primary ensemble properties in other respects.

For the NC house, we will see that the enacted plan is not as stringent in its municipality preservation, and that respecting the other criteria could naturally create many plans that better preserve municipalities than the enacted plan. Since we have tuned our primary ensemble to match the level of municipality preservation in the enacted plan, which include a Secondary Ensemble for the NC house we is better at preserving municipalities.

As the guidance from the legislature at the start of the redistricting process stated that one “may consider municipality preservation” (in contrast to other directives which were not optional), all four of these ensembles meet the guidance given by the legislature. As already mentioned, we also provide a third ensemble for both the NC house and NC Senate which is derived from the primary ensemble, but considers the double-bunking of incumbents.

In all cases using the Metropolis-Hasting Markov Chain Monte Carlo Algorithm, we can produce a mathematically representative sample of the redistricting plans that comply with the criteria described.

### 4.3 County Clusters for State Legislature

In *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 562 S.E.2d 377 (N.C. 2002), the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that North Carolina’s state legislative districts should be clustered into groups of counties and that no district should cross between two of the “county clusters.” As part of our non-partisan work concerning redistricting, we implemented the algorithmic part of the *Stephenson Ruling* in a publicly available open-source piece of software [4]. We used this computer software to produce the county clusterings used in this report. The resulting clusterings were described in our publicly released report which can be found here [5]. We understand that the NC Legislature also used this report to determine the possible clusterings. In any case, the clusterings we found coincide with those discussed by the legislature.

There is not a unique choice of statewide clustering. Rather there are parts of the state which can only be clustered in one way, while there are two ways to cluster the counties in other regions. In the state Senate, there are 17 clusters containing 36 of the 50 districts that are fixed based on determining optimal county clusters. These are represented by the color county groupings in Figure 4.3.1. The white numbers annotating each county clustering give the number of districts that the county cluster should contain. Ten of these clusters contain one district, meaning that ten of the 50 senate districts are fixed by the county clusters. The remaining county clusters must be further subdivided into legislative districts. The remaining 14 counties, shown in gray on the map in Figure 4.3.1 are distributed among four groups, each containing two clustering options. Following the nomenclature in [5], we will label the cluster groups by the letters A, B, C, and D. Each group consists of two different possible clusterings which we will label with the numbers 1 and 2. Thus, the first choice in cluster A is labeled A1, and the second choice A2. A complete choice of county clusters then consists of one choice from the A group, the B group, the C group, and the D group.

Similarly, in the NC State House, there are 33 clusters containing 107 of the 120 districts that are fixed based on determining optimal county clusters. These are represented by the color county groupings in Figure 4.3.2. Again, the white numbers annotating each county clustering give the number of districts that the county cluster should contain. Eleven of these clusters contain one district, meaning that eleven of the 120 house districts are fixed by the clustering process. The remaining clusters (shown in gray) are separated into three groups each containing two clustering options. As before, the groups will be demoted by the letters A, B, and C with each of the two options in each group labeled with the numbers 1 or 2.

More details can be found in [5] and [4]. It should be noted that the algorithm used to produce these clusterings only implements the algorithmic portion of the *Stephenson v. Bartlett*. In particular, it does not address any compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

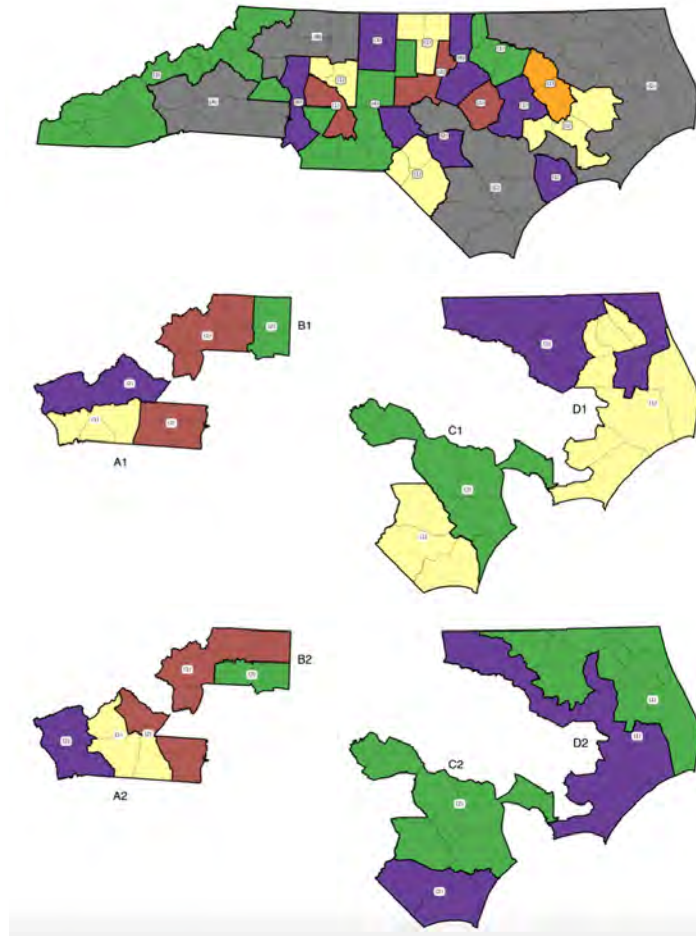


Figure 4.3.1: Senate

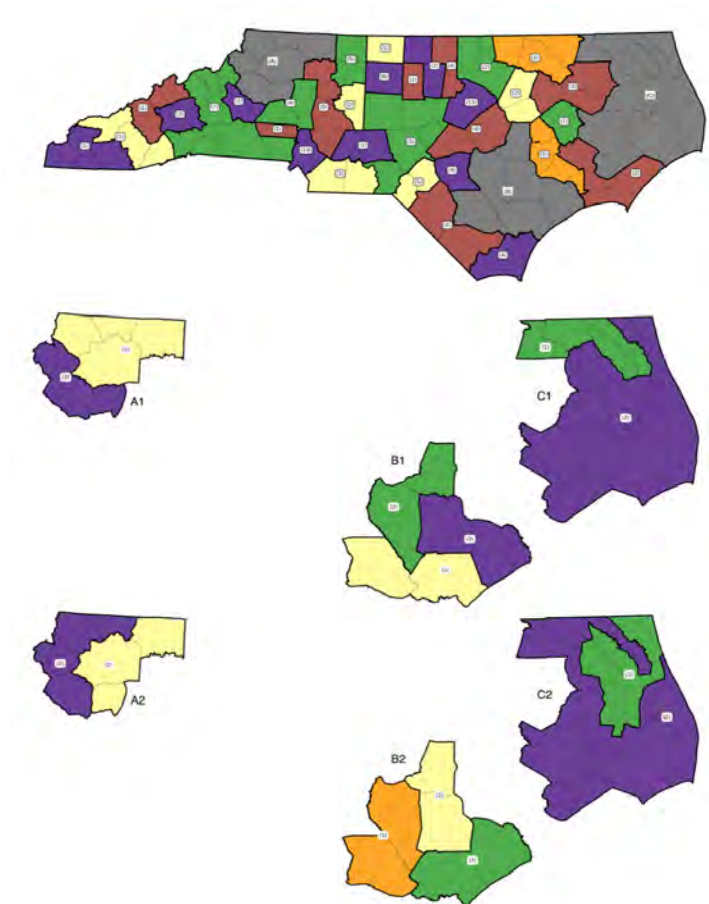


Figure 4.3.2: House

#### 4.4 State Legislature: Ensemble Overview

We now give more details on the different distributions already sketched in Section 4.2. They represent different distributions that emphasize different policies consistent with the Legislature’s guidance and historical precedents. All the distributions from which we build our ensembles respect the county clusters we derived in [6] by algorithmically implementing the ruling *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 562 S.E.2d 377 (N.C. 2002). That is to say in both the State House and State Senate, the state is segmented into groups of counties referred to as *county clusters* so that the population of each county cluster can be divided into a number of districts each with a population within 5% of the ideal district population. The county clusters are different for the State House and State Senate as the number of districts, and hence the ideal district populations, are different. Each district is constrained to lay entirely within one county cluster.

Beyond the county cluster requirement all of our primary and secondary ensembles for both chambers also satisfy the following constraints:

- The maps minimize the number of split counties. The 2021 redistricting criteria state that “Within county groupings, county lines shall not be traversed except as authorized by Stephenson I, Stephenson II, Dickson I, and Dickson II.”
- Districts traverse counties as few times as possible.
- All districts are required to consist of one contiguous region.
- Except for two exceptions, the deviation of the total population in any district is within 5% of the ideal district population. The two special cases are explained in Section 10.1.
- Voting tabulation districts (i.e. VTDs or precincts) are not split (see again the two exceptions with population deviation in Section 10.1)
- Compactness: The distributions on redistricting plans are constructed so that a plan with a larger total isoperimetric ratio is less likely than those with a lower total isoperimetric ratio. (See Section 10.1 for a definition of the isoperimetric ratio.) The total isoperimetric ratio of a redistricting plan is simply the sum of the isoperimetric ratios over each district. The isoperimetric ratio is the reciprocal of the Polsby-Popper score; hence, smaller isoperimetric ratio corresponds to larger Polsby-Popper scores. The General Assembly stated in its guidance that the plans should be compact according to the Polsby-Popper score or the Reock score [9]. We have found that while the Reock is useful when comparing two districts. However, the Polsby-Popper/isoperimetric score is a better measure when generating district computationally. In our previous work, we have seen that this choice did not qualitatively change our conclusions (see [7] and the expert report in *Common Cause v. Rucho*).

We tuned our primary ensemble so that compactness scores of the ensemble were comparable to those of the enacted plan. See Section 7, for plots showing the compactness scores.

**Municipality Preservation:** We now come to the property which distinguishes the Primary and Secondary ensembles. In both chambers of the NC Legislature, we tune the primary ensemble to match the level of municipalities preservation to those seen in the enacted plan. Since municipality preservation is concerned with keeping the voters of a particular municipality together as a block, we concentrate on the number of *ousted voters*. Ousted voters are those who have been removed from the districts which primarily contain the other members of the municipalities. We construct the ensemble to control the total number of ousted voters across the entire state. More details are given in Section 10.1. As already mentioned, we tune the Secondary ensembles differently for the two chambers. Since the Enacted Senate plan was at the lowest end of municipality splitting we observed, we have included a secondary ensemble in the Senate which did not explicitly consider municipality reservation. In the NC House, since the enacted plan did not preserve municipalities to the level we found possible, we included a secondary ensemble which better preserved municipalities.

**Incumbency:** The effect of incumbency are addressed in a subsequent section of this report.

#### 4.5 Construction of Statewide Ensembles for State Legislature

Statewide ensembles are created by drawing samples from a number of “sub-ensembles.” Because of the county cluster structure, we can sample each county cluster independently of the other county clusters. In the house, we sample the Wake and Mecklenburg county cluster groups separately from the rest of the state as they have many more precincts and districts. In the Senate, we sample the Wake county cluster independently since it must split precincts to achieve the 5% population

balance. There are several regions of the state that have multiple options for county clusters and we sample each of the county clustering options separately. We then sample the remainder of the state together.

We combine these sub-ensembles by first choosing which of the county clustering options will be used, treating all options equally. With these fixed, we then choose a map from each of the other sub-ensembles and combine them to produce a statewide map. We used this procedure to create an ensemble of 100,000 maps. These ensembles of statewide maps were used to generate the various figures. This number was chosen as it proved to be sufficient for the statistics of the quantities of interest to have converged. That is to say that adding additional maps to the ensemble did not change the results. See Section 7.1 for more details on the sampling method.

## 4.6 Election Data Used in Analysis

The historic elections we consider are from the year 2016 and 2020. We only consider statewide elections. We will use the following abbreviations: AG for Attorney General, USS for United States Senate, CI for Commissioner of Insurance, LG for Lieutenant Governor, GV for Governor, TR for State Treasurer, SST for Secretary of State, AD for State Auditor, CA for Commissioner of Agriculture, and PR for United States President. We add to these abbreviations the last two digits of the year of the election. Hence CI16 is the vote data from the Commissioner of Insurance election in 2016.

## 5 State Legislature: Main Statewide Analysis

Our analysis shows that the enacted plan for the NC State House is an extreme gerrymander over a wide range of voter behavior seen historically in NC. The effect of this extreme gerrymander is to prevent the Democrats from winning as many seats as they would have had the maps been drawn in a neutral way without political considerations. This gerrymander is achieved by packing Democrats in a number of the most Democratic districts while depleting them from those districts which typically change hands when the public changes its expressed political opinion through the vote. The effect is particularly strong in situations where the Democrats would typically reduce a Republican supermajority to a simple majority. The enacted map often denies this transition. Similarly the enacted map again behaves in an anomalous fashion by under electing Democrats when the typical maps would almost always give the Democrats the majority in the House. This extreme outlier behavior is reflected in the behavior we see at the individual cluster level.

The effect in the Senate is less pronounced. At the cluster level there are a number of strong and extreme outliers signaling extreme partisan gerrymandering. At the statewide level, the structure of the map shows it to be an extreme outlier in the fashion in which Democrats are packed in certain districts and depleted from others. The effect at the statewide level is mostly seen when the Republicans are in danger of losing the supermajority in the Senate. Over this range the anomalous packing and cracking of Democrats leads to a number of extreme outlier behaviors which result in the Republicans maintaining the supermajority when they typically would have lost it under a non-partisan map from the ensemble.

Additionally we see that the reason that the Senate map is typical in many situations stems from the choice to highly conserve municipalities. The municipality preservation is at the extreme end of what we have observed. In contrast, the municipality preservation in the house is less extreme as we can easily create an ensemble which preserves municipalities to a higher degree. For the Senate plan, relaxing the requirement to preserve municipalities leads to an ensemble that is more favorable to the Democrats, meaning that the enacted plan would be an extreme outlier in more situations. Put differently, prioritizing municipality preservation in the Senate plan appears to enable more maps that favor Republicans. By contrast, for the House plan, where the enacted map does not prioritize preserving municipalities, my analysis finds that such a prioritization would not have favored the Republican party.

### 5.1 NC State House

Figure 5.1.1 shows the distribution of Democratic seats elected under a number of historical elections which capture plausible voting patterns in North Carolina elections. The elections are arranged vertically by the statewide Democratic vote share, from most Republican at the bottom to the most Democratic at the top. The Democratic seats elected under each election by the enacted plan is marked with a yellow dot.

It is important to remember that the single number of statewide vote fraction is not sufficient to categorize an election. Elections with similar statewide vote fractions can have dramatically different seat counts since the votes can be concentrated differently geographically. An example of this is shown in Figure 5.1.8 which shows the Collected Seat Histograms for an ensemble that places more weight on preserving municipalities than the enacted plan or the primary ensemble. Notice that

the AG20 votes produce more democratic seats typically than either AG16 or GV16 even though the statewide vote fraction of AG20 is sandwiched between AG16 and GV16. (Recall the definitions of these abbreviations given in Section 4.6.)

Returning to Figure 5.1.1, we see that the enacted map is atypical in its favoring of the Republican party in every one of the elections considered and an outlier or extreme outlier in the vast majority of the elections. Additionally, the enacted plan is an extreme outlier when the Republicans are likely to lose either the Super-majority or control of the chamber. Observe that in the vast majority of plans in the primary ensemble (Figure 5.1.1) the votes in PR16, LG20 and CL20 produce a simple majority for the Republican party in the NC State House (and not a supermajority). Yet under the enacted plan, the Republican Party maintains the supermajority in all three cases.

Similarly, in a large number of the ensemble plans the Democrats hold the majority in the chamber under the voting patterns given by AD20, SST20, and GV20. (Under GV20 the Democrats have the majority most of the time, under AD20 roughly half the time and under SST roughly 75% of the time.) Yet, under the enacted plan the results are extreme outliers, giving the Republicans the majority with a safety margin of a few seats in all cases.

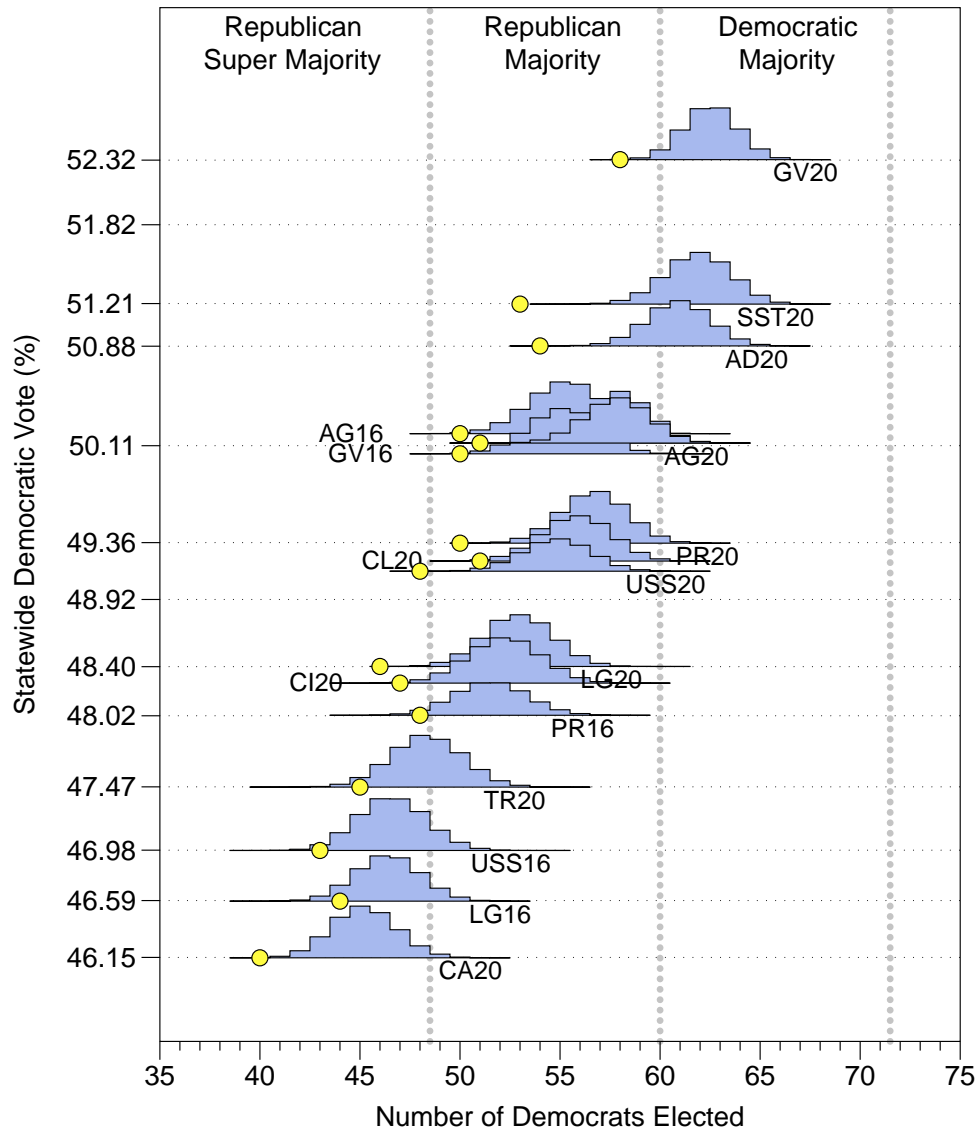


Figure 5.1.1: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House. The individual histograms give the frequency of the Democratic seat count for each of the statewide elections considered from the years 2016 and 2020. The histograms are organized vertically based on the statewide partisan vote fraction for each election. The more Republican elections are placed lower on the plot while more Democratic elections are placed higher. Three dotted lines denote the boundary between where the supermajorities and simple majorities are in force. The yellow dot represents the enacted plan.

As already observed, Figure 5.1.1 helps to identify the properties of the Enacted Map under different electoral environments. There is a clear trend as one moves to more Democratic elections, the atypical results (already tilted to toward

% Dem	Election	% Outlier	# Outlier	# Samples
52.32%	GV20	0.118%	118	100000
51.21%	SST20	0.000%	0	100000
50.88%	AD20	0.007%	7	100000
50.20%	AG16	0.451%	451	100000
50.13%	AG20	0.005%	5	100000
50.05%	GV16	0.399%	399	100000
49.36%	PR20	0.007%	7	100000
49.22%	CL20	0.759%	759	100000
49.14%	USS20	0.012%	12	100000
48.40%	LG20	0.009%	9	100000
48.27%	CI20	0.461%	461	100000
47.47%	TR20	5.569%	5569	100000
46.98%	USS16	3.066%	3066	100000
46.59%	LG16	11.778%	11778	100000
46.15%	CA20	0.094%	94	100000

Table 1: NC House Collected Seat Histogram Outlier Data. Starting from the left, the first column gives the statewide partisan makeup of the election under consideration whose abbreviation is given in the second column from the left. The right most column gives the total number of plans in the ensemble considered which is 100,000. The second column from the right gives the number of those 100,000 plans which elect the same or less Democrats under the given election. These are the plans which are as much or more of an outlier than the enacted map. The middle column is the percentage of plans which are more or equal of an outlier. (It is calculated by dividing the 2nd column from the right by 100,000 and multiplying by 100 to make a percentage.) The extremely low percentages in the middle column shows that the enacted plan is an extreme outlier across many different electoral settings.

the Republican party) in the more Republican elections in Figure 5.1.1 trend into extreme outliers as we shift to the more Democratic leaning elections.

To make the above table more quantitative, in Table 1 we tabulated the number of maps which produced the same or fewer seats for the Democrats in each of the elections we consider. We see that the enacted map is an extreme outlier. Across the vast majority of elections, the house map behaves as an extreme outlier in favor of the Republican party.

In the three elections where the results are not an extreme outlier (TR20, USS16, and LG16), the enacted plan is still atypically tilted to favor the Republican party. These three elections have a strong statewide Republican vote fraction. Hence, there is no need for a gerrymander as the Republicans have the needed votes to often keep a supermajority under even a typical map.

We will see in Figure ?? and 5.1.3 below that when these three elections are shifted (using the uniform swing hypothesis) to produce plausible voting fractions at a larger statewide Democratic vote fraction, then the results are also extreme outliers.

It is also worth noting that the bias in the enacted plan from what non-partisan map would produce systematically is the favor of the Republican party. Not once is the tilt even mildly in the favor of the Democrats.

To better control for other variation, we now include a number of Collected Seat Histograms built from a single election which has been shifted to create a sequence of elections with different statewide partisan vote fractions but the same spatial voting pattern.

In Figures 5.1.2 and ??, we see that the same phenomena from Figure 5.1.1 is repeated again and again. As the vote share increases to the point where the primary ensemble for the NC House would typically break the Republicans supermajority, the enacted plan under elects Democrats to an extent which makes it an extreme outlier. This exceptional under-electing of Democrats persists past the point where almost all of the ensemble maps would have given the majority to the Democrats. In many cases the enacted map fails to respond to the shifting will of the electorate, leaving the control in the Republican hands. In addition to presenting these figures, we have also animated this affect with movies that have been submitted.

To better understand the structures responsible at the district level for the extreme outlier behavior seen in Table 2 and Figures 5.2.1 to 5.2.2, we now turn to the rank-order-boxplots as described in Section 3.4. It is easy to see the abnormal structures of the enacted plan which are responsible for its extreme outlier behavior. The pattern revealed is one often seen in gerrymandered maps; namely *packing and cracking*. This refers to the depleting of one party from districts which typically would be competitive but often elect a representative from their party and instead place them in districts which were already overwhelmingly safe for either party. In Figures 5.1.4, 5.1.5, and 5.1.6, a version of this pattern is repeated. The number of Democrats seen in the districts which usually would be moderate in their partisan makeup has been decreased with a corresponding increase in the number of Democrats in the more Democratic districts where their presence has little effect

– Ex. 6485 –

on the election outcome. We give the specifics in the captions of each figure. We will see that this type of structure will be repeated in many of the individual clusters which are analyzed in Section 6.1. In addition to presenting these figures, we have also animated this affect with movies that have been submitted.

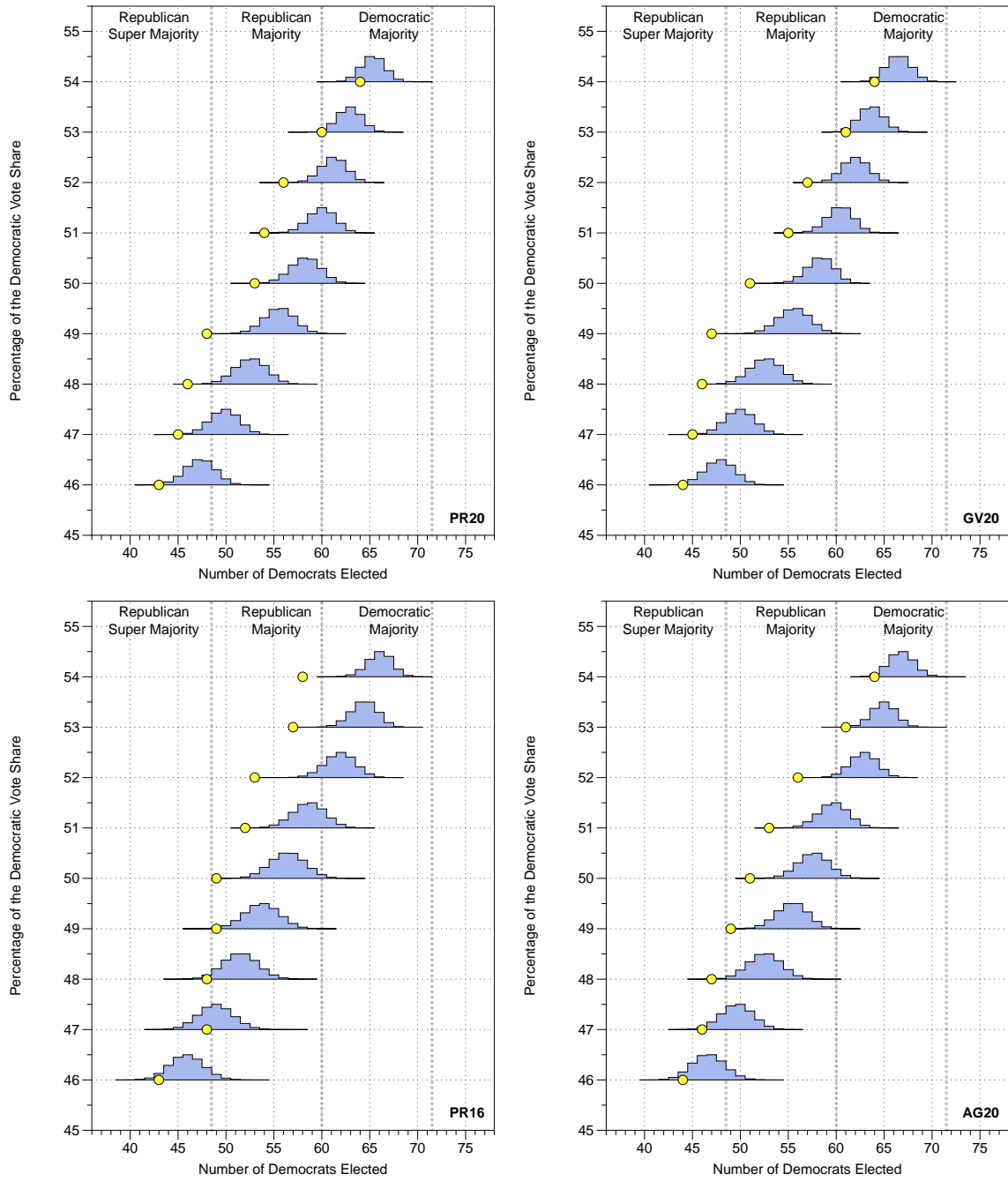


Figure 5.1.2: The individual histograms give the frequency of the Democratic seat count in the ensemble for each of the shown statewide elections, with a uniform swing. The histograms are organized vertically based on the statewide partisan vote fraction. The more Republican swings are placed lower on the plot while more Democratic swings are placed higher. Three dotted lines denote the boundary between where the supermajorities and simple majorities are in force. The yellow dot is the enacted plan.

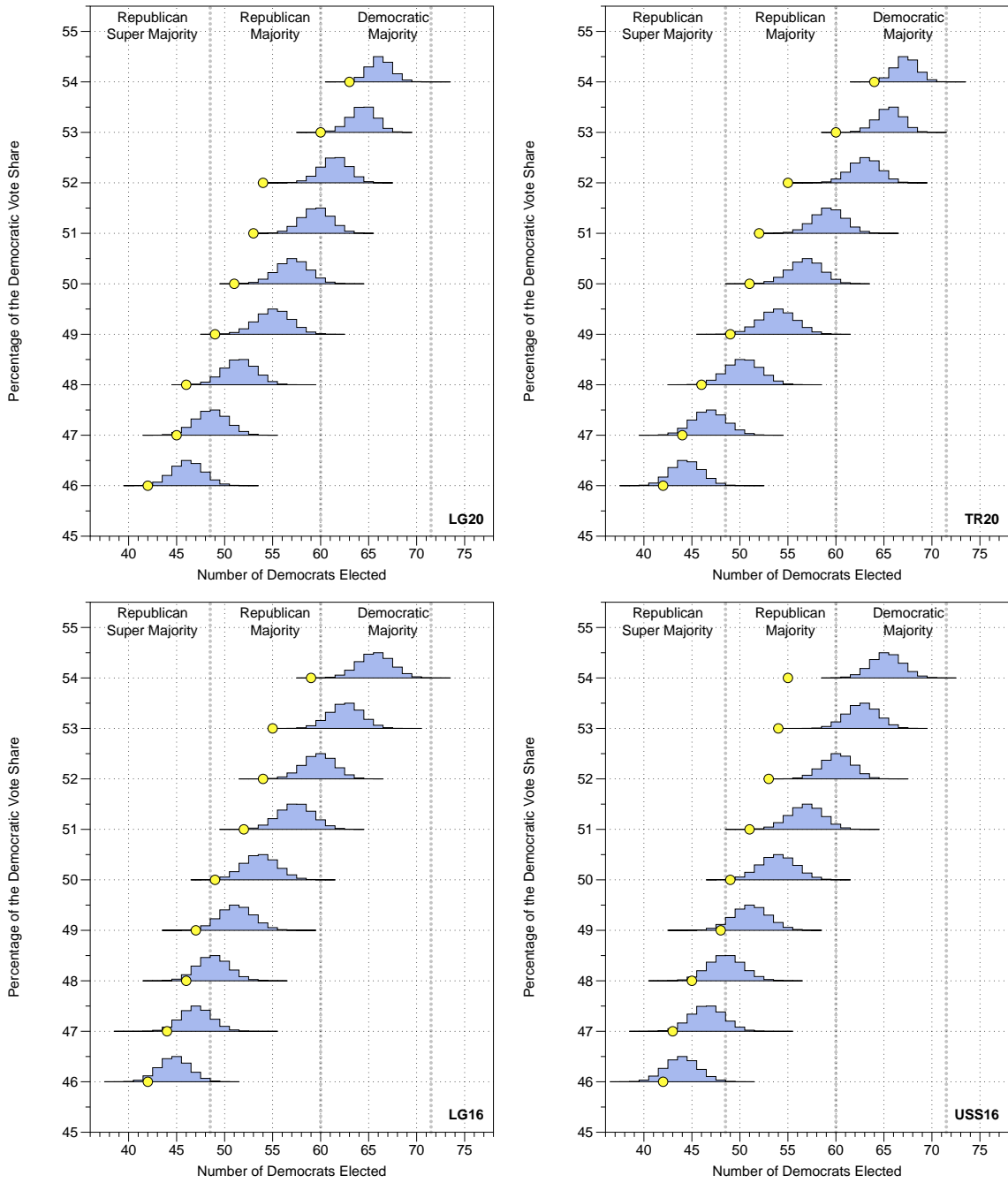


Figure 5.1.3: The individual histograms give the frequency of the Democratic seat count in the ensemble for each of the shown statewide elections, with a uniform swing. The histograms are organized vertically based on the statewide partisan vote fraction. The more Republican swings are placed lower on the plot while more Democratic swings are placed higher. Three dotted lines denote the boundary between where the supermajorities and simple majorities are in force. The yellow dot is the enacted plan.

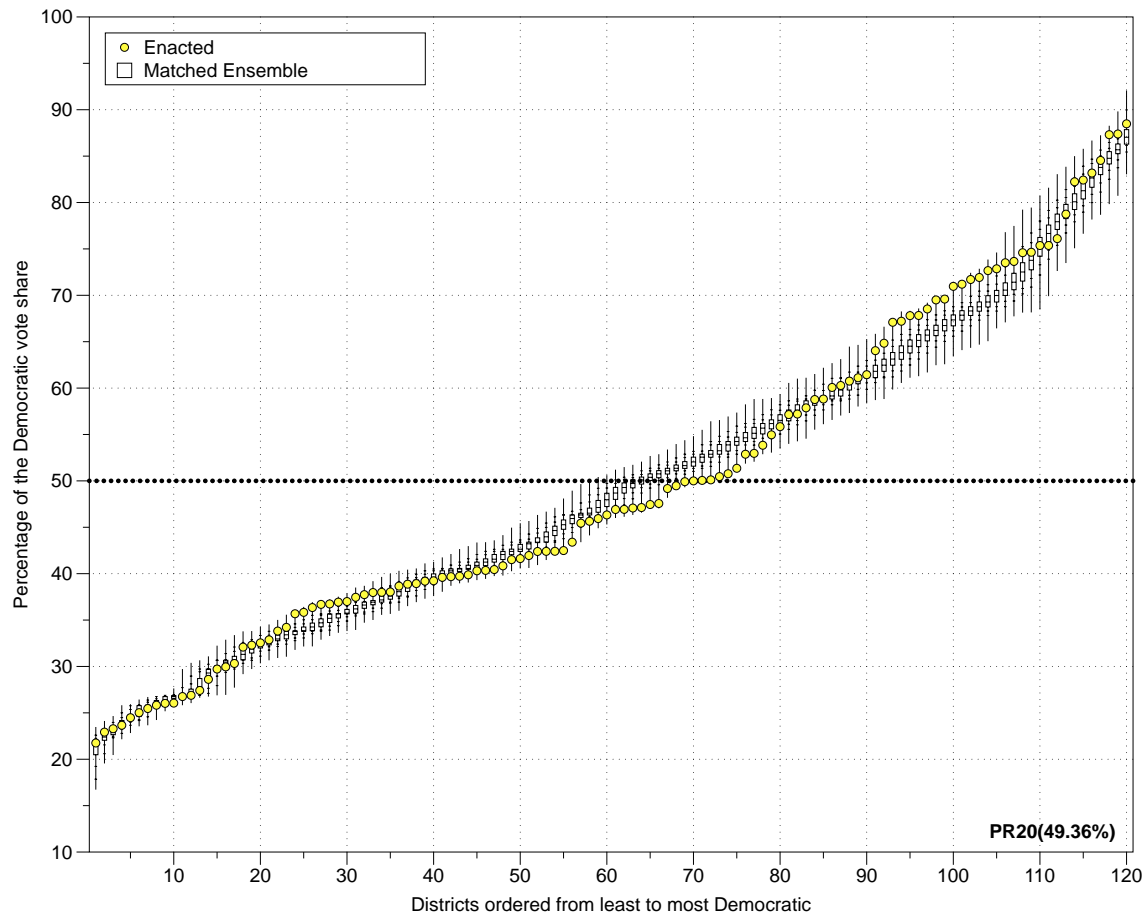


Figure 5.1.4: The yellow dots represent the democratic vote fraction of the enacted map under the PR20 vote count when the district are ordered from most Republican on the left to most Democratic in vote share on the right. The box-plots show the range of the same statistic plotted over the primary ensemble. From around the 60th to 80th district the yellow dots all well below the boxplots of the ensemble. This result is that many dots fall well below the dotted 50% line than usually would; and hence more Republicans are elected than typical. To achieve this effect, the fraction of Democrats is increased in the already strongly democratic district ranging from the 90th to 105th most Democratic districts. This structure does not exist in the non-partisan ensemble and is responsible for the maps extreme outlier behavior.

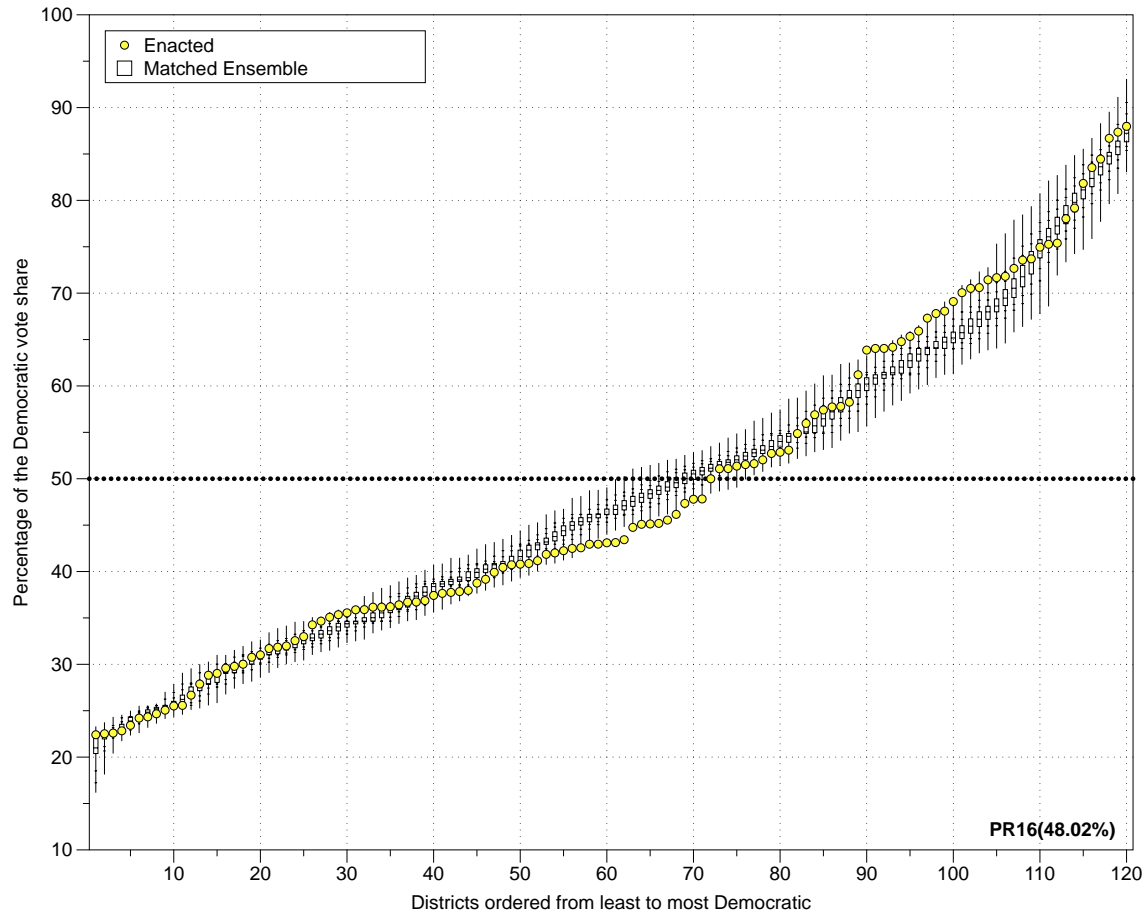


Figure 5.1.5: A similar structure to that seen in Figure 5.1.4 is repeated here. The low 50s to the high 70s have had the number of democrats depleted while the districts from the high80s to around 105 have an excess of Democrats.

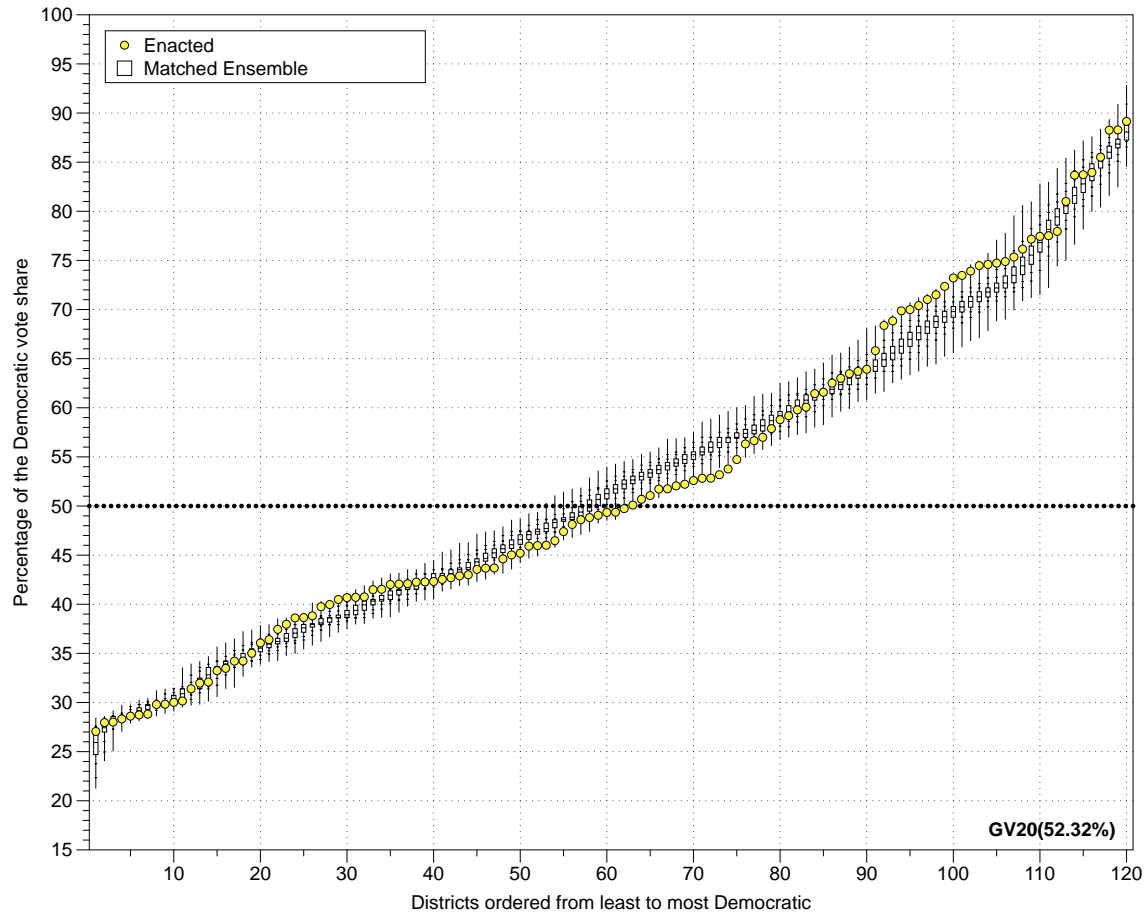


Figure 5.1.6: Mirroring what was seen in Figure 5.1.4 and Figure 5.1.5, we have abnormally few Democrats from around the 60th to the 80th most Republican and abnormally many Democrats pact in the districts in the low 90s to the just below 110.

### NC House: Primary Ensemble considering Incumbency.

Figure 5.1.7 shows the Collected Seat Histogram analogous to Figure 5.1.1, but for an ensemble which pairs the same or fewer incumbents than the enacted plan. The other considerations are left unchanged from the Primary ensemble. Comparing the two figures, we see no qualitative change in the behavior of the ensemble. Hence the previous conclusions continue to hold. In particular, a desire to prevent the pairing of incumbents cannot explain the extreme outlier behavior of the enacted plan.

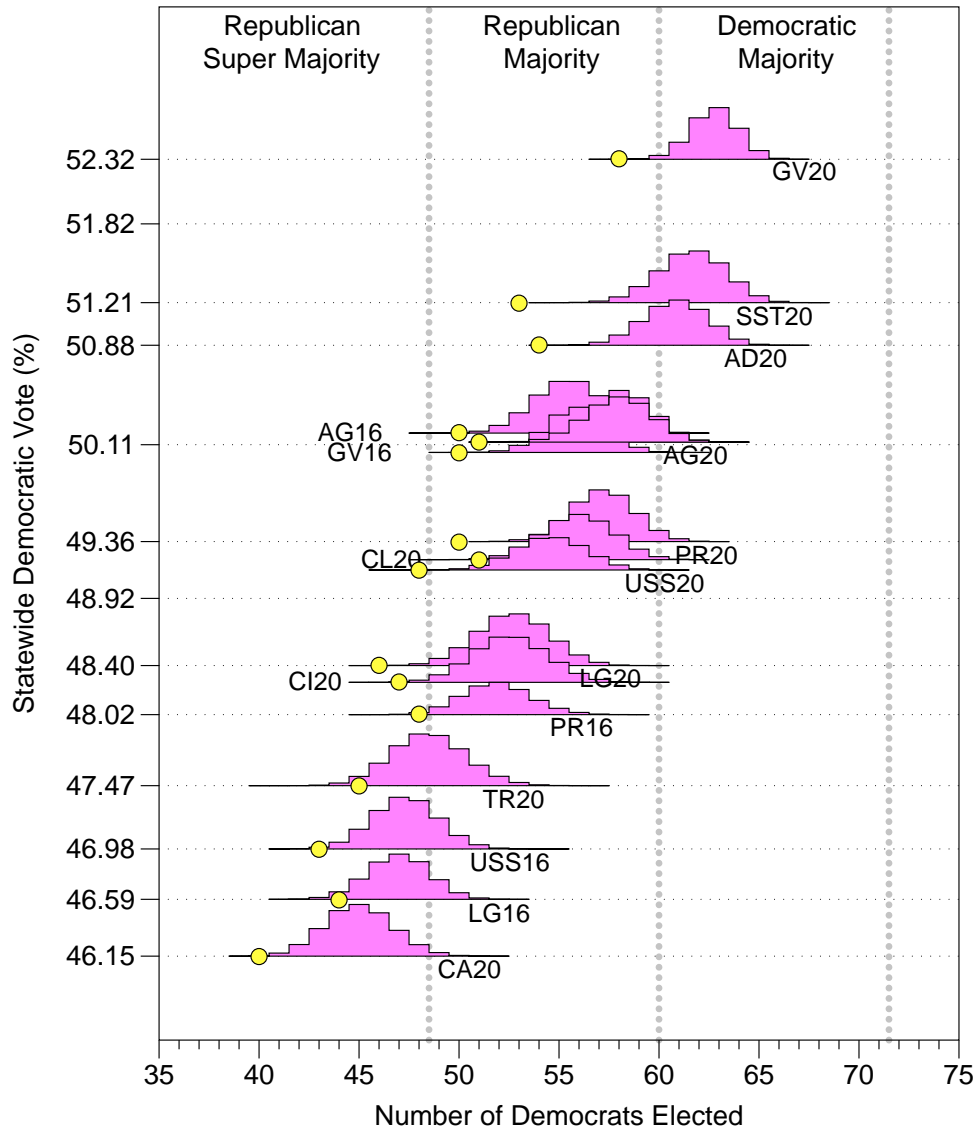


Figure 5.1.7: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House with incumbency considerations added. See Figure 5.1.1 for full description.

### NC House: Secondary Distribution

The ensemble used to produce Figure 5.1.8, put more weight on preserving municipalities than either the enacted plan or the Primary Ensemble, which is tuned to match the enacted plan. This enacted plan is still an extreme outlier with respect to this secondary ensemble. We still see that the enacted map resists relinquishing the supermajority under PR16, CI20 and LG20 when this secondary ensemble almost always does. Similarly as the elections become more Democratic in AD20, SST20 and GV20 and the ensemble regularly would give the majority to the Democrats the enacted map dramatically under elects Democrats. In other words, we find that if the mapmakers had made an effort to prioritize preservation of municipalities in the House, that effort would not have led to a map that was more likely to favor Republicans.

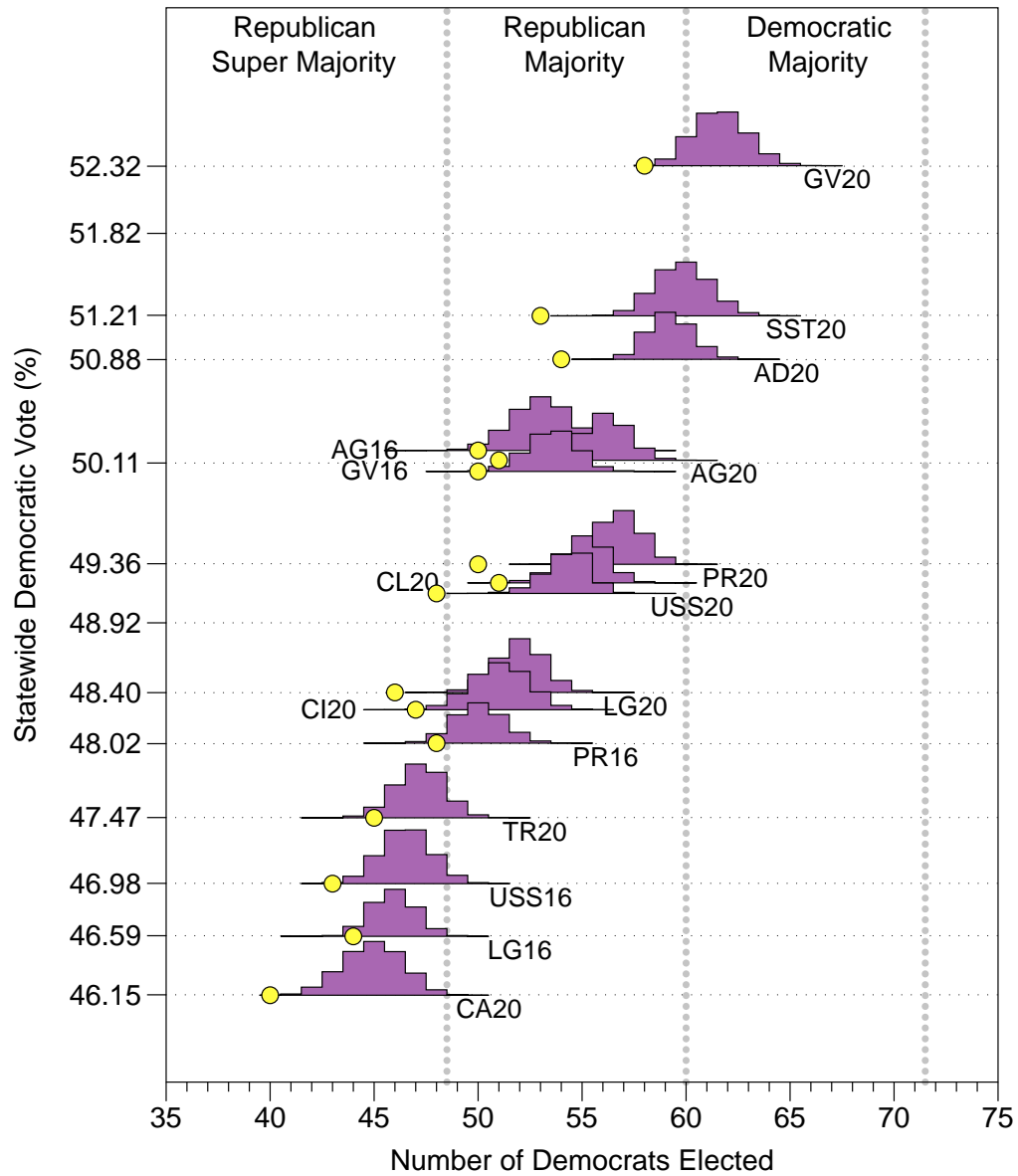


Figure 5.1.8: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Secondary Ensemble on the NC House. The Secondary Ensemble for the NC House is centered on distributions which better preserve municipalities than the enacted plan. See Figure 5.1.1 for full description.

% Dem	Election	% Outlier	# Outlier	# Samples
52.32%	GV20	16.343%	16343	100000
51.21%	SST20	35.184%	35184	100000
50.88%	AD20	42.880%	42880	100000
50.20%	AG16	12.129%	12129	100000
50.13%	AG20	4.332%	4332	100000
50.05%	GV16	0.075%	75	100000
49.36%	PR20	6.220%	6220	100000
49.22%	CL20	5.365%	5365	100000
49.14%	USS20	14.052%	14052	100000
48.40%	LG20	0.000%	0	100000
48.27%	CI20	0.322%	322	100000
47.47%	TR20	5.726%	5726	100000
46.98%	USS16	43.176%	43176	100000
46.59%	LG16	44.943%	44943	100000
46.15%	CA20	1.123%	1123	100000

Table 2: NC Senate Collected Seat Histogram Outlier Data. Starting from the left, the first column gives the statewide partisan makeup of the election under consideration whose abbreviation is given in the second column from the left. The right most column gives the total number of plans in the ensemble considered which is 100,000. The second column from the right gives the number of those 100,000 plans which elect the same or less Democrats under the given election. These are the plans which are as much or more of an outlier than the enacted map. The middle column is the percentage of plans which are more or equal of an outlier. (It is calculated by dividing the 2nd column from the right by 100,000 and multiplying by 100 to make a percentage.) The number of fairly small to extremely small percentage in the middle column between 50.13% (AG20) and 47.47% (TR20) are another signature of the anomalous behavior seen visually in Figure 5.2.1 over the same range of vote percentages.

## 5.2 NC State Senate

We will see in our cluster-by-cluster analysis that the NC Senate map has a number of clusters that are outliers. Their structures are systematically in favor of the Republican party. As discussed in Section 3.2, we often see maps that express their outlier status under a specific voting climate; often when one party is in danger of losing the majority or super-majority. The enacted map for the NC Senate shows this behavior.

Figure 5.2.1 is the plot for the NC Senate analogous to Figure 5.1.1, which was for the NC House. Most of the outlier behavior at the state level for the enacted NC Senate map is concentrated in the interval between 47.5% statewide Democratic vote share and around 50.5% statewide Democratic vote share. In this range, the enacted map is always an outlier and often an extreme outlier under the votes considered. This range is significant for a number of reasons. First, this is a range of statewide vote fraction where many North Carolina elections occur. Secondly, looking at Figure 5.2.1 we see that over this range the ensemble shows that one should expect the Republican super-majority (less than 21 Democratic Seats) to switch to a simple Republican majority (between 21 and 24 Democratic Seats). Yet the enacted map often resists this switch, breaking the supermajority only when the PR20 and CL20 votes are considered. In both of these elections, the ensemble places the typical number of Democratic seats well away from the supermajority line and centered between it and the simple majority line.

To make Figure 5.2.1 more quantitative, we have included Table 2 which shows the number of maps where the primary ensemble elects less democrates in that election than the enacted map.

Looking at Table 2 we see that a number of the elections in the critical partisan range of around 47.5% to 50% are extreme outliers (GV16, LG20, and CI20) while other (AG20, PR20, and TR20) show atypical behavior all favoring the Republican candidates. It is again important to notice that the enacted plan is never seen to favor the Democratic party relative to what is expected from the Primary non-partisan ensemble. The enacted map ranges between tilted to the Republican party to being an extreme partisan outlier. The importance of the range of statewide Democratic between 47.5% to 50% by looking at Figure 5.2.1. The primary ensemble shows that is within this range that one expect a Republican supermajority to become a simple majority. The effect of the enacted plan is to suppress this by under electing Democrats.

We will in the cluster-by-cluster analysis in Section 6.2 that a number of individual cluster are extreme outlier in their partisan structure.

To better control for other variation we now include a number of Collected Seat Histograms built from a single election which has been shifted to create a sequence of elections with different statewide partisan vote fractions but the same spatial voting pattern.

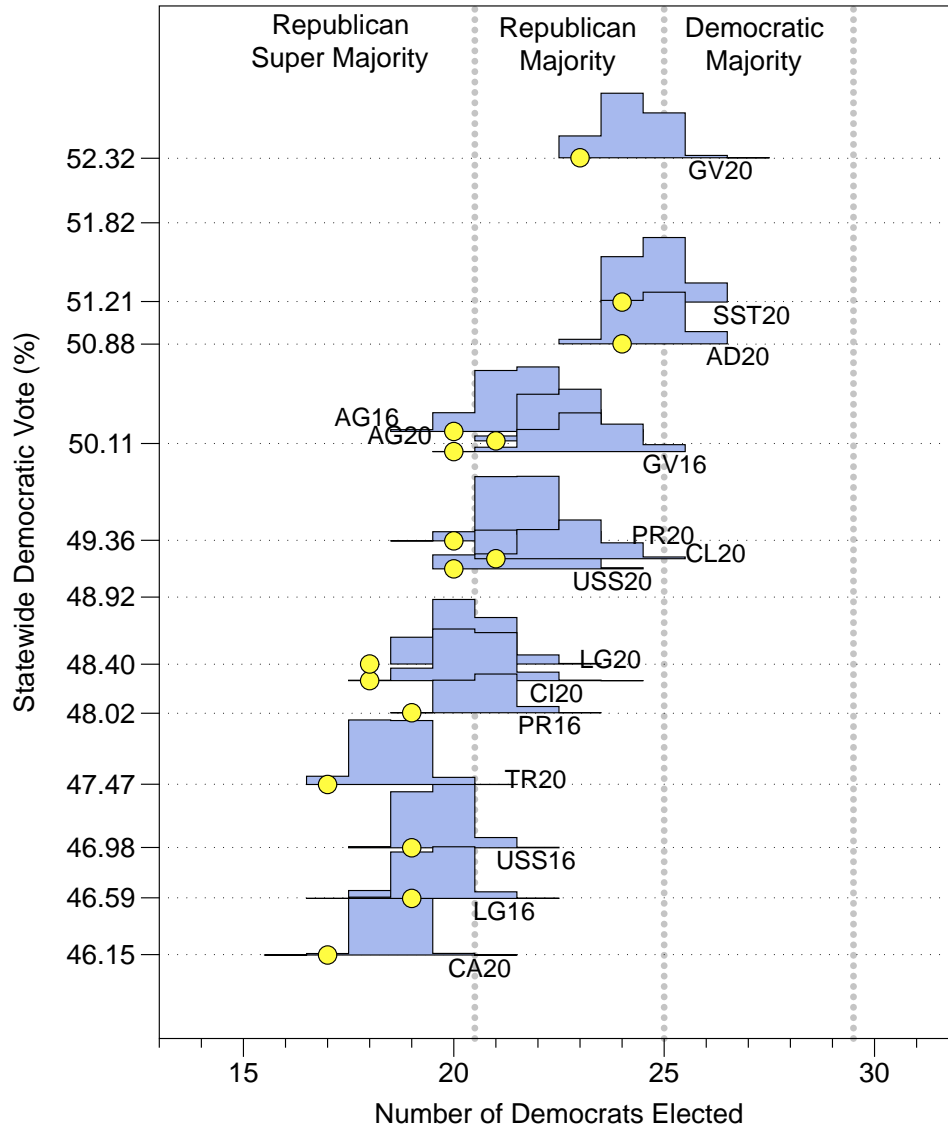


Figure 5.2.1: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Primary Ensemble on the NC Senate. The individual histograms give the frequency of the Democratic seat count for each of the statewide elections considered from the years 2016 and 2020. The histograms are organized vertically based on the statewide partisan vote fraction for each election. The more Republican elections are placed lower on the plot while more Democratic elections are placed higher. Three dotted lines denote the boundary between where the supermajorities and simple majorities are in force.

The large jump that we see in 5.2.3 to 5.2.5 the 33nd most Republican district and the 35th most Republican district means of over a large range of swings in the partisan character of the election the outcome will change at most by one seat.

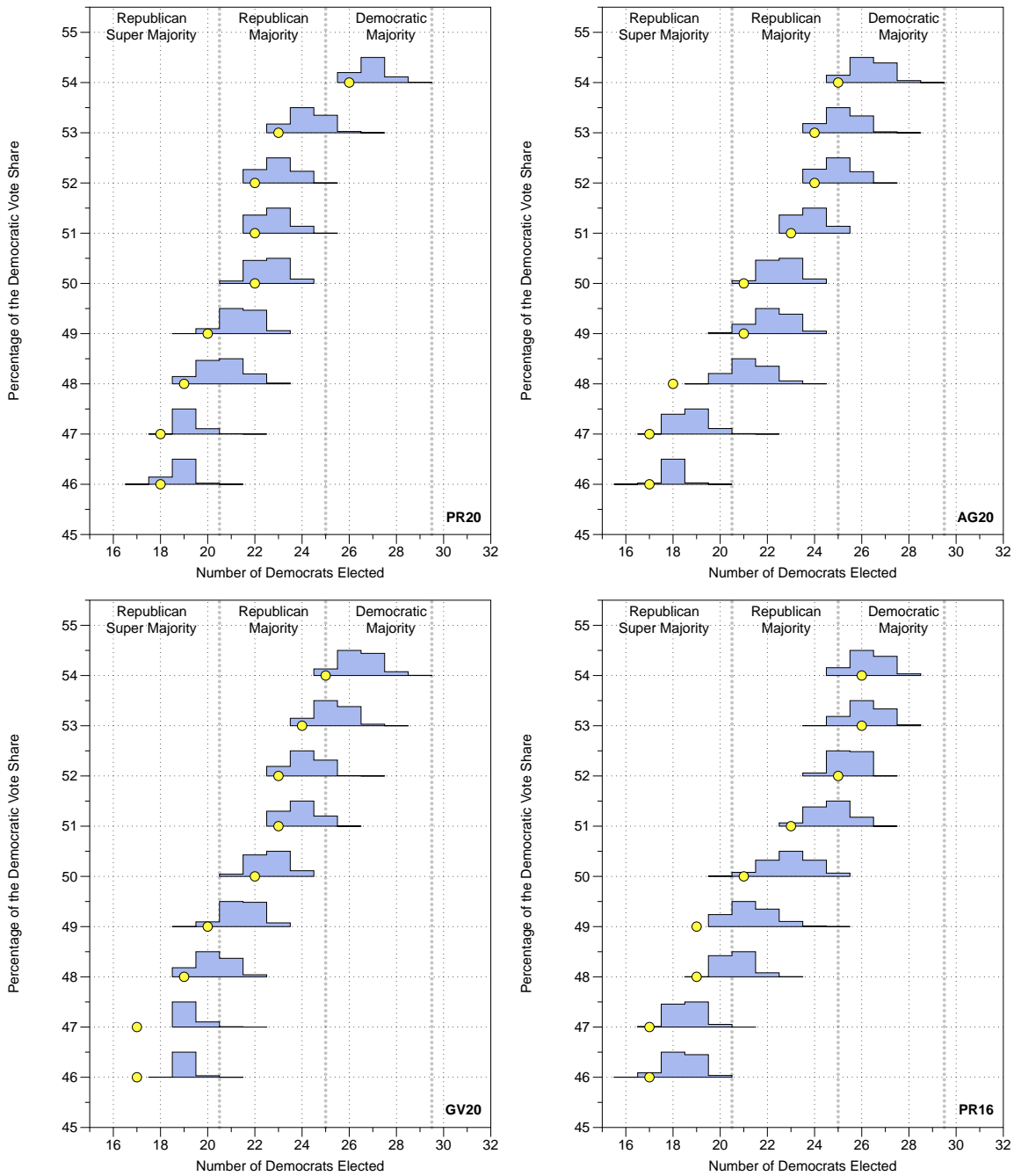


Figure 5.2.2: The Collected Seat Histograms for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House built from a collection of voting data generated via uniform swing.

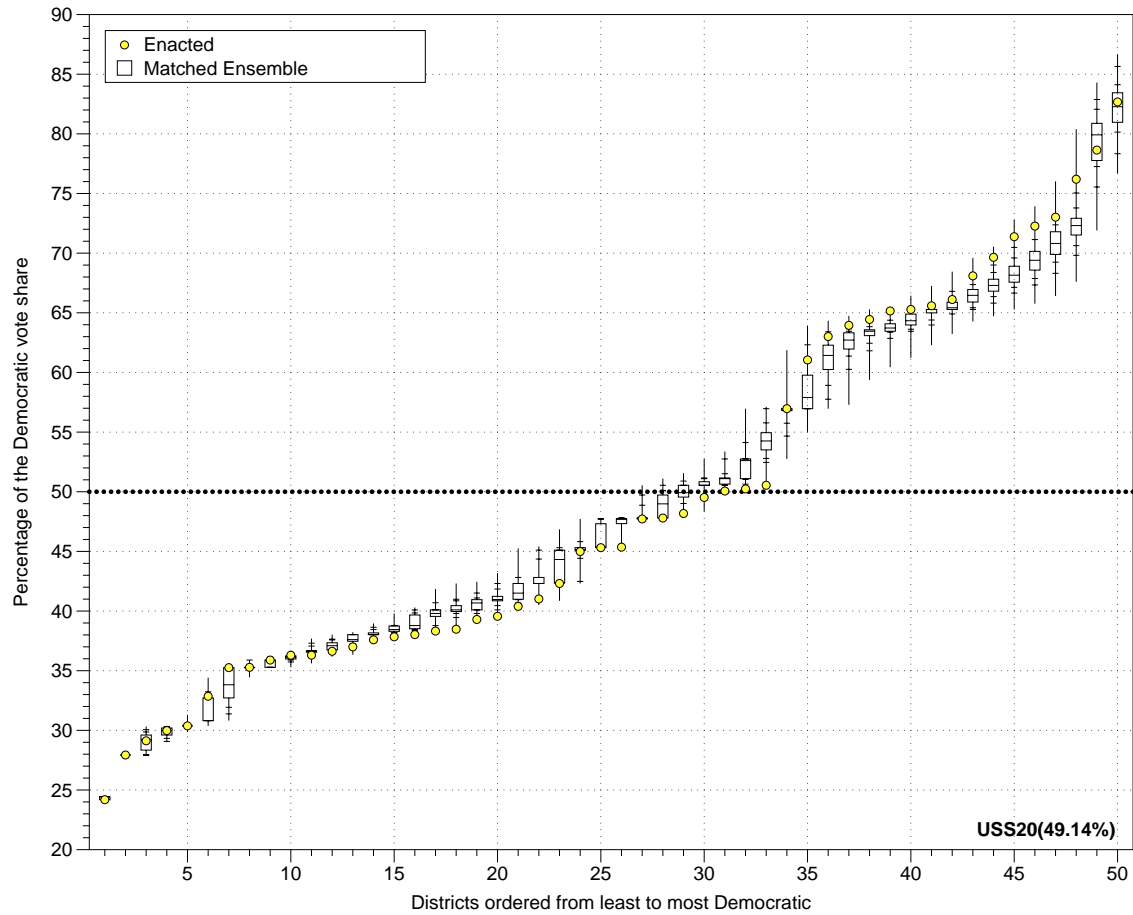


Figure 5.2.3: The yellow dots represent the democratic vote fraction of the enacted map under the USS20 vote count when the district are ordered from most Republican on the left to most Democratic in vote share on the right. The box-plots show the range of the same statistic plotted over the primary ensemble. Essentially all of the districts between the 15th most Republican and the 33rd most Republican have abnormally few Democrats. This is compensated by packing abnormally many Democrats the 35th to the 47th most Republican districts. This structure is an extreme outlier and does not occur in the ensemble.

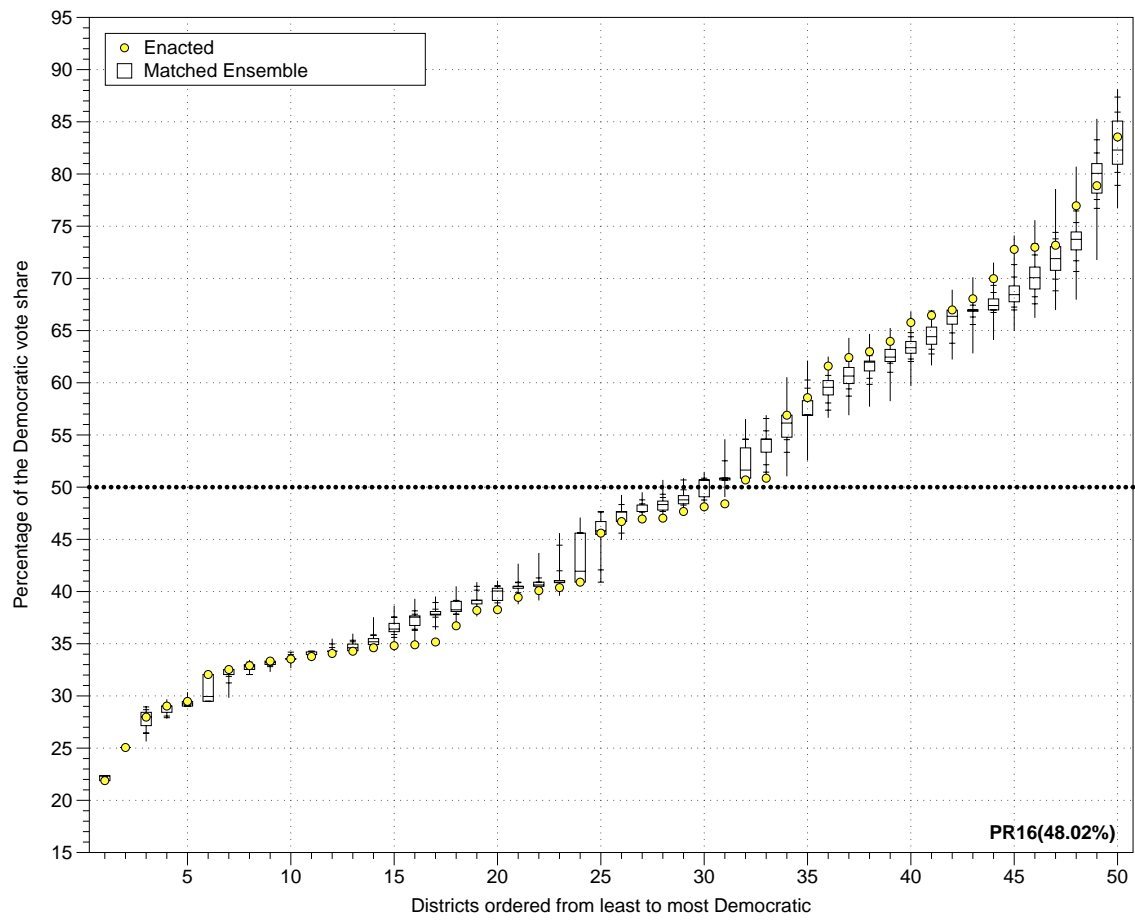


Figure 5.2.4: A similar structure to that seen in Figure 5.2.3 is repeated here over a nearly identical range of districts.

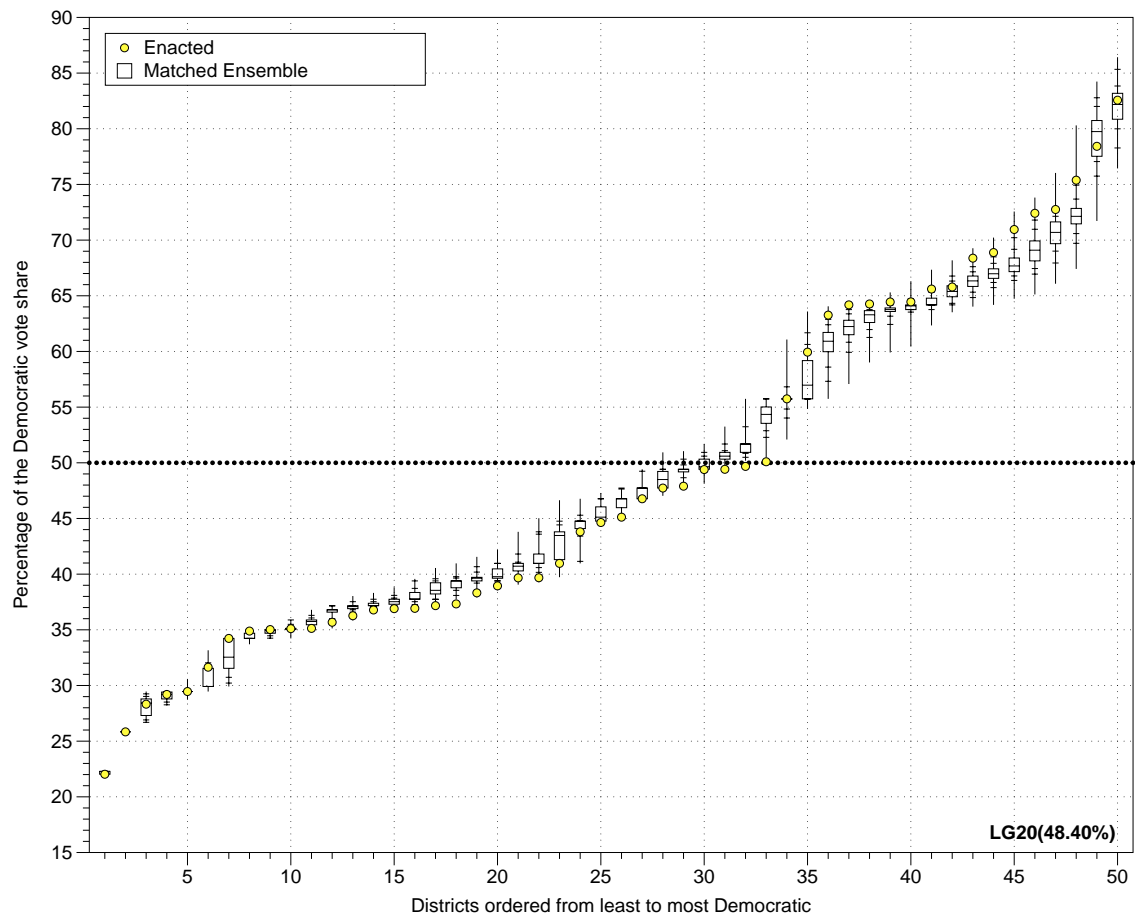


Figure 5.2.5: A similar structure to that seen in Figure 5.2.3 is repeated here.

**NC Senate: Primary Ensemble considering Incumbency.**

Preserving inclemency has little qualitative effect on the observations we have made. Looking at 5.2.6, we see that the election between and including GV16 and TR20 in the Figure 5.2.6 are all extreme outliers. This is in fact more extreme that the enacted map was under the Primary ensemble. It reinforces that this gerrymander seems to be most effective at the statewide level when the Republican supermajority is possible but in question.

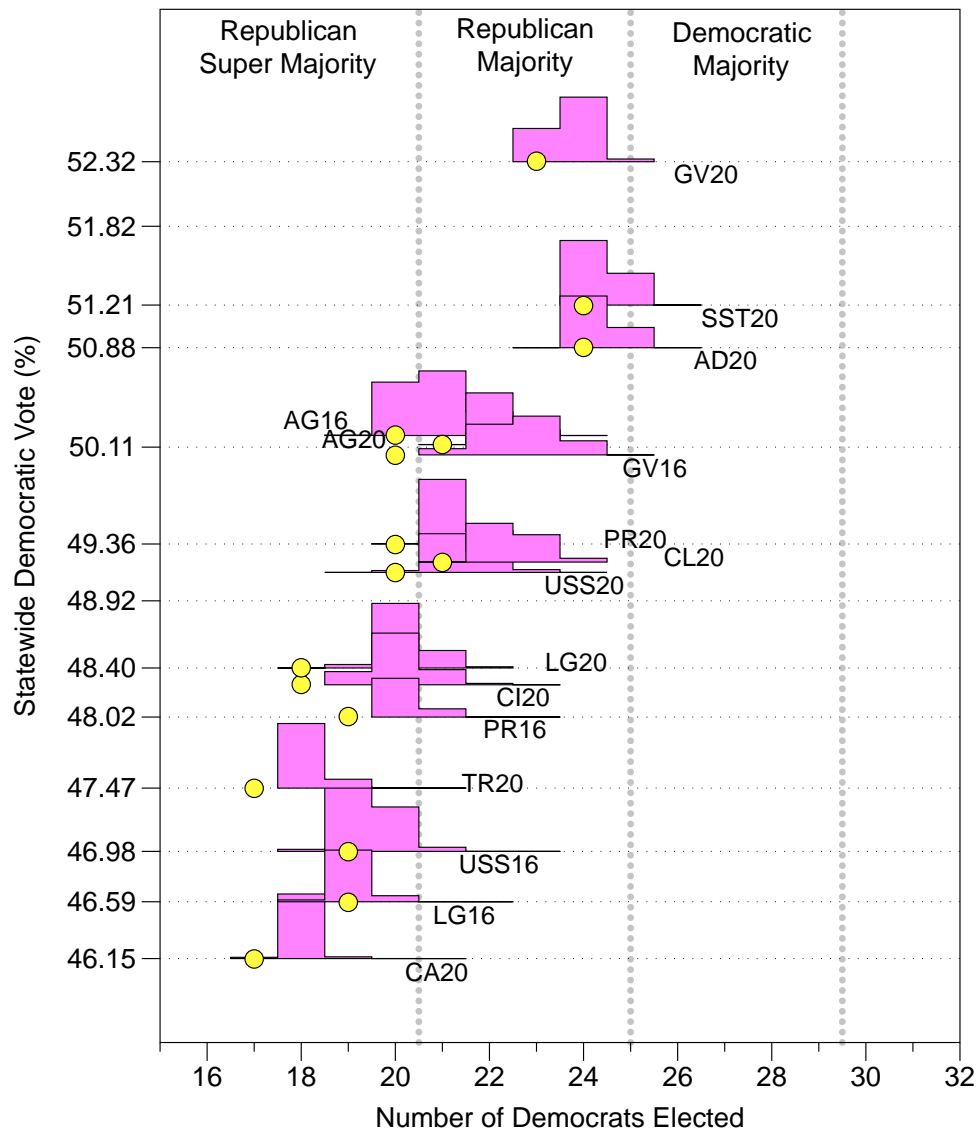


Figure 5.2.6: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House with incumbency considerations added. See Figure 5.1.1 for full description.

### NC Senate: Secondary Distribution

When municipal preservation is not prioritized, the enacted plan becomes an outlier in all but the two most Republican elections as shown in Figure 5.2.7. Additionally, in most cases it was an extreme outlier when municipal preservation is not considered.

In other words, when municipal preservation is not prioritized, the ensemble produced is more favorable to the Democrats, meaning that the enacted plan appears as an extreme outlier in more situations than in the ensemble that matched the enacted map in prioritizing municipality. Put differently, the decision to prioritize municipality preservation in the Senate plan appears to have enabled more maps that favor Republicans.

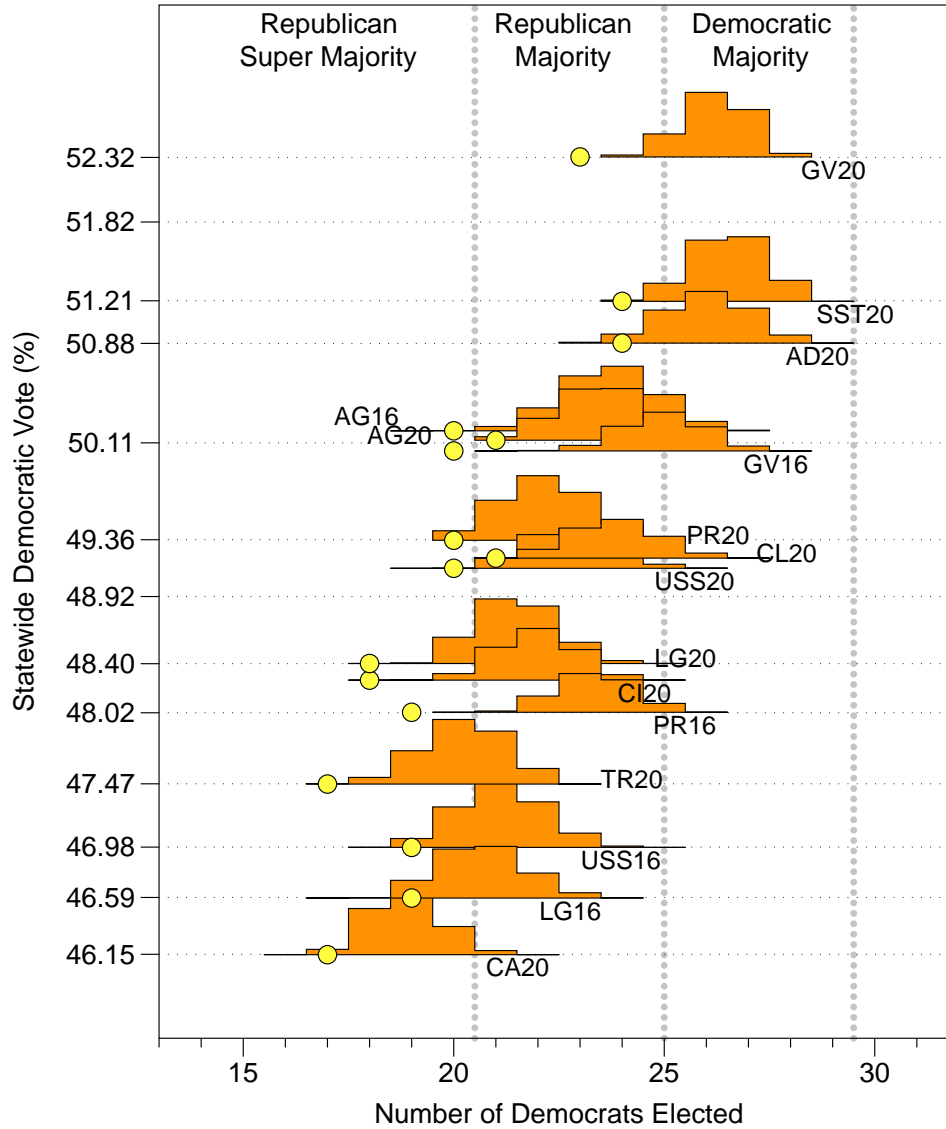


Figure 5.2.7: The Collected Seat Histogram for the Secondary Ensemble on the NC House. The Secondary Ensemble for the NC House is centered on distributions which do not explicitly consider municipality preservation. See Figure 5.1.1 for full description.

## 6 State Legislature: Selected Cluster by Cluster Analysis

Using the same tools, we now turn our analysis to the individual cluster. We find that a number of cluster demonstrate significant cracking and packing. In some cases this leads to changes in the partisan make of the representative typically elected from the region. In other cases, it makes the districts insensitive to changes in the voters political outlook as expressed in their votes.

### 6.1 NC State House

#### 6.1.1 Mecklenburg

The ranked ordered histogram for the Mecklenburg cluster using the primary ensemble (which matches the number of people displaced from municipalities) is given in Figure 6.1.1. Across all of the voting patterns considered, we see that the two most Republican Districts (districts 98 and 103) have exceptionally few Democrats. This has the effect of making them more likely to elect a Republican when many (and often almost all) ensemble plans elect a Democrat in those districts. Specifically, that is the case under LG20, AG20, USS20, CL20, AD20 and SST20. Under GV20 and PR20, the two most Republican districts barely elect Democrats even though the majority of the ensemble plans safely elect Democrats. Under CA20 and TR20, the enacted plan safely elects two Republicans while under the ensemble the races are much closer, swinging in both directions under different plans. In these two elections, the enacted map elects a third Republican (in District 104) when the ensemble of maps typically would not. All of this is achieved by packing exceptionally many Democrats into the 6th through 9th most Democrat district, as shown in Figure 6.1.1 where the enacted plan is consistently at the extreme top of the range seen in the ensemble. All of these facts make the plan an extreme outlier in this cluster.

In fact, ranging over all of the elections considered, the Democratic fraction in the four most republican districts in the ensemble is greater than that in the enacted plan in less than 1.7% of the plans with it dipping as low as around 0.5% in a few cases. More dramatically, the percentage of plans in the ensemble where the fraction of Democrats, in the four most Democratic districts, is always less than 0.11% with it often dipping as low as 0.02% or lower.

As already discussed, it was possible to oust many less people from municipalities than the enacted plan does. Figure 6.1.2 shows the secondary ensemble which constrains municipalities much more strongly. We seen that structures highlighted above persist in this ensemble; again making the enacted map an extreme outlier.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** In Figure 6.1.3, we see that the enacted plan ousts people from municipalities at a number that is comparable to the primary ensemble but typically more than the Secondary House ensemble.

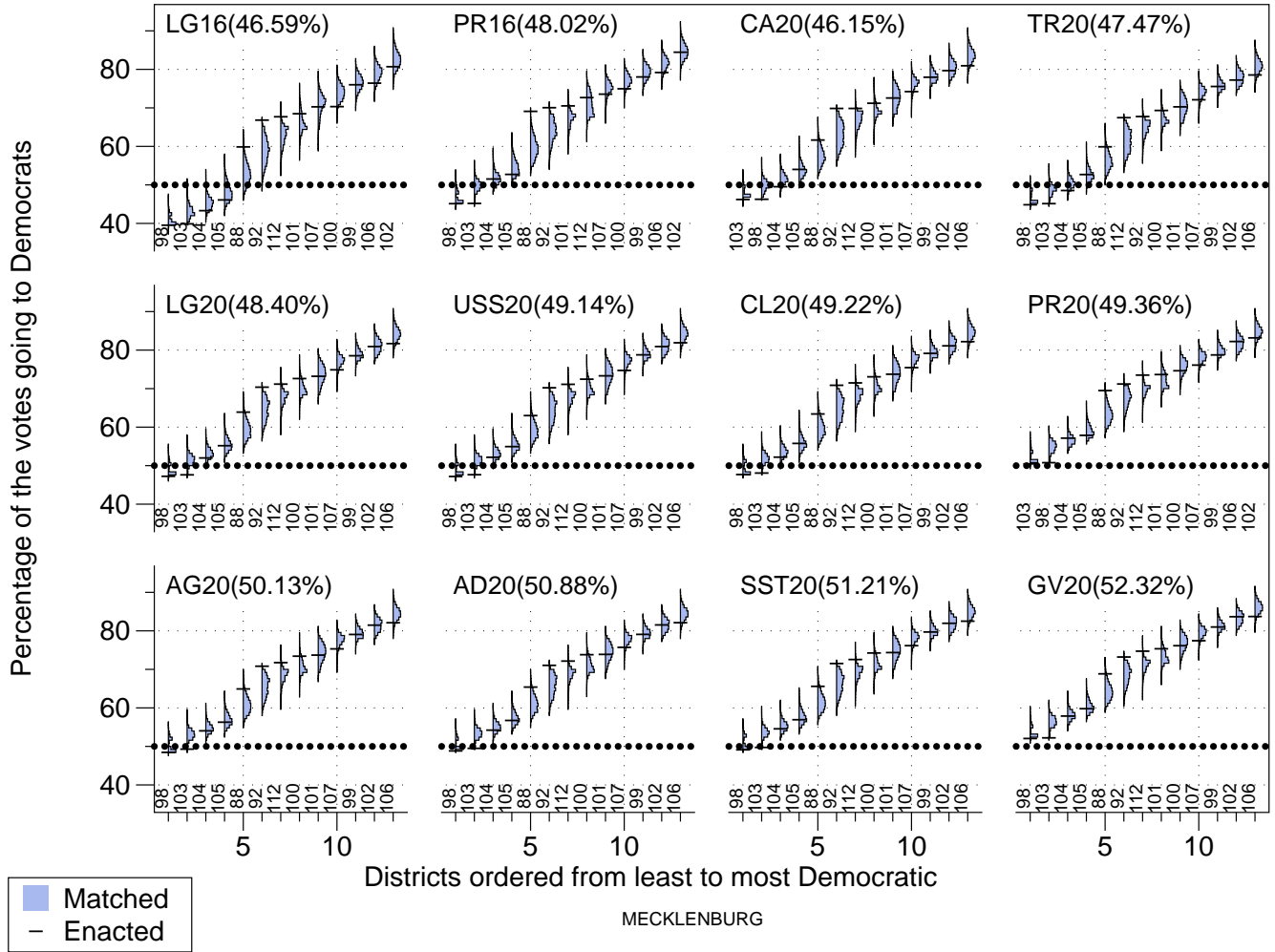


Figure 6.1.1: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

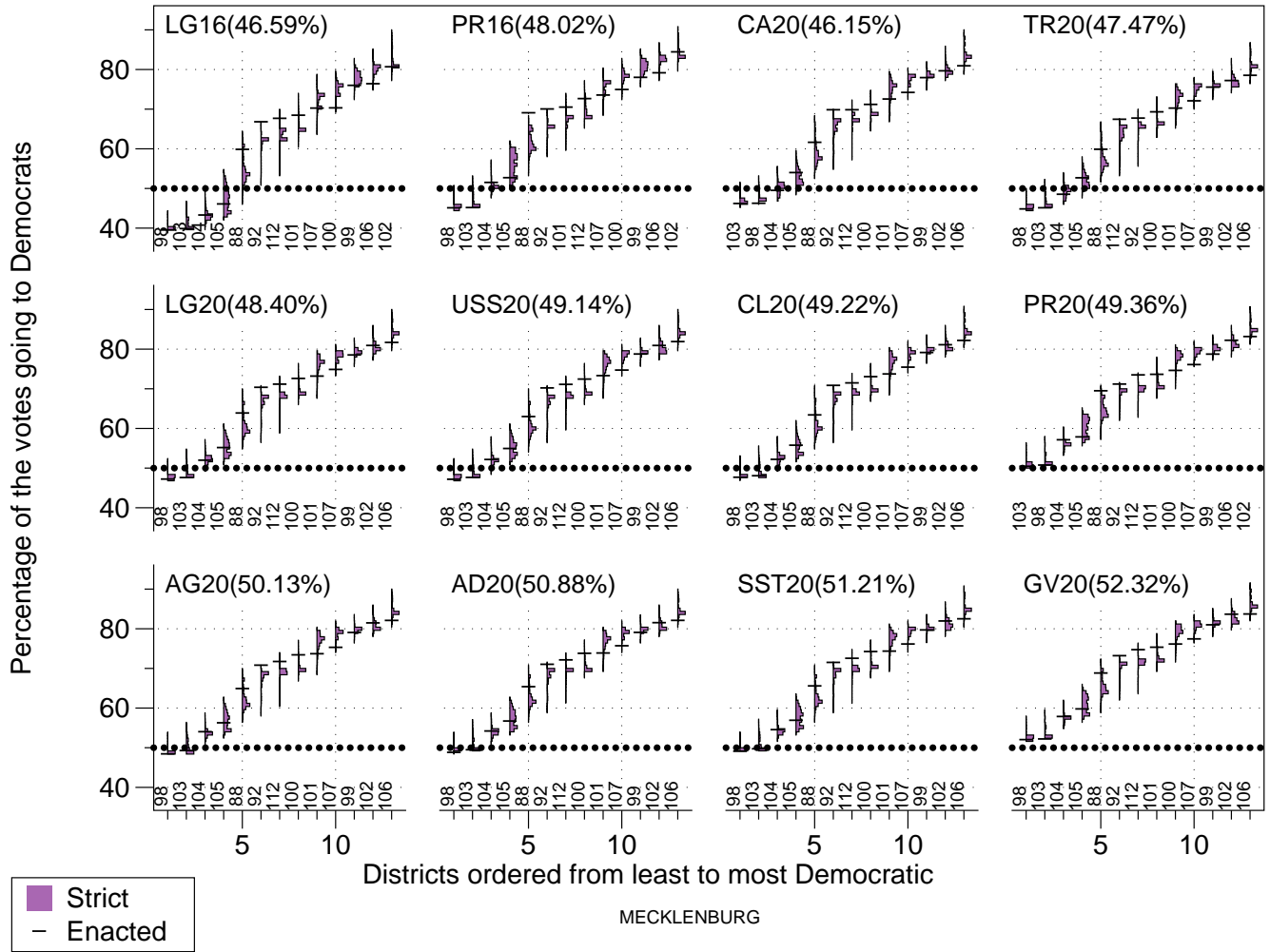


Figure 6.1.2: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

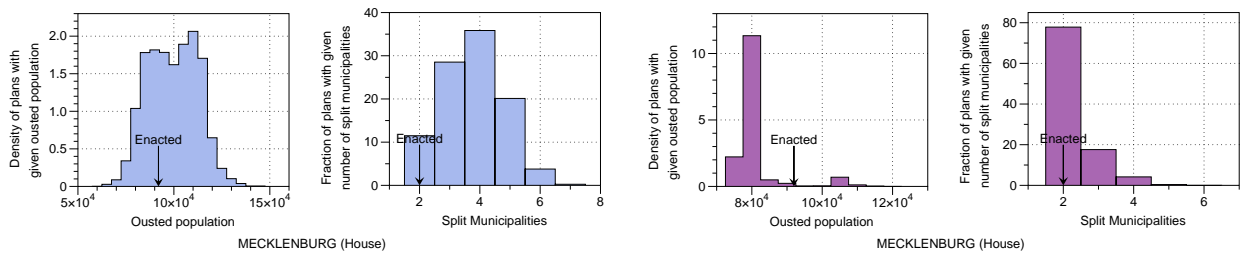


Figure 6.1.3: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.1.2 Wake

In the Wake cluster, we again see the depleting of Democrats from the two most Republican districts (Districts 37 and 35) while packing Democrats into the next several districts, as in the Mecklenburg cluster. The effect is to swing the two most Republican districts into play in elections where they would not be under the ensemble. Furthermore, the enacted plan makes them safer for Republicans in situations when the ensemble maps would typically have it as a toss-up.

Across all of the elections considered, the number of maps in the ensemble which have a lower Democratic vote fraction in the two most Republican districts than in the enacted plan is less than 0.42% except for the CA20 election where it is 1.2%.

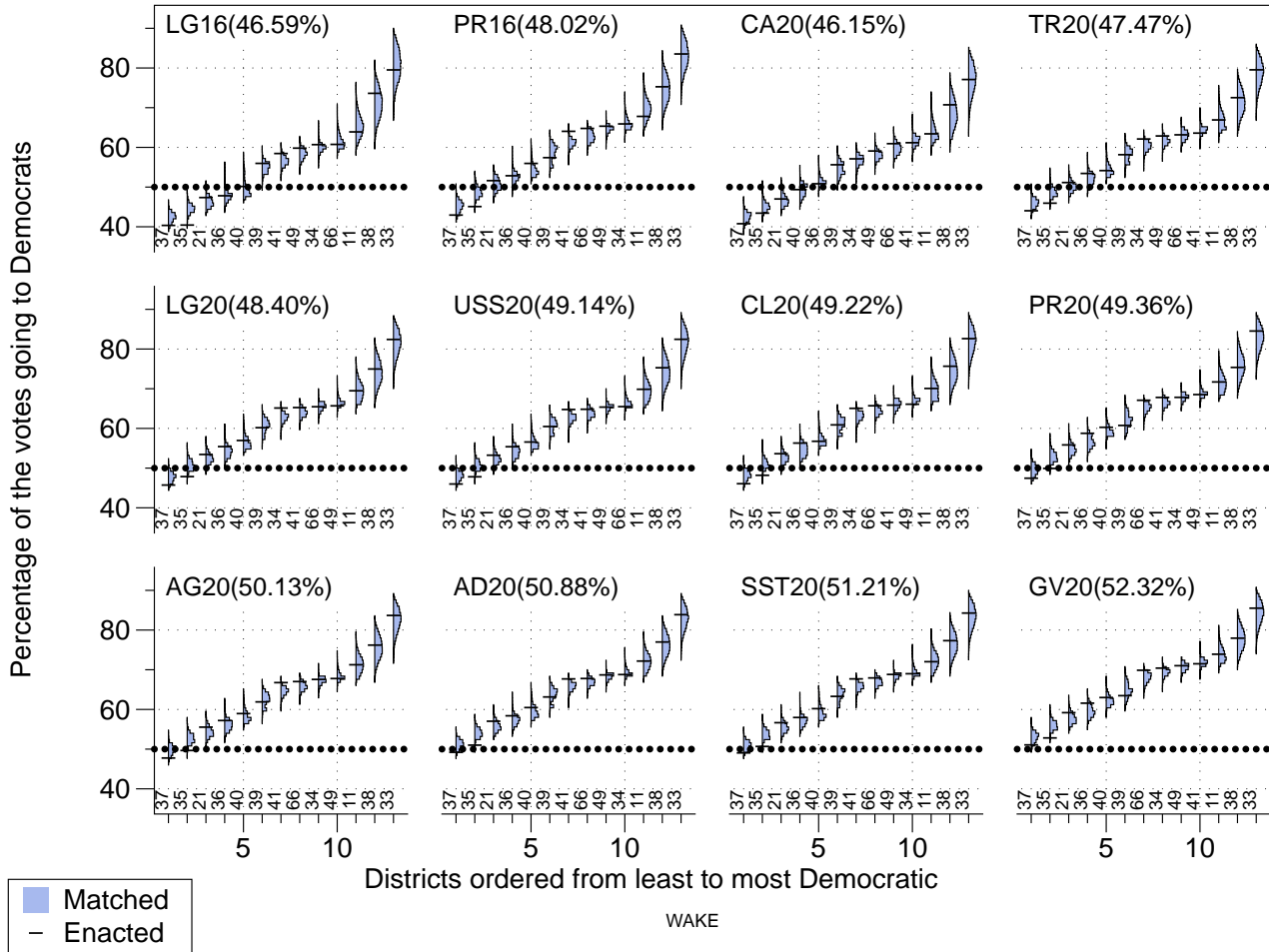


Figure 6.1.4: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

As shown in Figure 6.1.5, the trend continues under the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:**

In Wake we see from Figure 6.1.6 that the enacted plan consistently ousts more people than the primary ensemble and significantly more than the secondary ensemble.

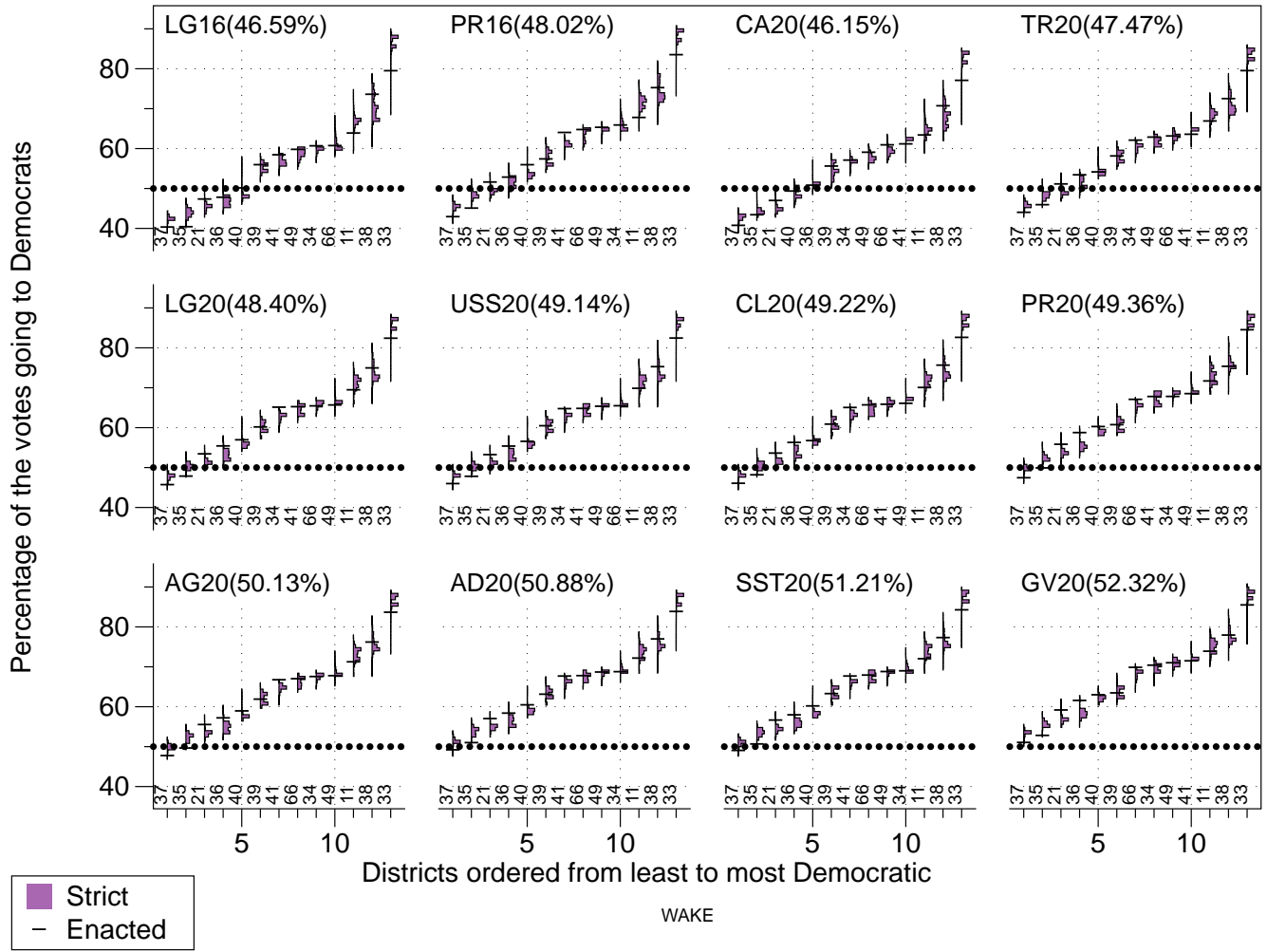


Figure 6.1.5: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

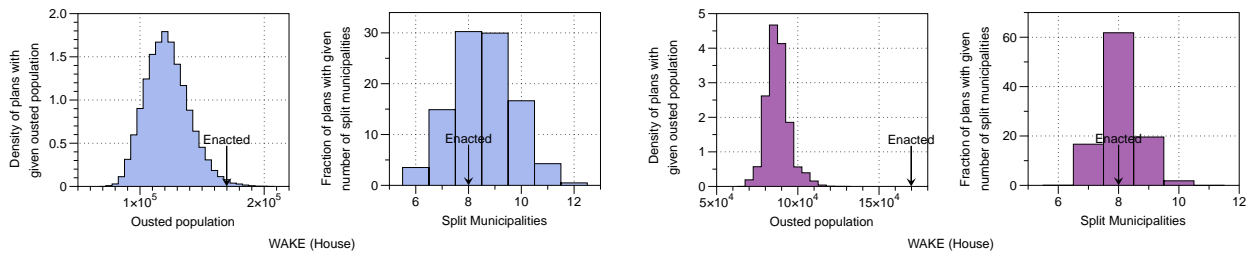


Figure 6.1.6: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.3 Forsyth-Stokes

Again in Figure 6.1.7, showing the primary ensemble in the Forsyth-Stokes cluster, we see the most Republican districts depleted of Democrats while excess Democrats are packed in safe democratic districts and in the safest Republican district are moved to competitive districts. The effect is apparent in all of the elections, but varies slightly across different voting patterns. In all cases, we see the Democratic makeup of the 3rd most Republican district pulled below the range typically seen in the ensemble often resulting in this district electing a Republican when it would not typically. In the three elections where the 3rd-most Republican district still elects a Democrat (GV20), the map’s depletion of Democrats from the second most Republican district is enough to reliably elect a Republican in that district when typically the election would vary between being close and strongly favoring the Democrats.

Ranging over all of the elections considered, less than 0.02% of the plans in the ensemble have a lower Democratic fraction in the three most Republican districts than the enacted plan signaling extreme cracking. Additionally, less than 1.3% of the plans in the ensemble have a larger Democratic in the two most Democratic districts than the enacted plan.

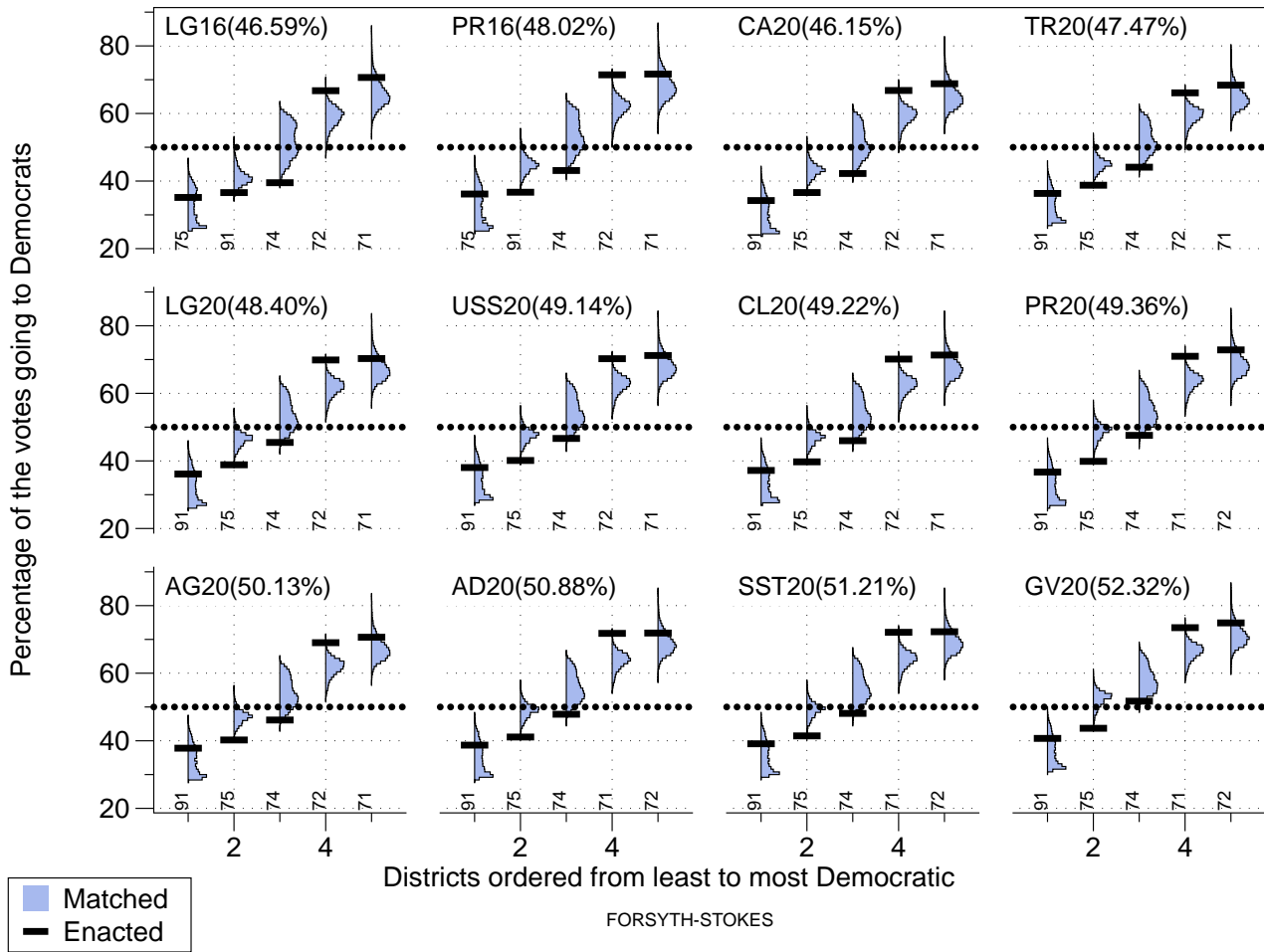


Figure 6.1.7: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

As shown in Figure 6.1.8, the trend continues under the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities. Some of the effects are more extreme and in this cluster, this ensemble leads to more partisan districts. Nonetheless, the enacted map still regularly elects a Republican in the third most Republican district even though it is typically more firmly Democratic under this ensemble.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

From Figure 6.1.9, we see that in Forsyth-Stokes the enacted plan ousts a number of people comparable to the primary ensemble but consistently more than the secondary ensemble.

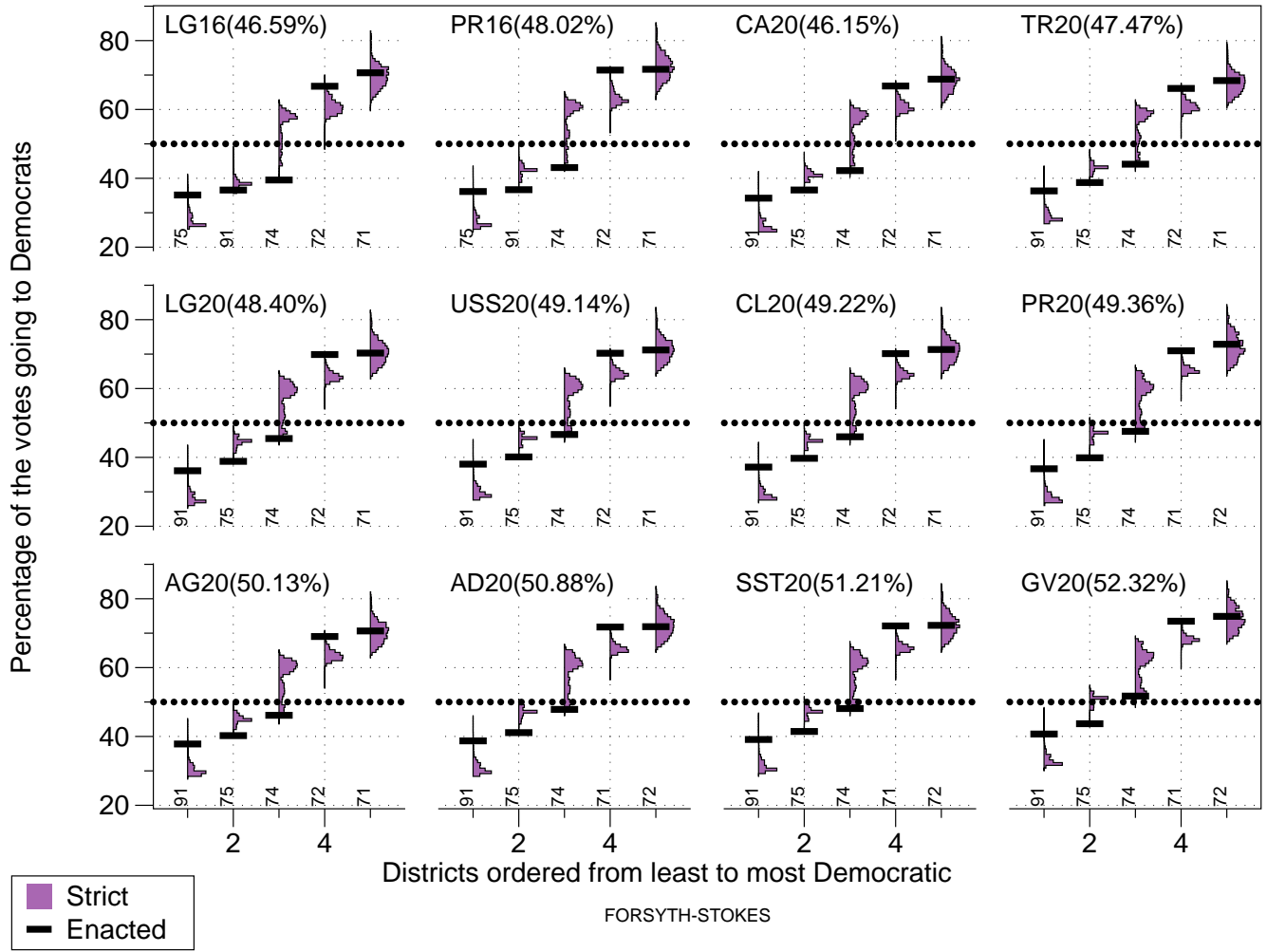


Figure 6.1.8: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

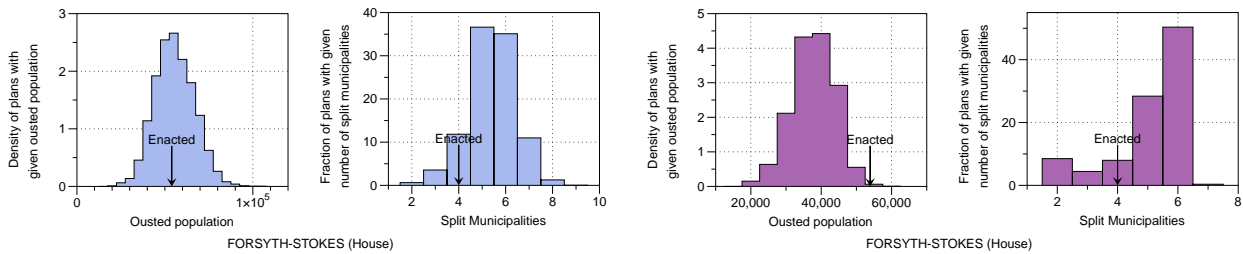


Figure 6.1.9: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

#### 6.1.4 Guilford

The pattern seen previously is again repeated in an extreme fashion in the Guilford County. The two most Republican Districts (districts 59 and 62) have abnormally few Democrats when compared to what is seen in the primary ensemble and the more Democratic districts (numbered 57, 58, 60, and 61) have exceptionally many Democrats packed into them. The effect is that the enacted plan regularly (and often safely) elects two Republicans under election climates which would rarely or never do so.

Over all of the elections considered and all of the around 80,000 plans in the ensemble, none of the plans have a higher Democratic fraction in the four most Democratic districts or a lower Democratic fraction in the two most Republican districts, in comparison to the enacted plan. In other words, this cluster shows more cracking and packing of Democrats than every single plan in the nonpartisan ensemble.

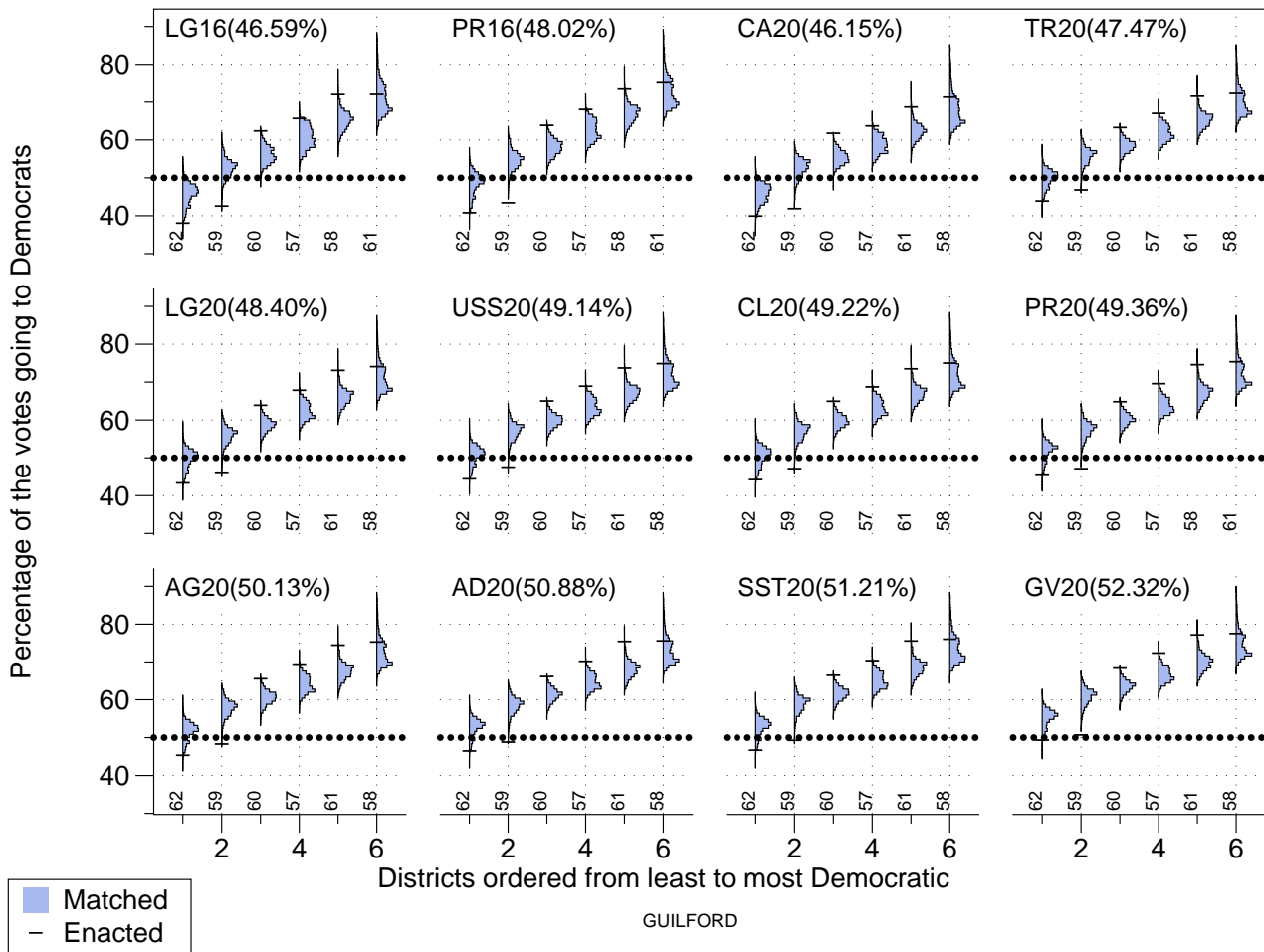


Figure 6.1.10: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

In Figure 6.1.11, we see the effect of considering the the ensemble that more strongly preserves municipalities than the enacted plan. The ensemble reliably has four democratic districts and a 5th which typically leans Republican but sometimes is competitive. Yet, the enacted plan gives one clearly Republican district and one which is often safely Republican and at times competitive.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** From Figure 6.1.12, we see that in Guilford the enacted plan ousts a number of people comparable to the primary ensemble but constantly more than the secondary ensemble.

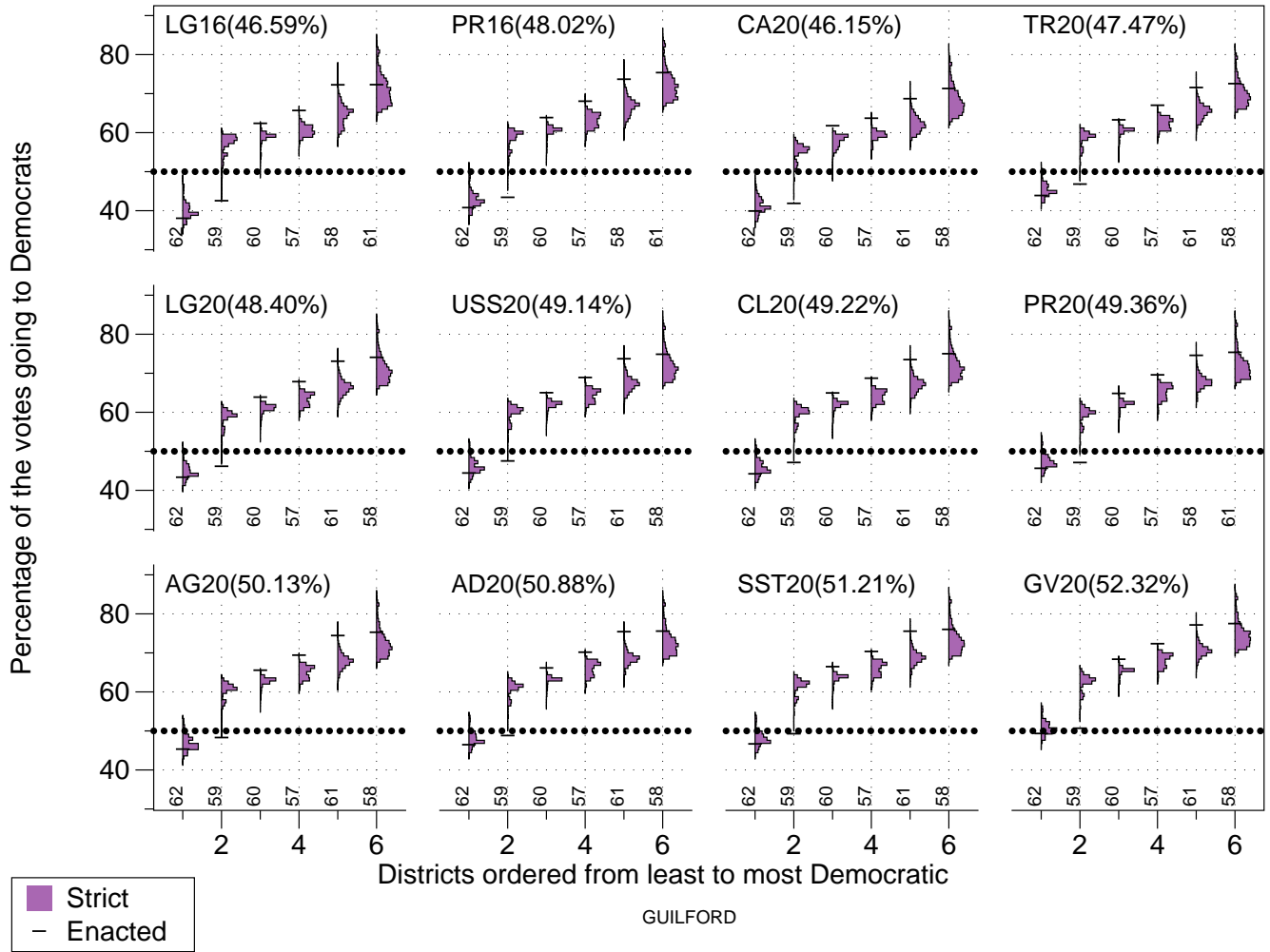


Figure 6.1.11: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

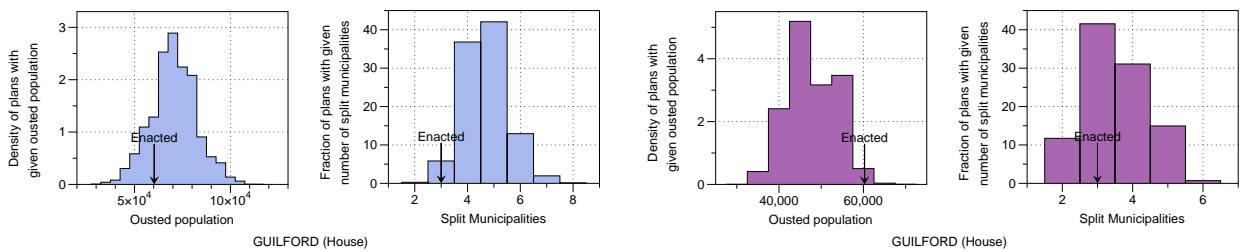


Figure 6.1.12: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.5 Buncombe

As seen in Figure 6.1.13, the primary ensemble shows two Democratic districts with a third typically leaning Democratic but sometimes in play. However, the enacted map produces one district which is typically Republican. This is achieved by packing unusually many Democrats in the most Democratic district (district 114) leaving abnormally few Democrats for the most Republican district (district 116).

Ranging over the elections considered, at most 1.2% of the plans in the ensemble have a lower democratic fraction in the most Republican district in the ensemble than the enacted plan does. The percentage of plans with a larger Democratic fraction in the most Democratic district in the ensemble fluctuates around 5%.

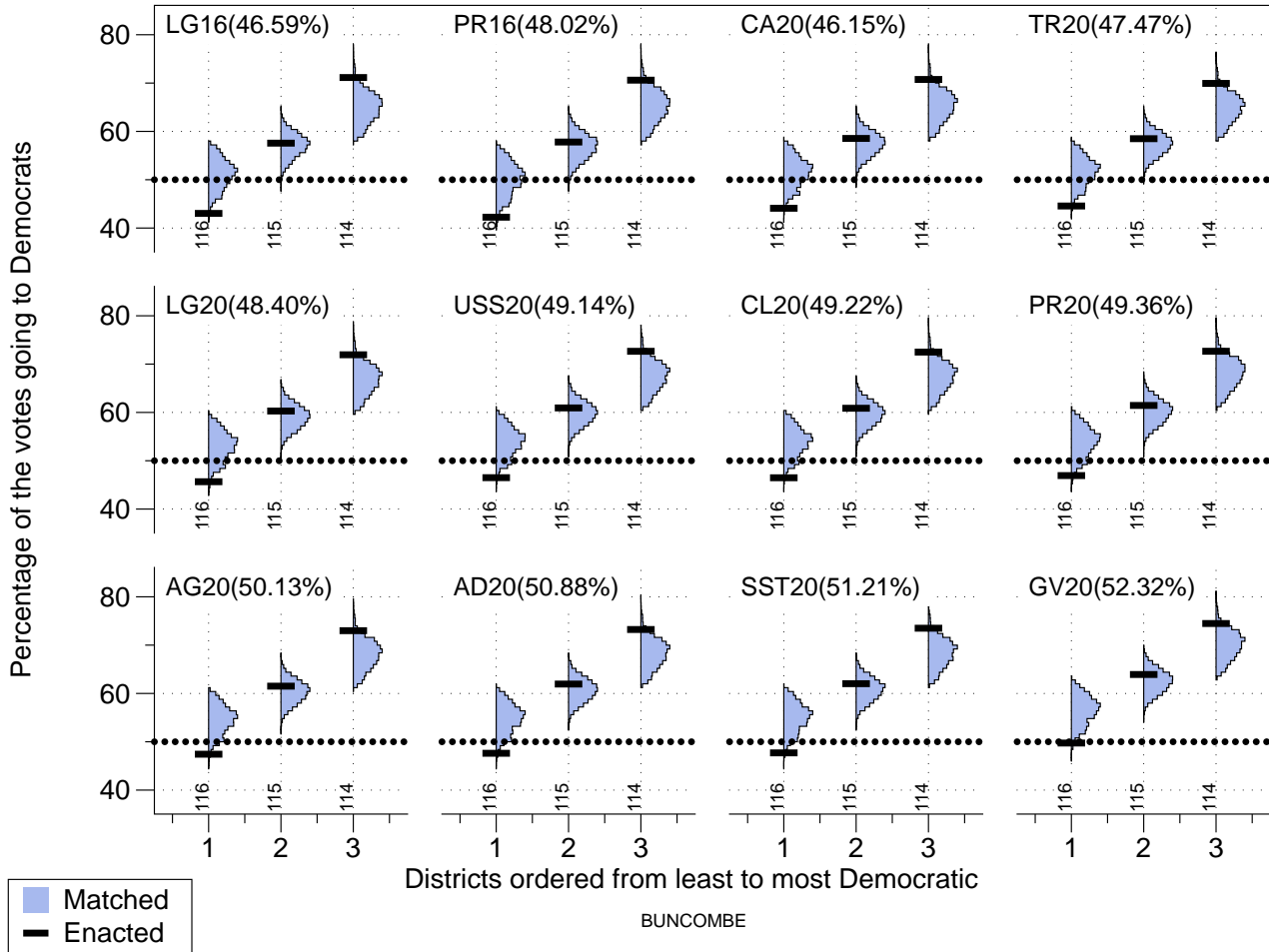


Figure 6.1.13: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

The same pattern of depleting Democrats from the most republican district so that it often elects a Republican when it typically would not under the ensemble is again seen in Figure 6.1.14 which shows the results under the secondary ensemble.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** From Figure 6.1.15, we see that there is not a lot of difference between the two ensembles in the number of ousted people. Both are comparable to the enacted map.

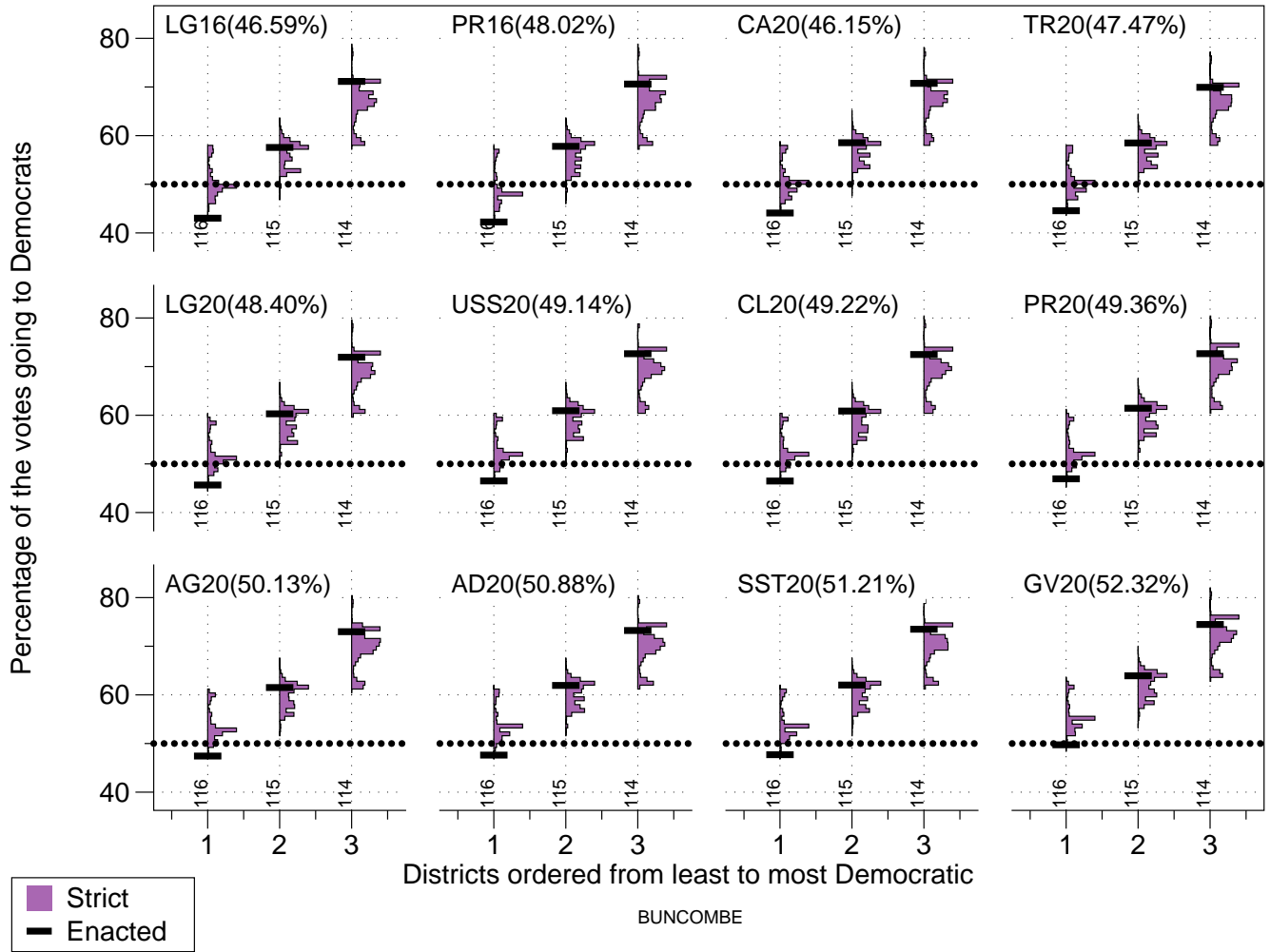


Figure 6.1.14: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

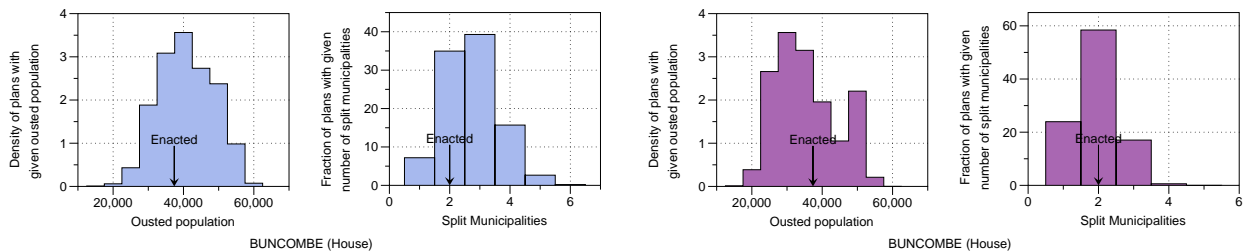


Figure 6.1.15: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.6 Pitt

Pitt County only has two districts. The enacted places atypically many Democrats in the most Democratic district (district 8) while placing atypically few in the most Republican district (district 9). This maximizes the chance that the second district will elect a republican. In many cases, it does when many of the ensemble maps would not. By maximizing the difference in the partisan makeup of the two districts, the enacted map minimized the degree to which the enacted map responds to the shifting opinions of the electorate.

Across the elections considered, the percentage of plans in the ensemble which have a higher fraction of Democrats in the most Democratic district than the enacted plan fluctuates between 1.1% and 5.3%.

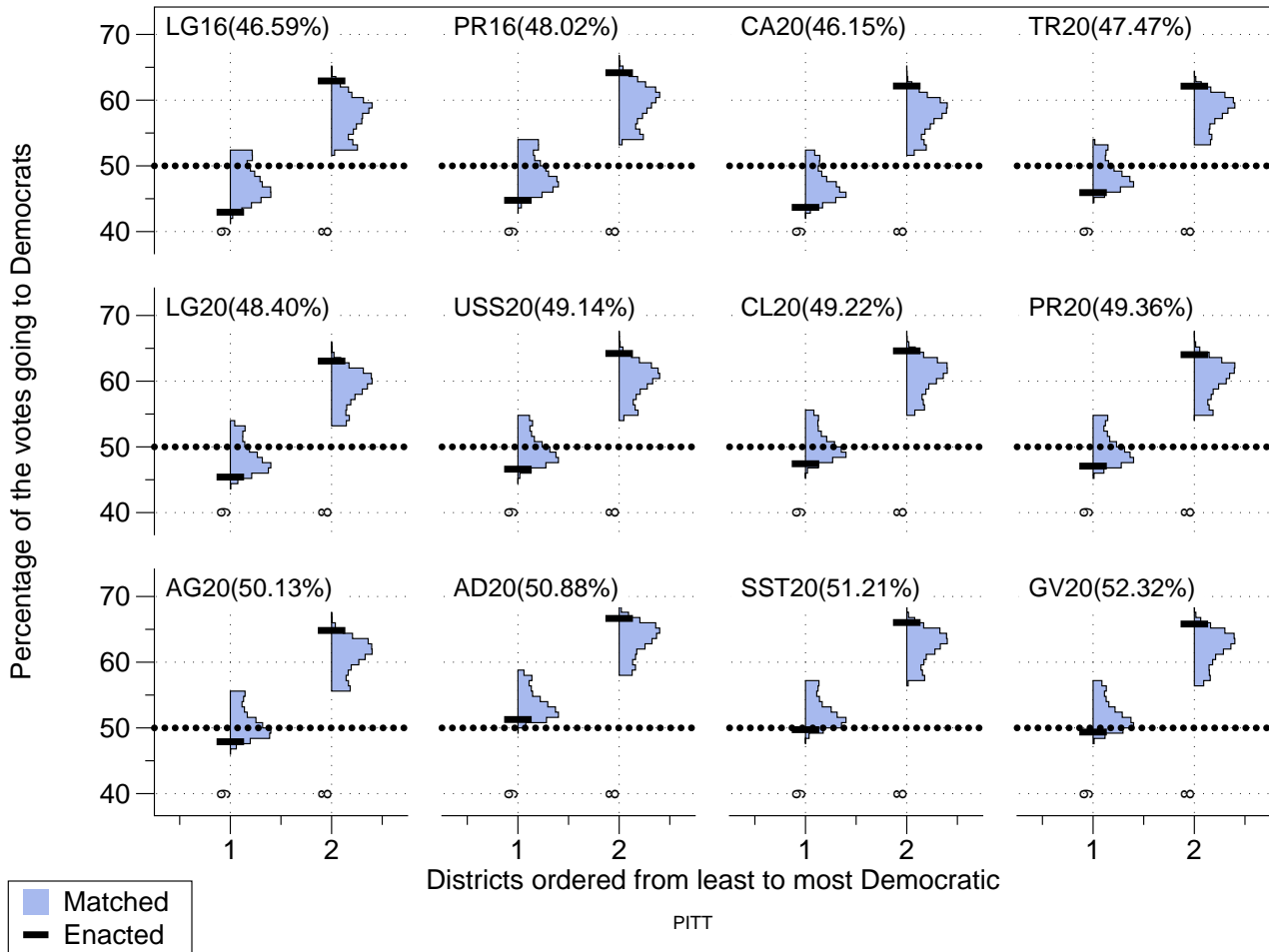


Figure 6.1.16: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

The same pattern is repeated in Figure 6.1.17 which uses the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted map.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** From Figure 6.1.18, we see the number of ousted people in the primary ensemble is comparable to the enacted plan but more than the secondary ensemble.

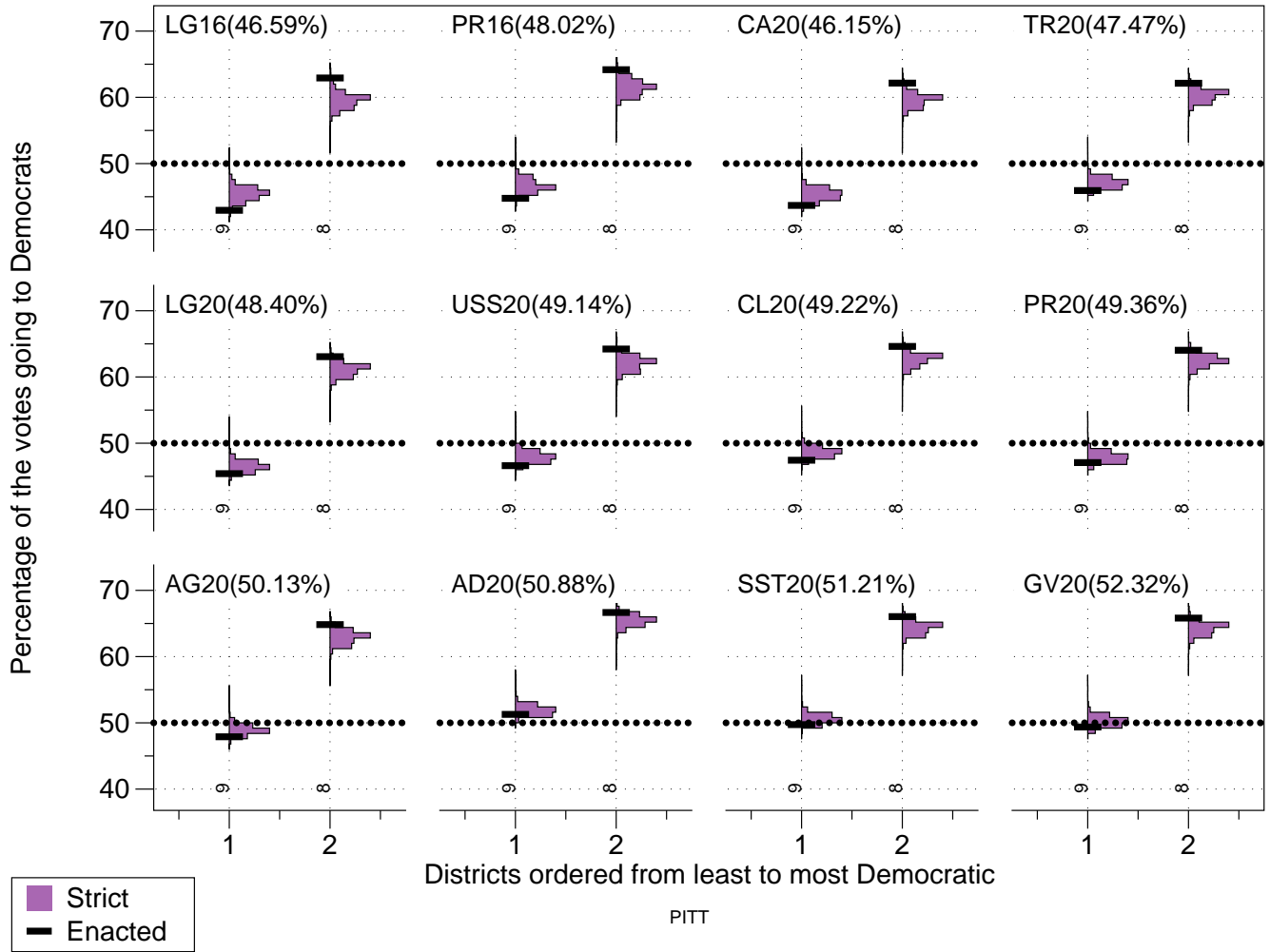


Figure 6.1.17: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

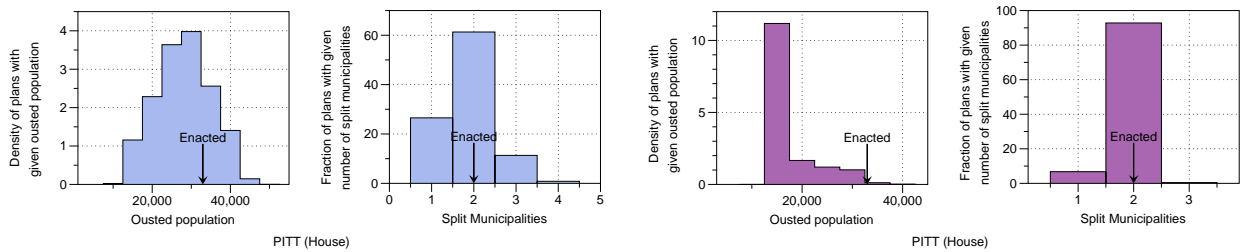


Figure 6.1.18: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.7 Duplin-Wayne

In the Duplin-Wayne county cluster the two districts are safely Republican under the elections considered. The enacted map is typical, falling in the middle of the observed democratic fraction on the Histograms.

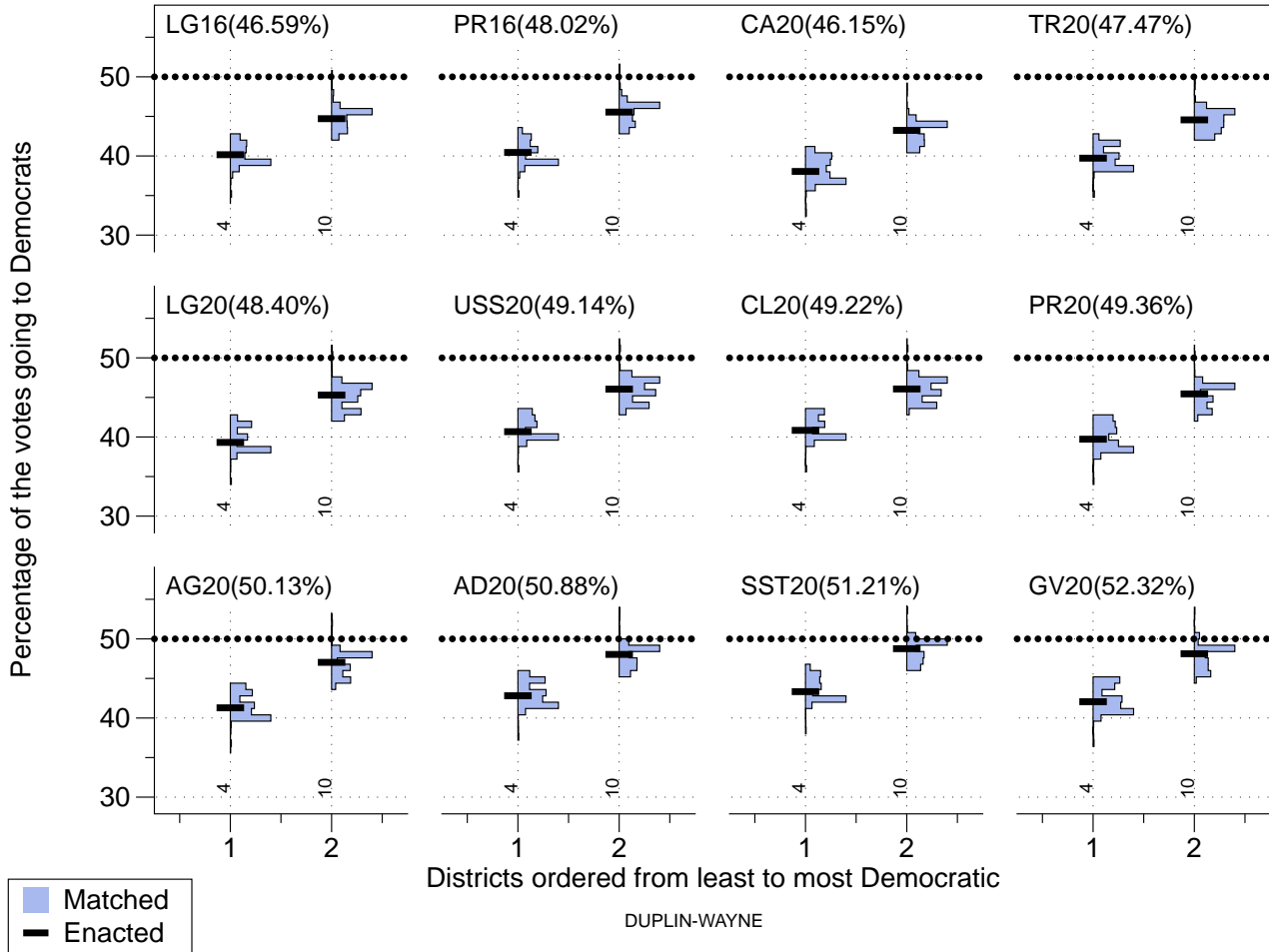


Figure 6.1.19: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

As seen in Figure 6.1.20, the distribution has extremely small variance when municipalities are better preserved. Here there seem to be a little less Democrats in the most Democratic district than typical, but this has little effect as the two districts are firmly Republican and the distribution is highly concentrated.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** From Figure 6.1.21, we seen that the number of people ousted by the enacted plan is at the lower end of the typical amounts seen in the Primary ensemble or the secondary ensemble.

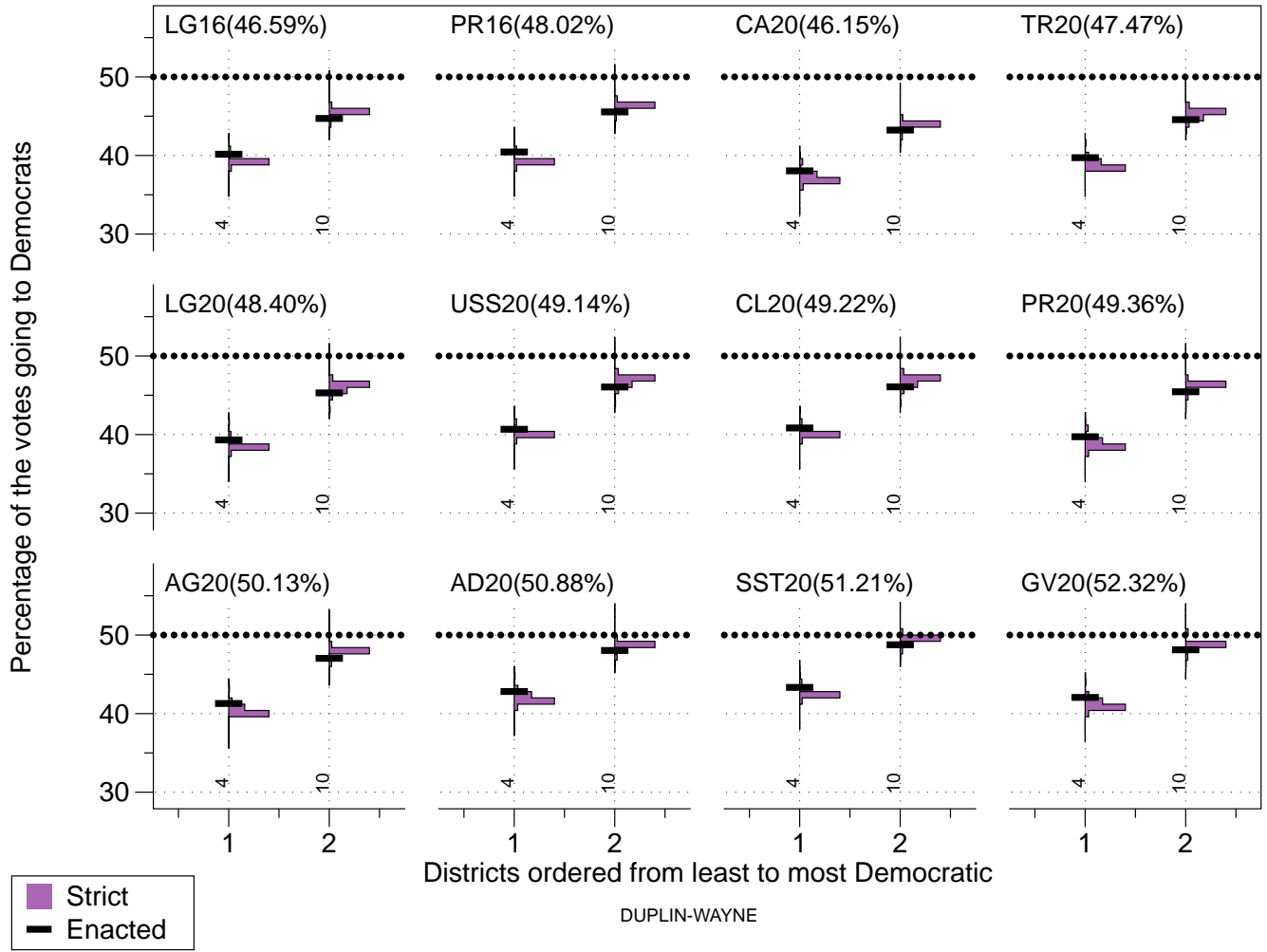


Figure 6.1.20: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

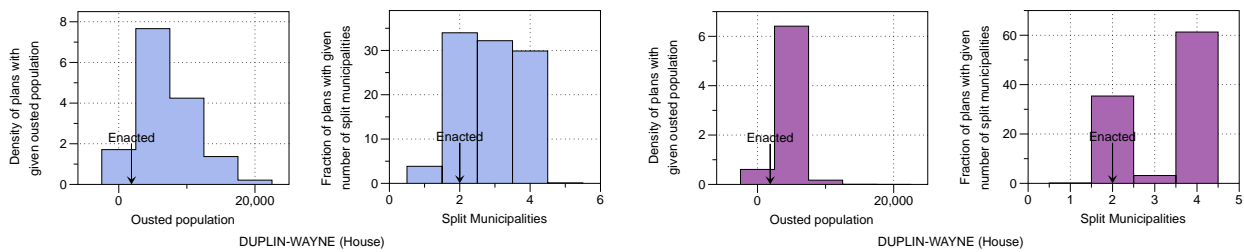


Figure 6.1.21: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.8 Durham-Person

As seen in Figure 6.1.22, under the primary ensemble Durham-Person cluster typically has three exceedingly Democratic districts and one more moderately Democratic district. The enacted plan places abnormally few Democrats in the most Republican district (district 2). This is accomplished by packing more Democrats in the most Democratic districts (districts 29 and 30). The effect is sufficient to pick up a Republican seat in a few elections where the seat typically would have remained democratic according to the non-partisan primary ensemble.

Not a single map in the non-partisan ensemble across any of the elections considered has a smaller fraction of Democrats in the most Republican district than the enacted plan does. This signals extreme cracking. In all but two elections the fraction of plans which have a higher Democratic vote fraction than the enacted plan is less than 0.62%. The two exceptions are LG16 (3.5%) and CA20 (1.2%).

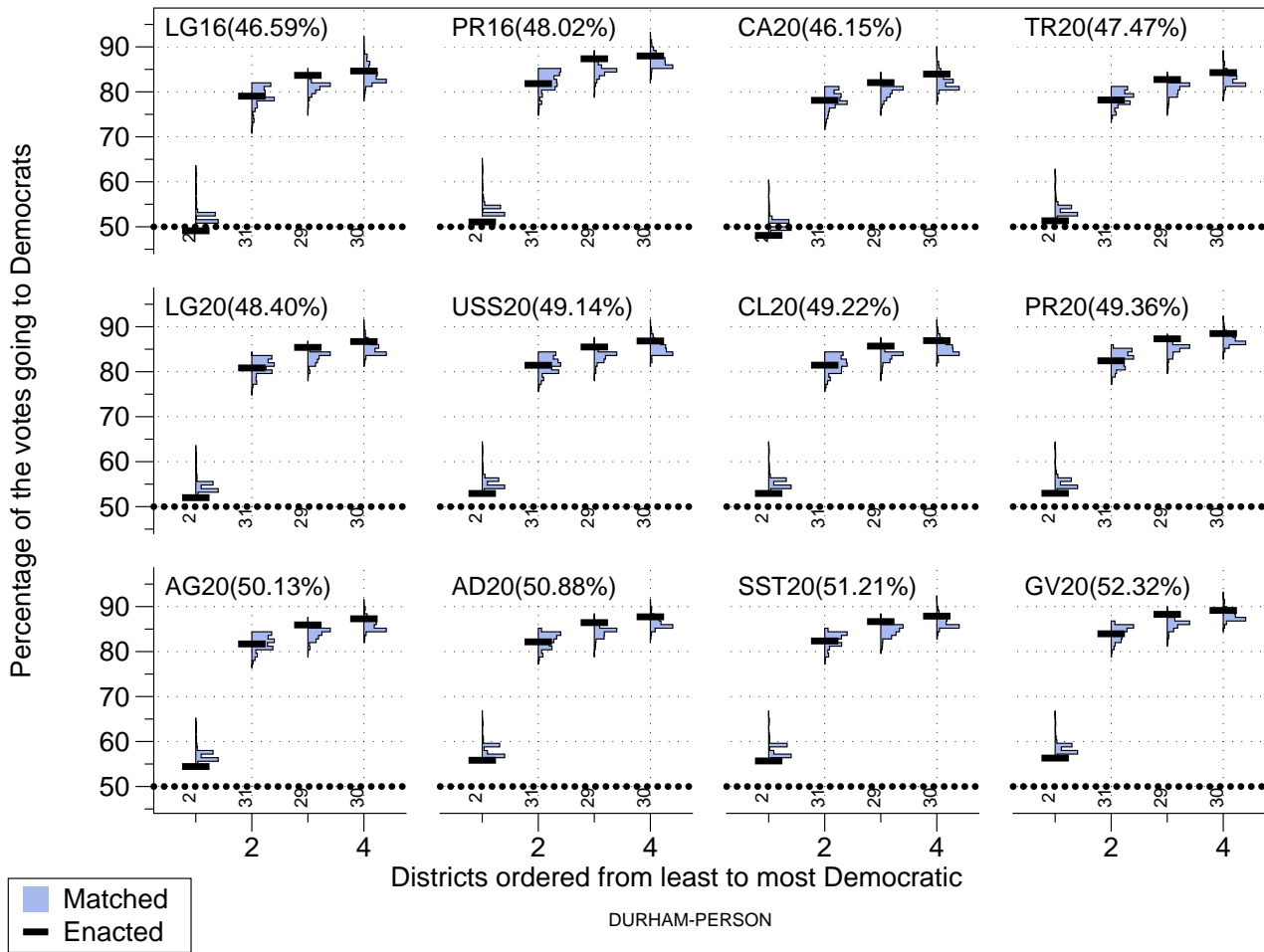


Figure 6.1.22: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

A similar effect is seen in 6.1.23, for the ensemble which better preserves municipalities.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

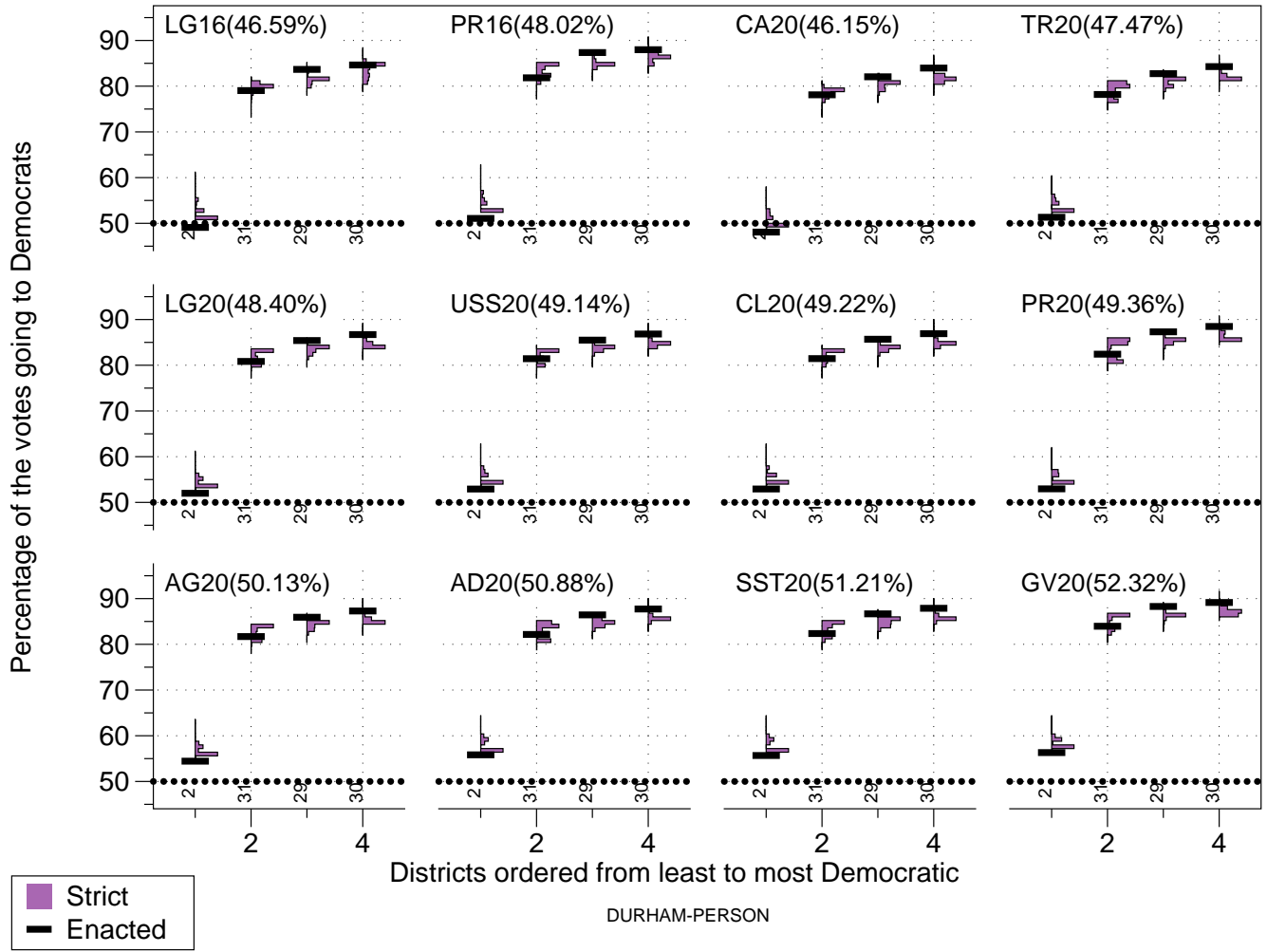


Figure 6.1.23: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

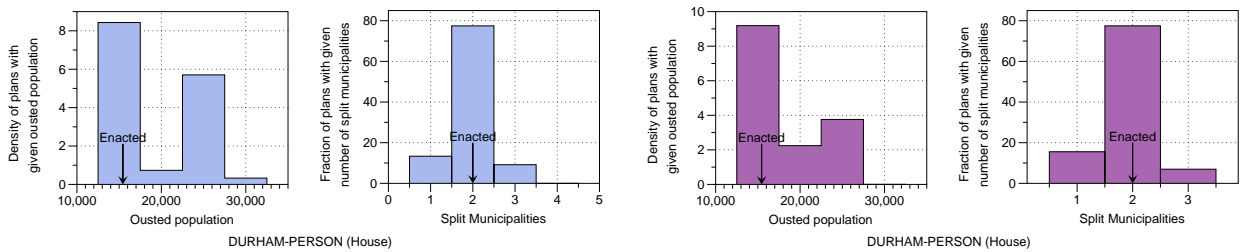


Figure 6.1.24: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.9 Alamance

From Figure 6.1.25, we see that though the enacted map tends have more Democrats in the more Democratic district and less in the less democratic district it not an outlier on its own.

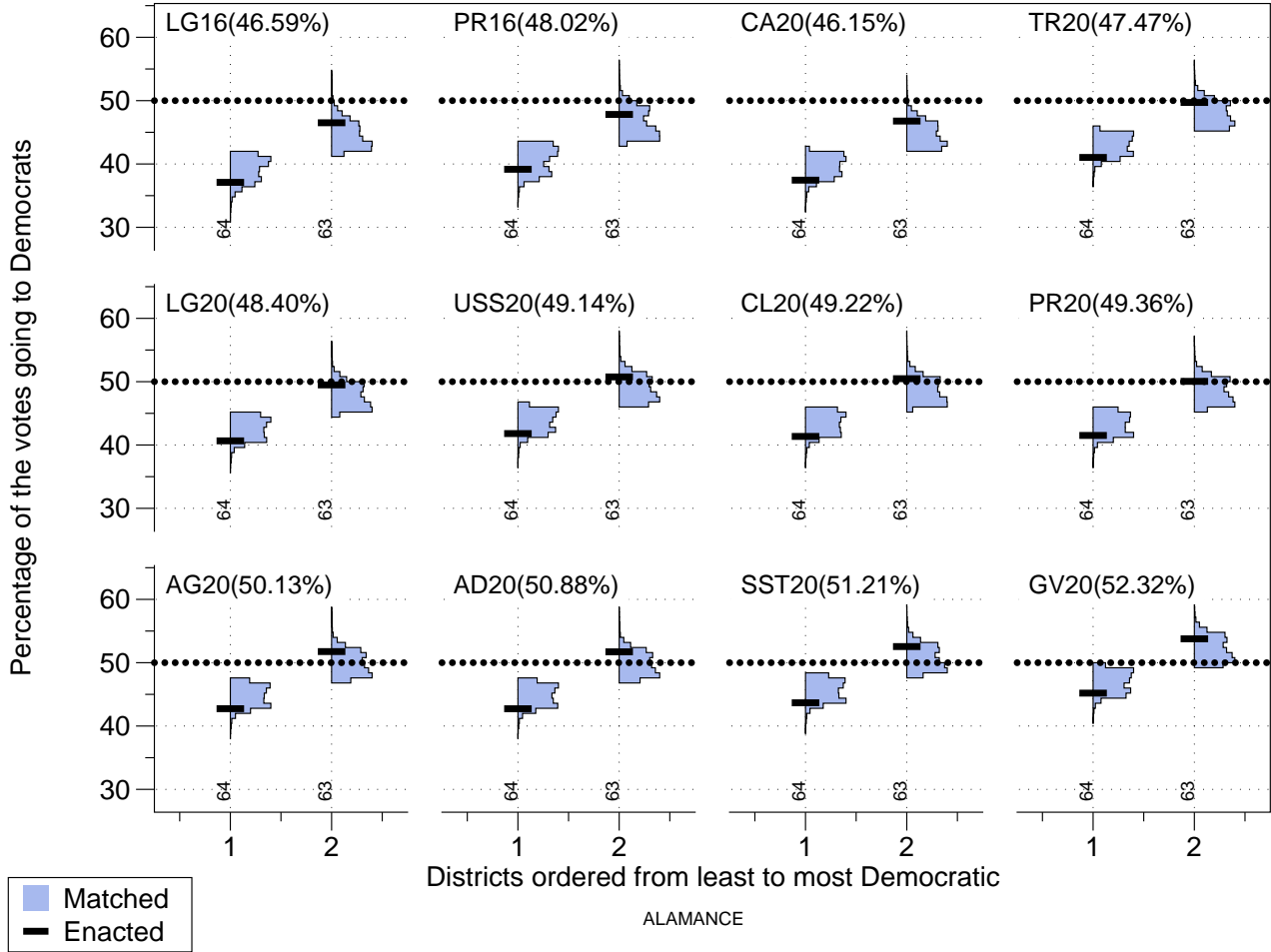


Figure 6.1.25: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

Figure 6.1.26 tells a similar story to Figure 6.1.25,  
**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:**

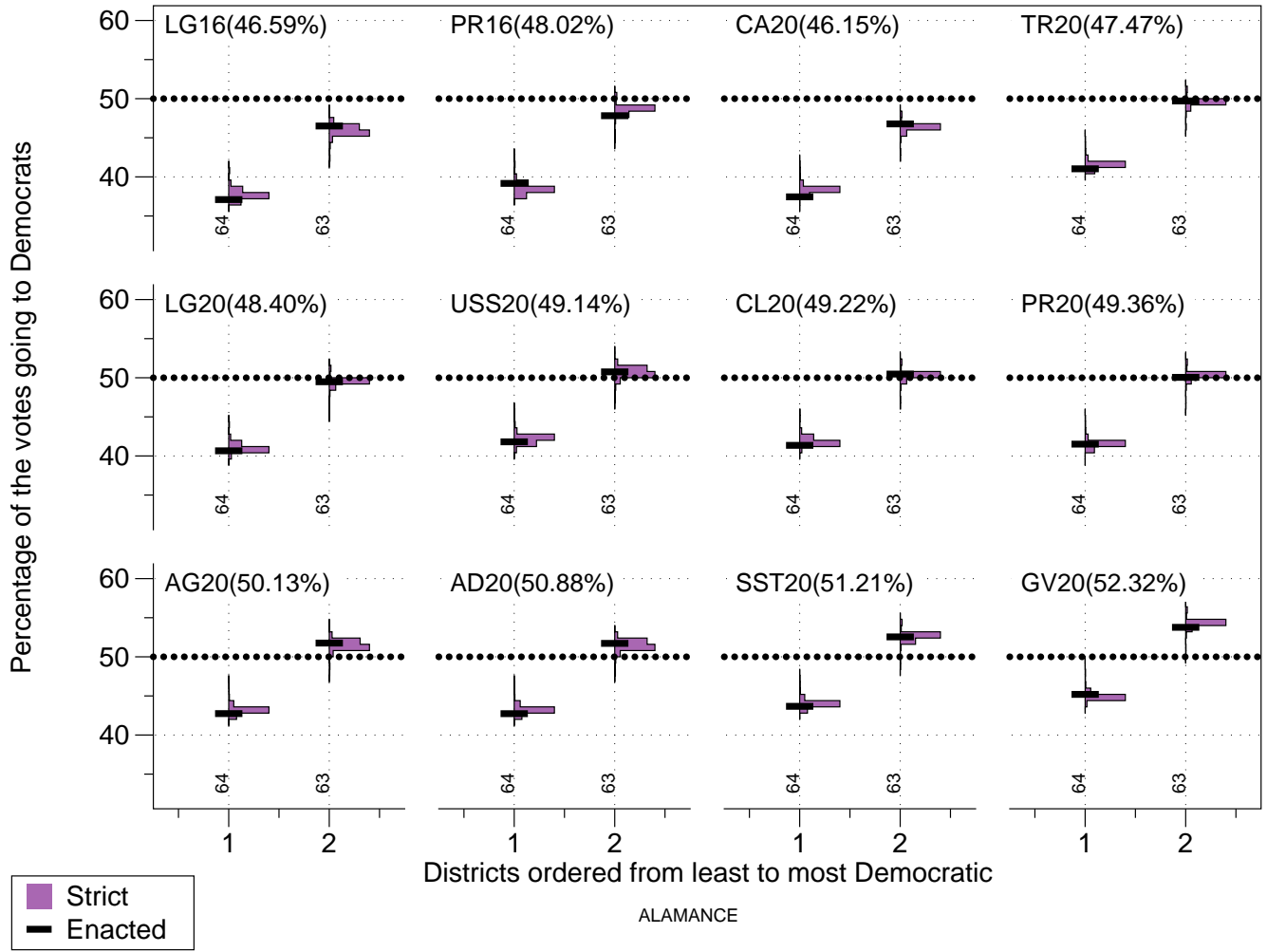


Figure 6.1.26: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

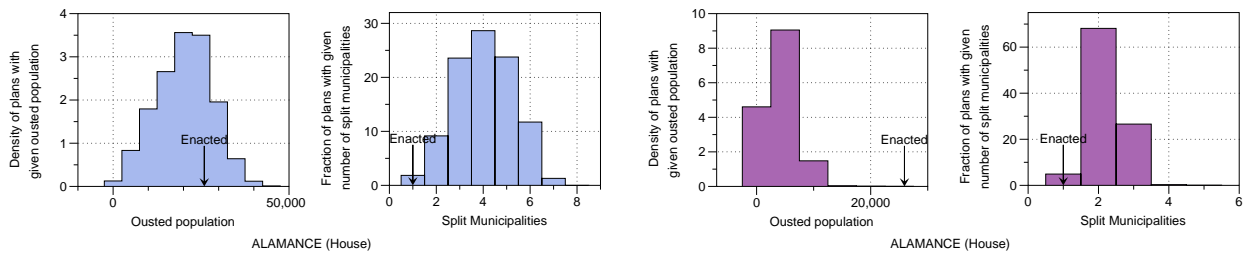


Figure 6.1.27: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.10 Cumberland

Looking at Figure 6.1.28, we again see outlier behavior in Cumberland County. We see that the districts in the enacted plan have been constructed so that the two most Republican districts (district 43 and 45) have a similar partisan makeup. Typically, one is more Democratic and one is more Republican. This is achieved by removing republicans from the most republican district and Democrats from the most democratic two districts. While the effect on the most Republican district individually is within the typical range, the combined effect creates an enacted cluster which is an strong outlier.

For each of the elections considered, the number of plans in the ensemble with smaller fraction of democrats in the second most republican district is typically around 1% with, for a few elections, the percentage reaching as high as 7% or as low as 0.4%.

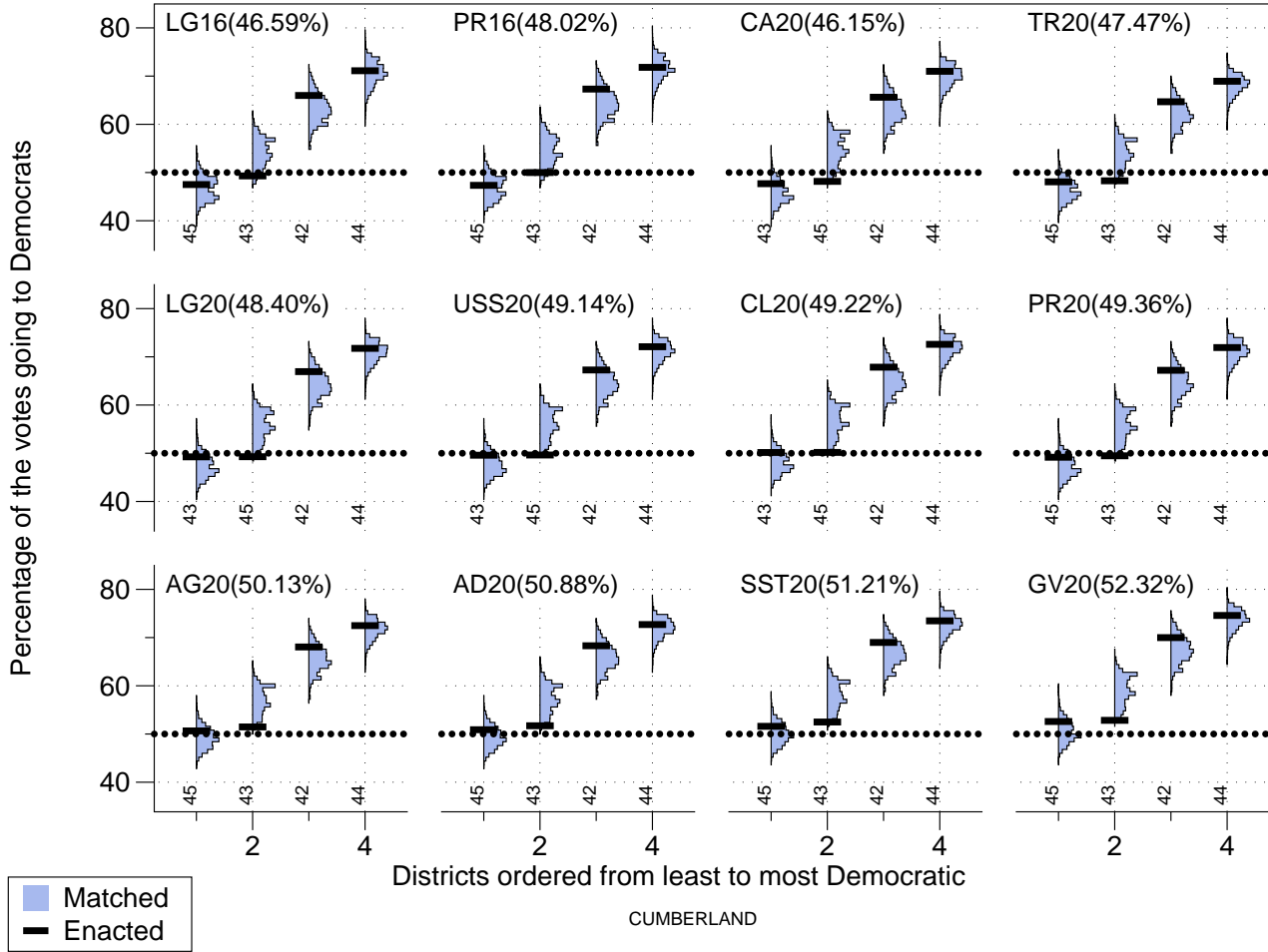


Figure 6.1.28: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

Looking at Figure 6.1.29, we see that the structure of the enacted map is a more extreme outlier for the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities. In an ensemble that better preserves municipalities, the most Republican district is typically more republican and the second most Republican district more Democratic. This makes the enacted plan which squeezes the two together with an large outlier.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

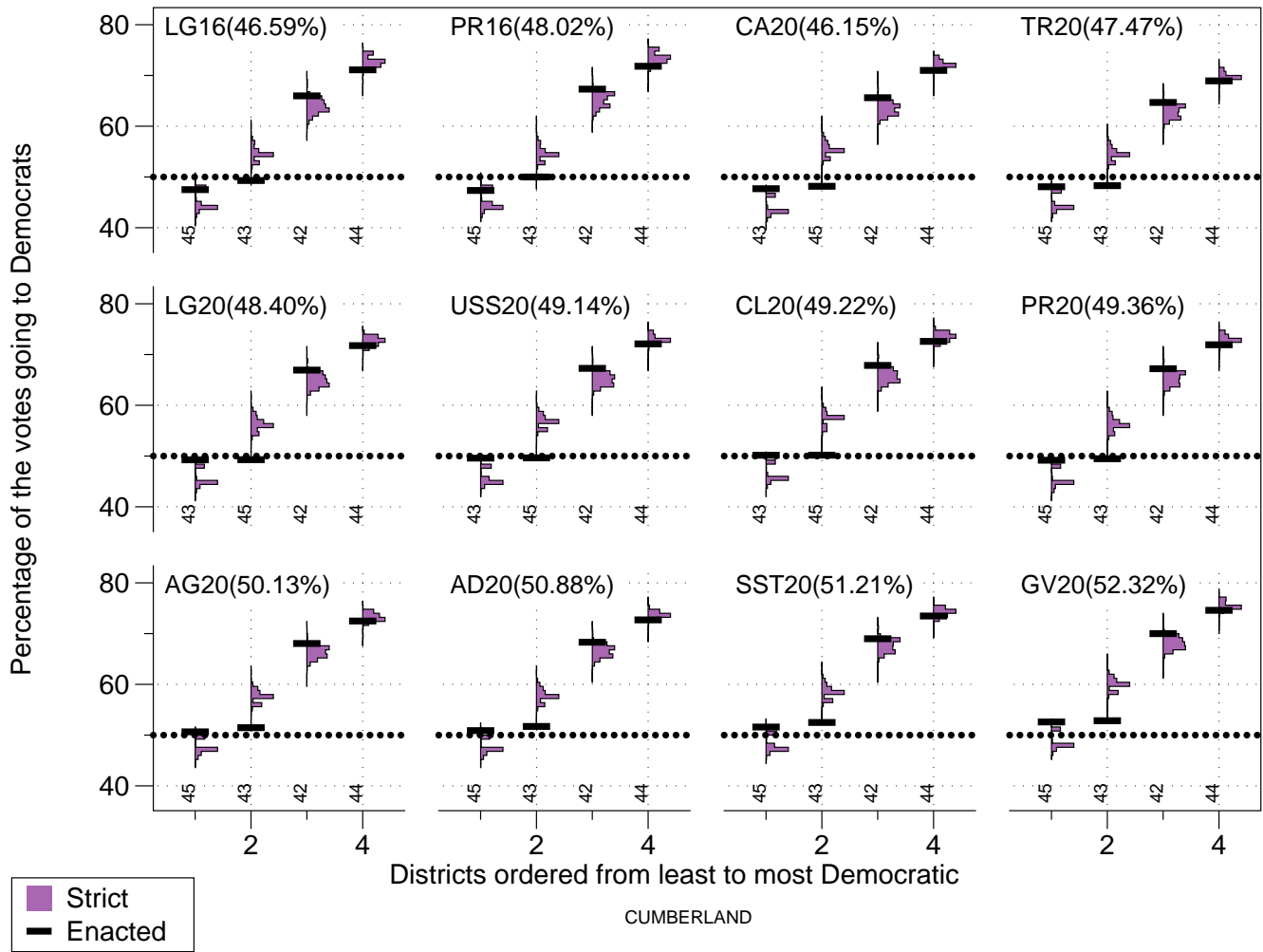


Figure 6.1.29: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

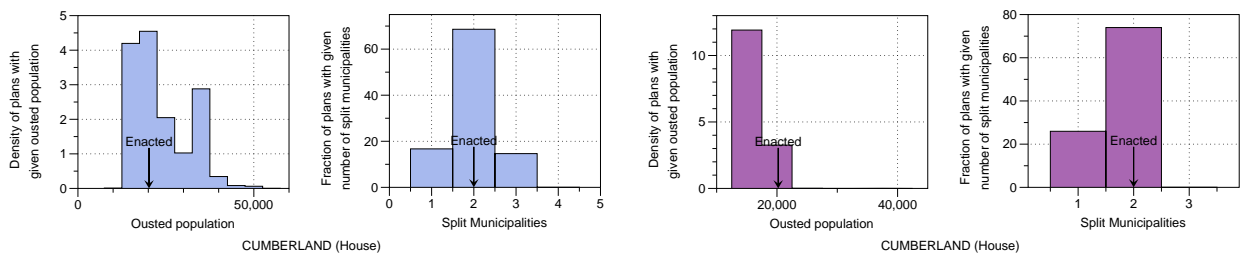


Figure 6.1.30: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.11 Cabarrus-Davie-Rowan-Yadkin

In the Cabarrus-Davie-Rowan-Yadkin county cluster, there are abnormally few Democrats in the most Democratic district (district 82). This is accomplished by placing abnormally many Democrats in the next three most democratic districts (districts 73, 76, and 83 – all of which are safe Republican districts). The effect is to make the most Democratic district a relatively reliable Republican seat (being won by the Republicans in all of the elections considered). Under the ensemble, it would switch parties in a number of the elections and regularly be a close contest.

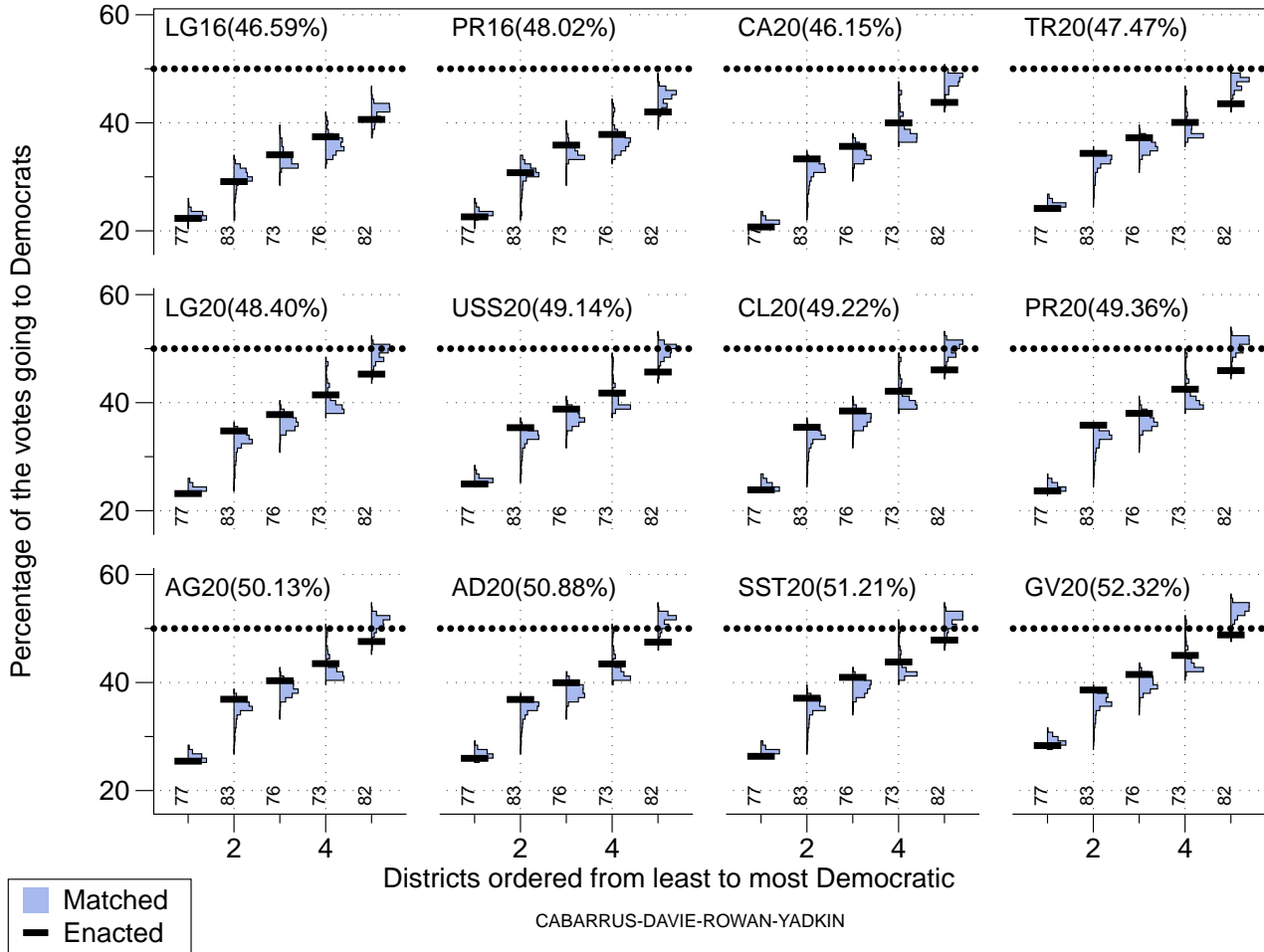


Figure 6.1.31: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

Looking at Figure 6.1.32, we see that the same pattern persists under the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

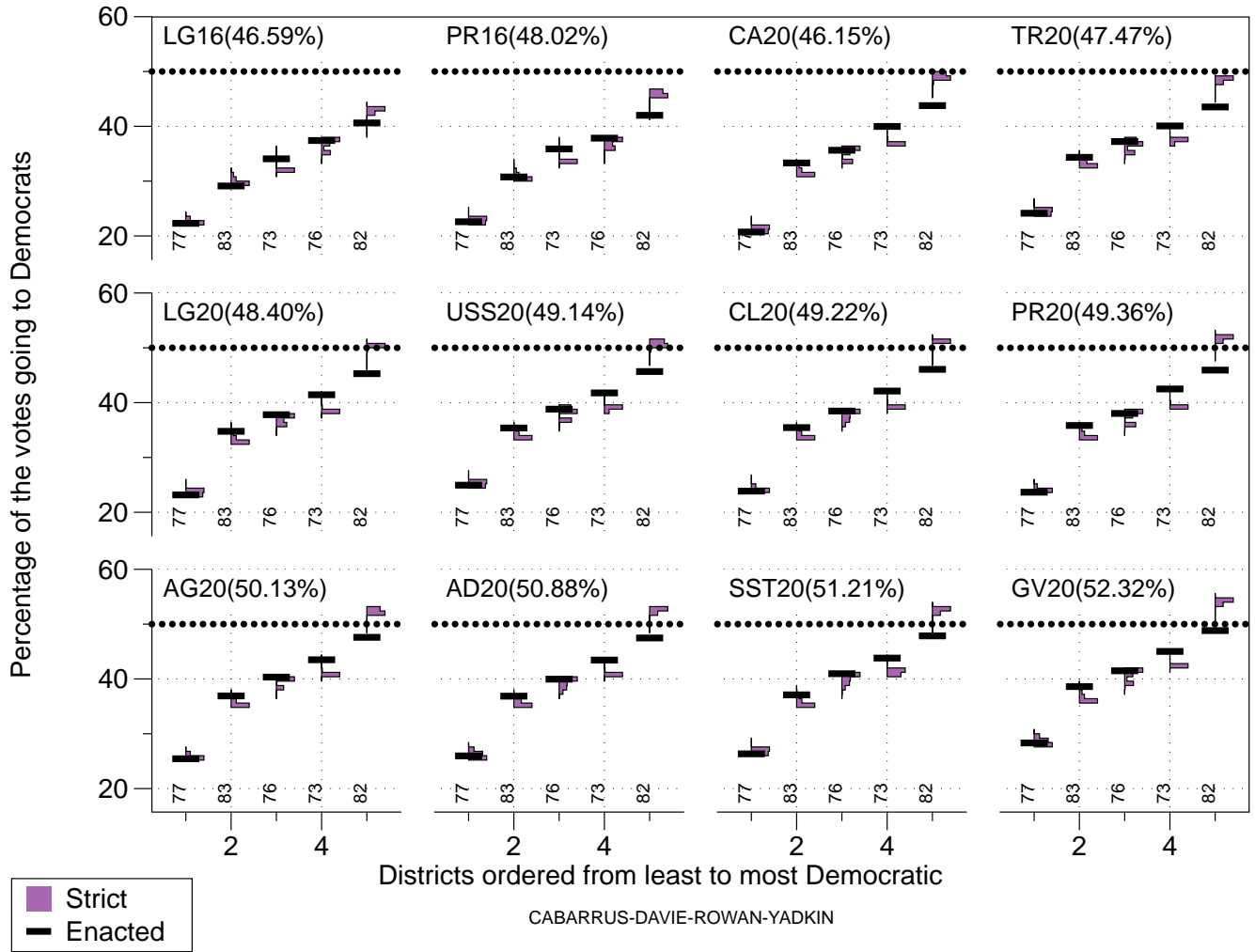


Figure 6.1.32: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

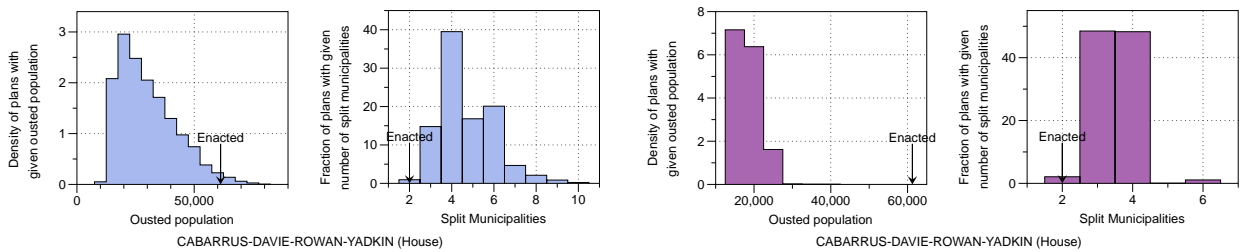


Figure 6.1.33: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.1.12 Brunswick-New Hanover

In the Brunswick-New Hanover county cluster, Figure 6.1.34 shows that the most Democratic district (district 18) has had abnormally many Democrats packed into it and the most Republican has had abnormally few Republicans placed in it, while the second-most Democratic district (district 20) has been depleted of Democrats. This makes the enacted plan much less responsive to changes in the the enacted plan preferences of the voters. The Republican party typically wins the second most democratic district in the enacted plan even though it would go to the Democrats under a number of elections when the neutral maps in the primary ensemble are used. Over each of the elections considered, the fraction of plans in the ensemble

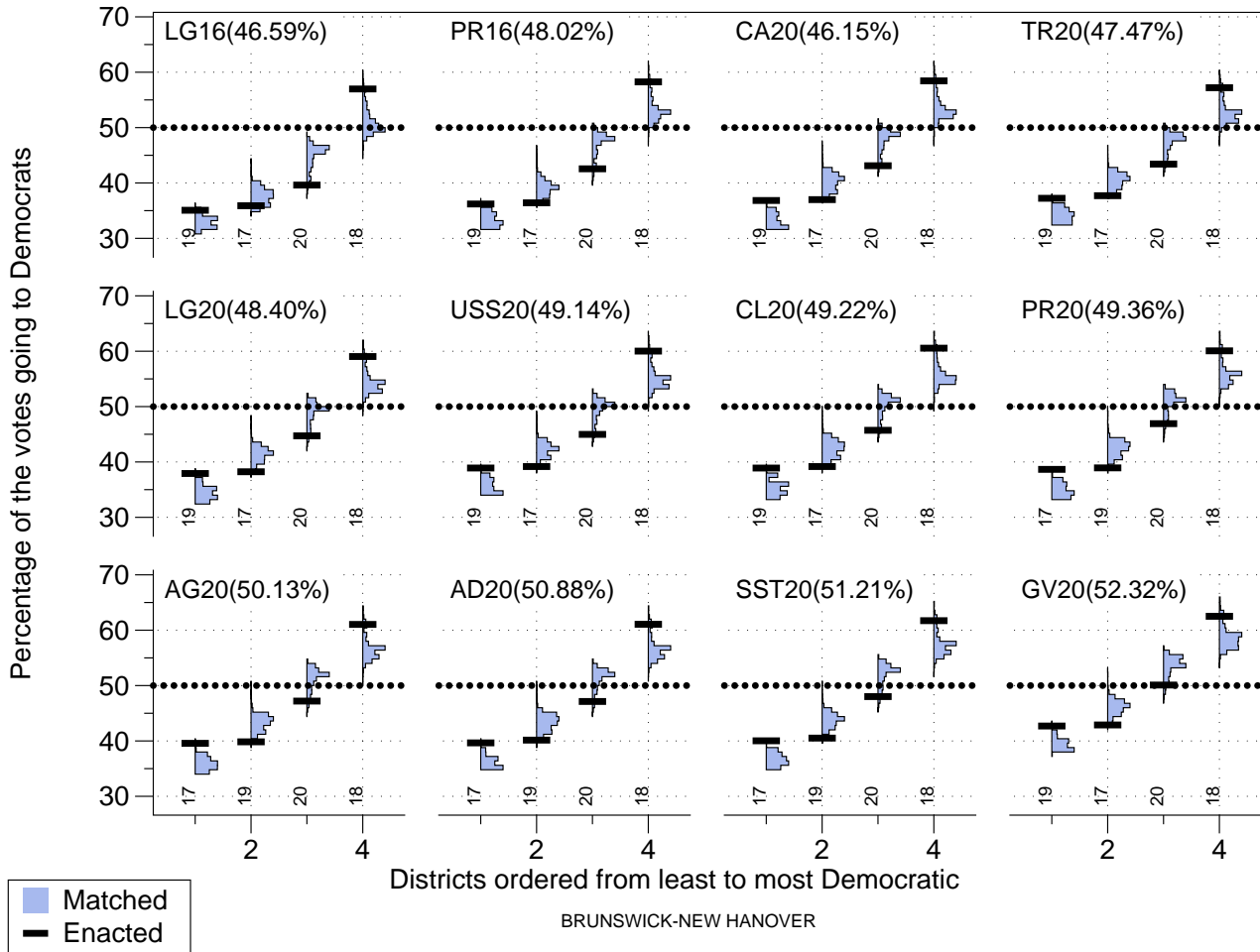


Figure 6.1.34: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

when a lower Democratic vote fraction in the second and third most Republican districts in the ensemble compared to the enacted plan map is always less than 0.5% and often much smaller.

Under the secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities shown in Figure 6.1.35, we see that the same structure persists. The enacted map becomes a more extreme outlier since this ensemble reduced the variance of the marginals and aligns the outcome gradual progression which ensures the map is fairly responsive to changes in the voter’s preference, a property not shared by the enacted map.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

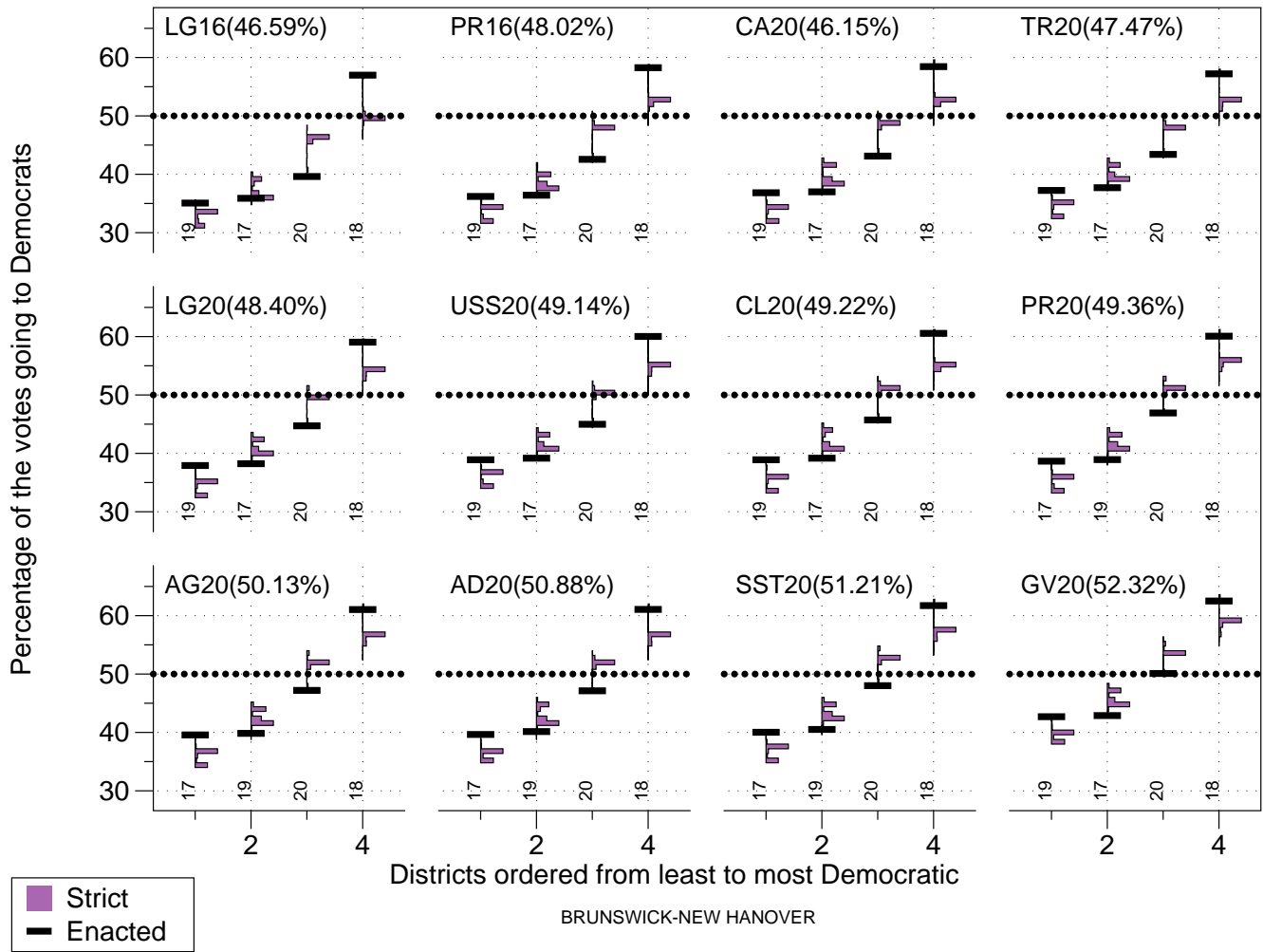


Figure 6.1.35: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Secondary ensemble which better preserves municipalities than the enacted plan.

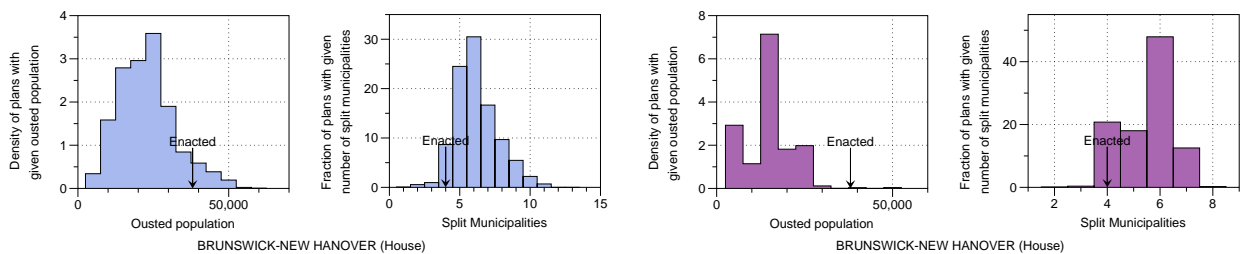


Figure 6.1.36: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.2 NC State Senate

Though the principal Senate ensemble, which prioritizes municipality preservation in line with the enacted plan, does not have as dramatic a shift towards the Republicans at the statewide level in comparison to the House, we still see a number of cases of extreme packing and cracking at the individual cluster level. Without exceptions, the effect is to minimize the effect of the Democratic votes and make the outcome of the election insensitive to a wide range of swings in the partisan vote fraction.

In the NC Senate, we again see the effect of prioritizing municipal preservation in our ensemble. When municipal preservation was not prioritized, there are two major effects. First, the enacted maps become extreme outliers, as the typical results swings are much less tilted to the Republican Party. Second, the two parties are much less separated. Requiring a high level of municipal preservation often leads the separation of the two political parties between disjoint districts. This in turn produces maps that are much less responsive to swinging public opinion. In other words, the results of the elections do not change over a wider range of statewide vote ranges.

### 6.2.1 Iredell-Mecklenburg

In this cluster, the second most Republican district (District 41 in the enacted plan) is the principal district whose outcome varies from election to election. In the enacted plan, unusually few democrats have been placed in this district to maximize the chance that the district elects a Republican. See Figure 6.2.1. In many elections, this means that the Republican wins this district under the enacted plan, whereas a Democrat would win the district under the a majority of ensemble plans.

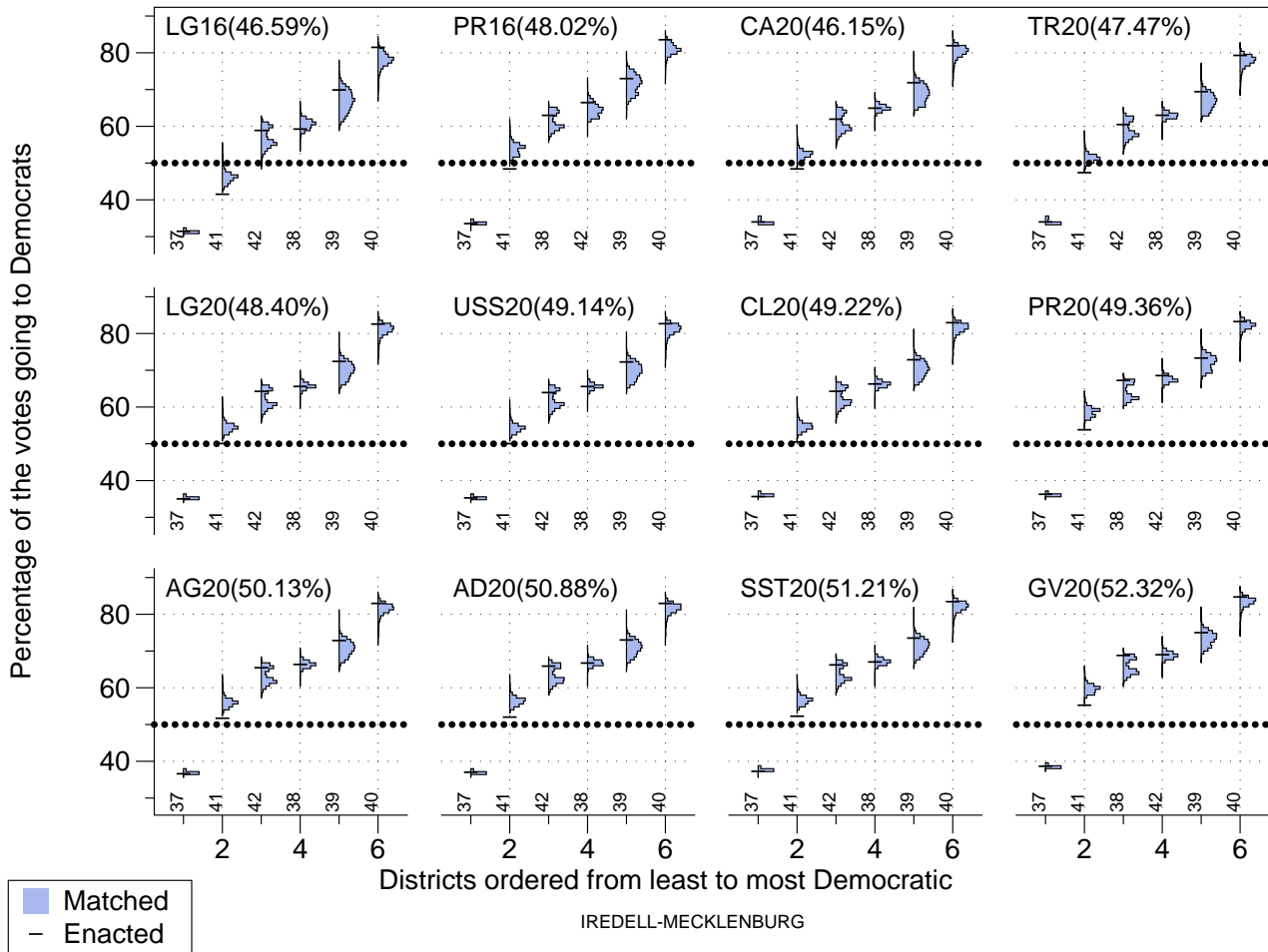


Figure 6.2.1: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

For each of the 2020 and 2016 elections we have consider, we found that none of approximately 80,000 plans in our ensemble had as low a fraction of Democrats in the two most Republican districts in the Iredell-Mecklenburg cluster as the enacted plan. Similarly, in the vast majority of the elections the ensemble had no plans with a higher fraction of democrats packed in the four most Democratic districts. In two elections 0.01% of the plans had a higher fraction of Democrats packed in the four most Democratic districts.

The effect discussed above is essentially the same when the municipality preservation is not prioritized. See Figure 6.2.2.

#### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

We see that in the Iredell-Mecklenburg cluster, the number of ousted people in the enacted plan is comparable the number of ousted people in the ensemble prioritizing municipalities. The enacted plan splits two municipalities which coincides with the most typical number split by the ensemble prioritizing municipalities. Though this ensemble sometimes splits a number more municipalities, it typically displaces a comparable number of people to the enacted plan.

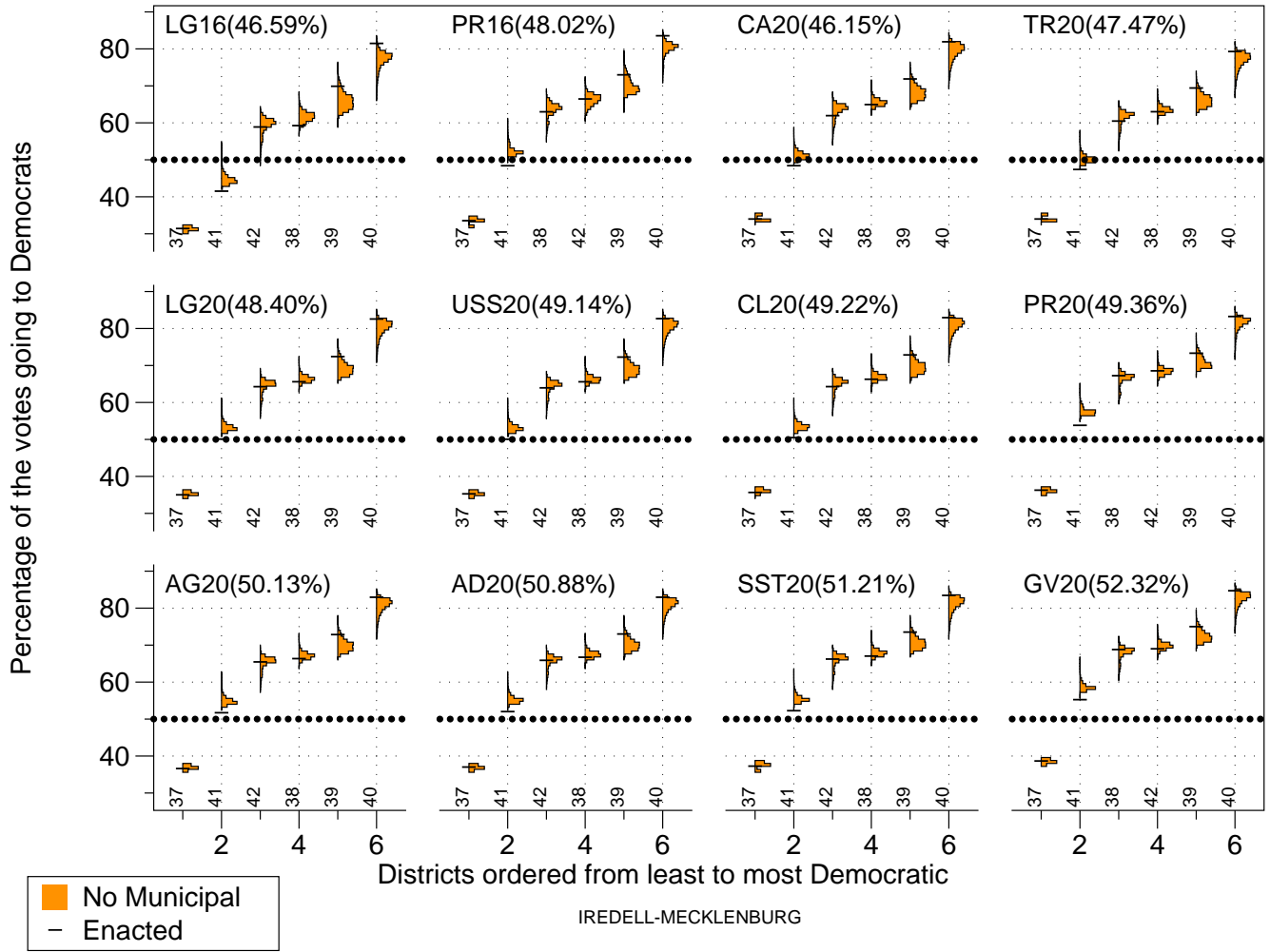


Figure 6.2.2: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the NC Senate Secondary ensemble which does not explicitly preserves municipalities.

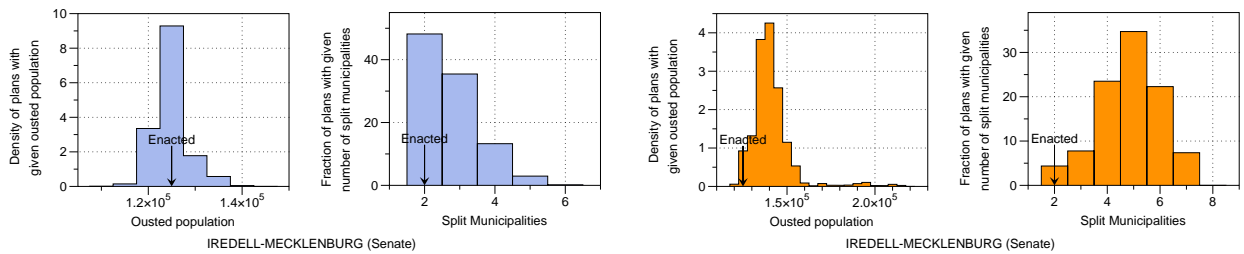


Figure 6.2.3: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.2.2 Granville-Wake

The enacted plan is chosen to be at the extreme edge of the ensemble. It maximizes the chance of the Republicans winning Districts 17 and 18 by packing a larger than typical number of Democrats in districts 14, 15, 16, and 18. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.4 across the 12 elections. For each of the 2020 and 2016 elections we have considered, we found that none of

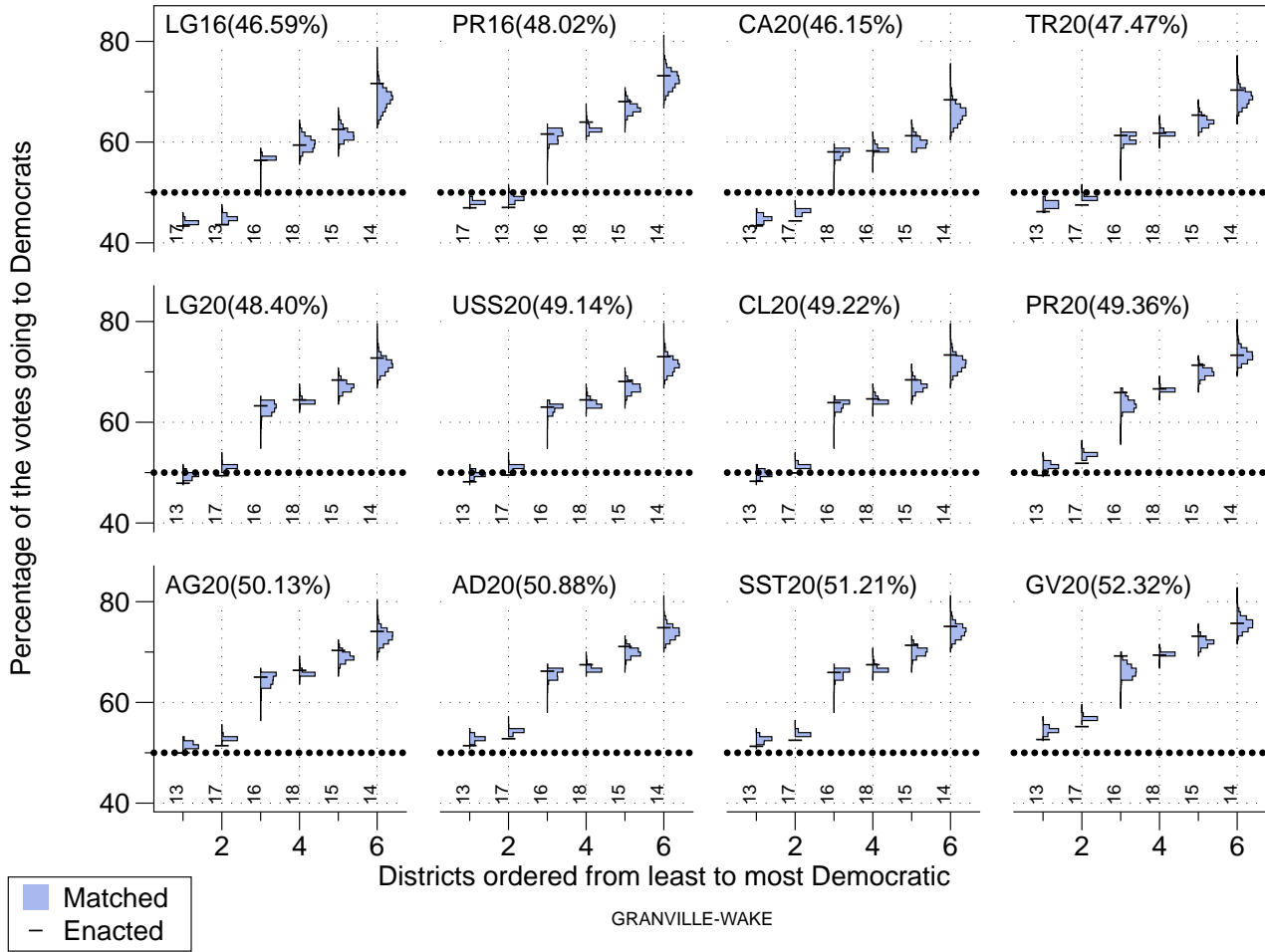


Figure 6.2.4: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

approximately 40,000 plans in our ensemble had as low a fraction of Democrats in the two most Republican districts in the Granville-Wake cluster as the enacted plan. Similarly, in six of the elections, the ensemble has no plans with more democrats packed in the four most Democratic districts. In six elections at most 0.022% of the plans had a higher fraction of Democrats packed in the four most Democratic districts than the enacted plan.

In this cluster, the prioritization of municipal preservation has a dramatic effect of packing Democrats in four districts and Republicans into two districts. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.5 across the 12 elections.

### Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:

We see that in the Granville-Wake cluster, the number of ousted people in the enacted plan is significantly more than the number of ousted people in the ensemble prioritizing municipalities. The enacted plan splits three municipalities which coincides with the most typical number split by the ensemble prioritizing municipalities. Though this ensemble sometimes splits a number more municipalities, it typically displaces significantly fewer people than the enacted plan. From the perspective of the number of people ousted, the enacted plan is situated squarely between our ensemble prioritizing municipal preservation and that which does not.

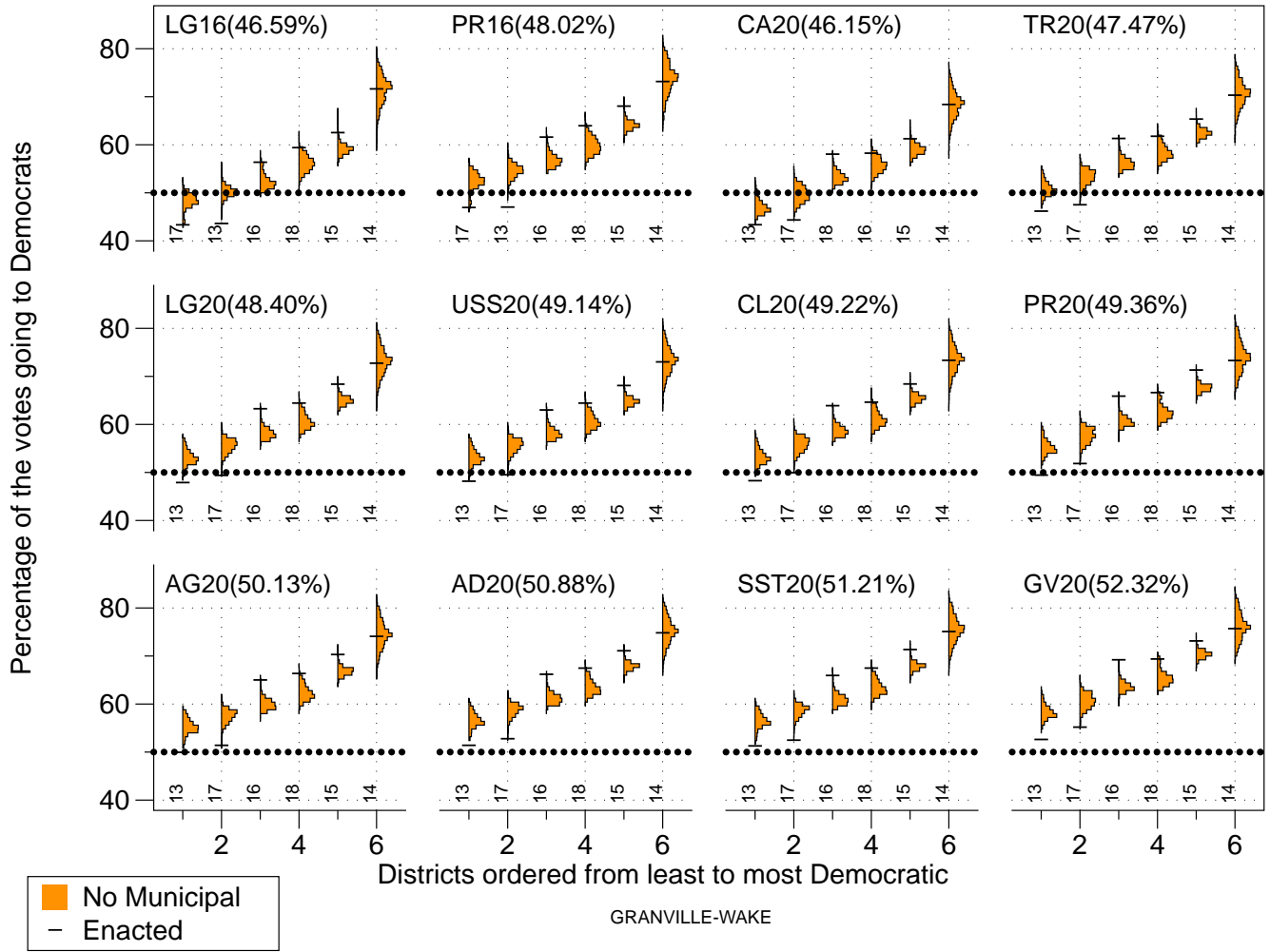


Figure 6.2.5: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “—” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “—”. This plot uses the NC Senate Secondary ensemble which does not explicitly preserves municipalities.

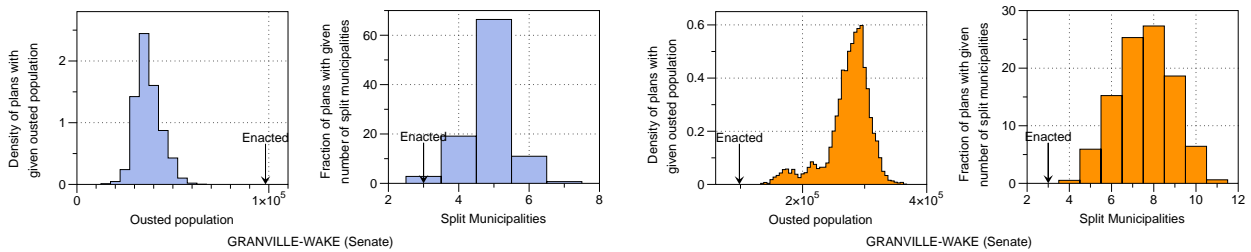


Figure 6.2.6: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

### 6.2.3 Forsyth-Stokes

There are only two districts in this cluster. The districts in the enacted plan are chosen to maximize the number of Democrats in the more democratic district and the number of republicans in the most Republican district. The map is an extreme outlier in both of these regards. The effect is a maximally non-responsive map. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.7 across the 12 elections. Of the almost 80,000 maps in the ensemble, less than 1% had as low a fraction of Democrats in the most

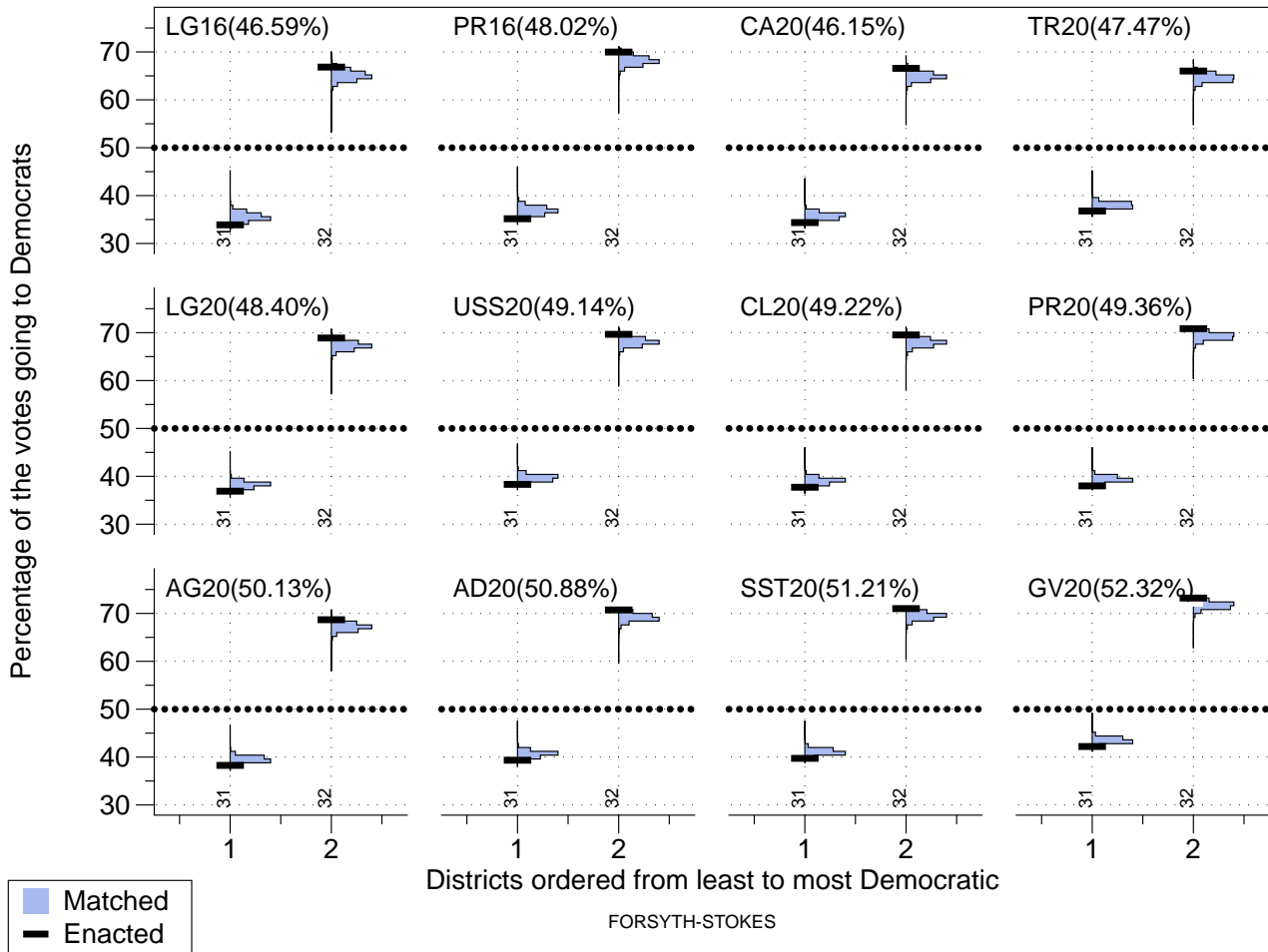


Figure 6.2.7: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

Republican district under the 2020 and 2016 elections considered. And between 1% and 5% of the plans had such a high Democratic fraction in the most Republican District.

When municipal preservation is not prioritized, the enacted map becomes an even more extreme outlier; showing an extreme level of packing of Democrats into one district and Republicans into the other. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.8 across the 12 elections.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** In the Forsyth-Stokes Cluster we see that the number of people ousted from municipalities is comparable between the enacted plan and the municipality prioritizing ensemble. Additionally, the enacted plan splits one municipality which is the most common number of splits in the municipality prioritizing ensemble.

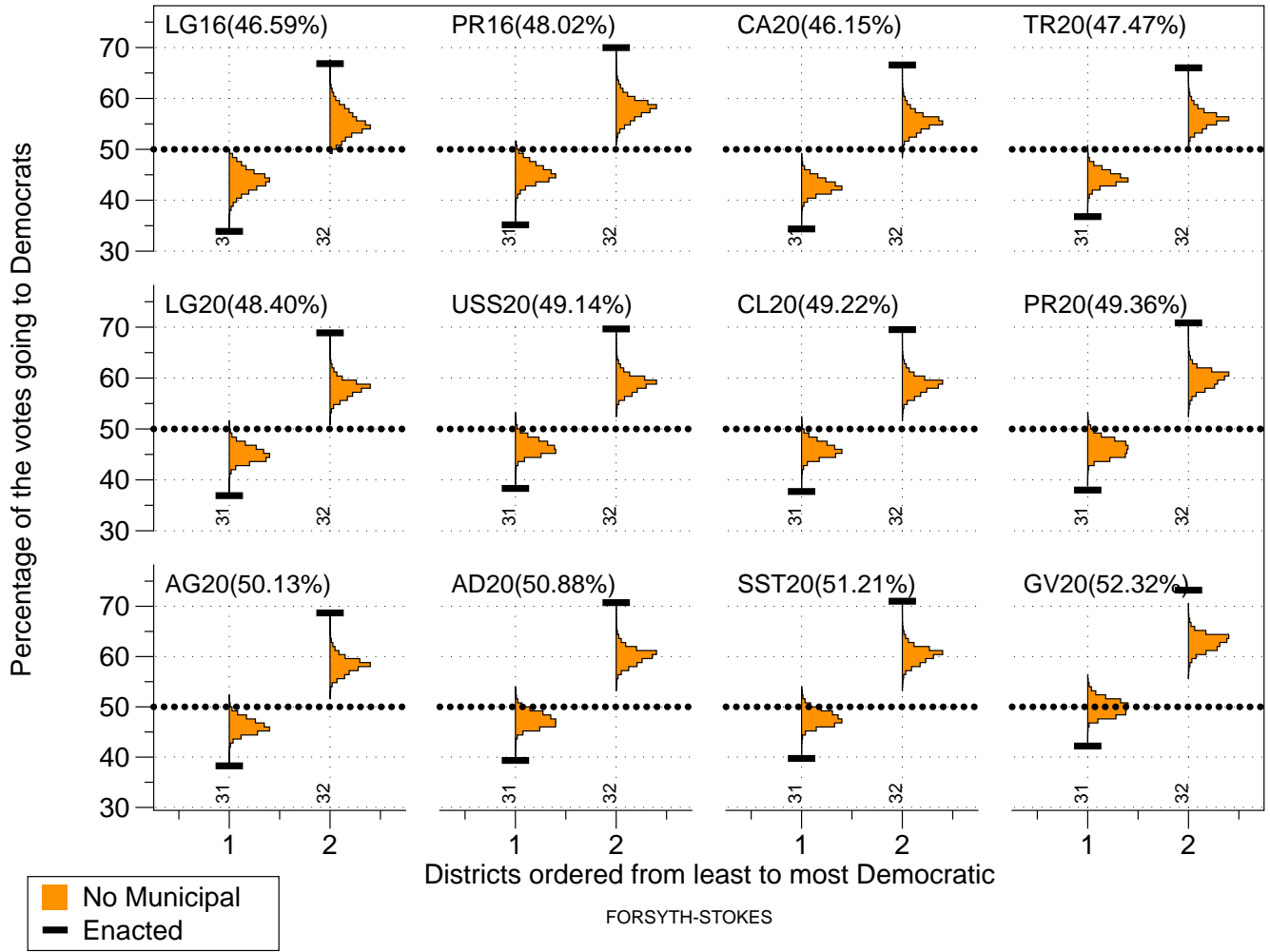


Figure 6.2.8: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the NC Senate Secondary ensemble which does not explicitly preserves municipalities.

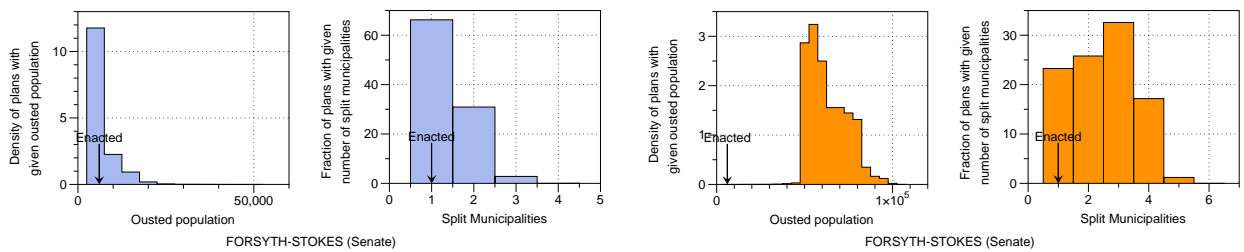


Figure 6.2.9: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.2.4 Cumberland-Moore

There are only two districts in this cluster. The districts in the enacted are chosen to maximize the number of Democrats in the more democratic district and the number of republicans in the most Republican district. The map is an extreme outlier in both of these regards. The effect is a maximally non-responsive map. The effect is shown in Figure ?? across the 12 elections. In each of the elections considered, no more than 0.06% of the ensemble plans have a lower fraction of Democrats

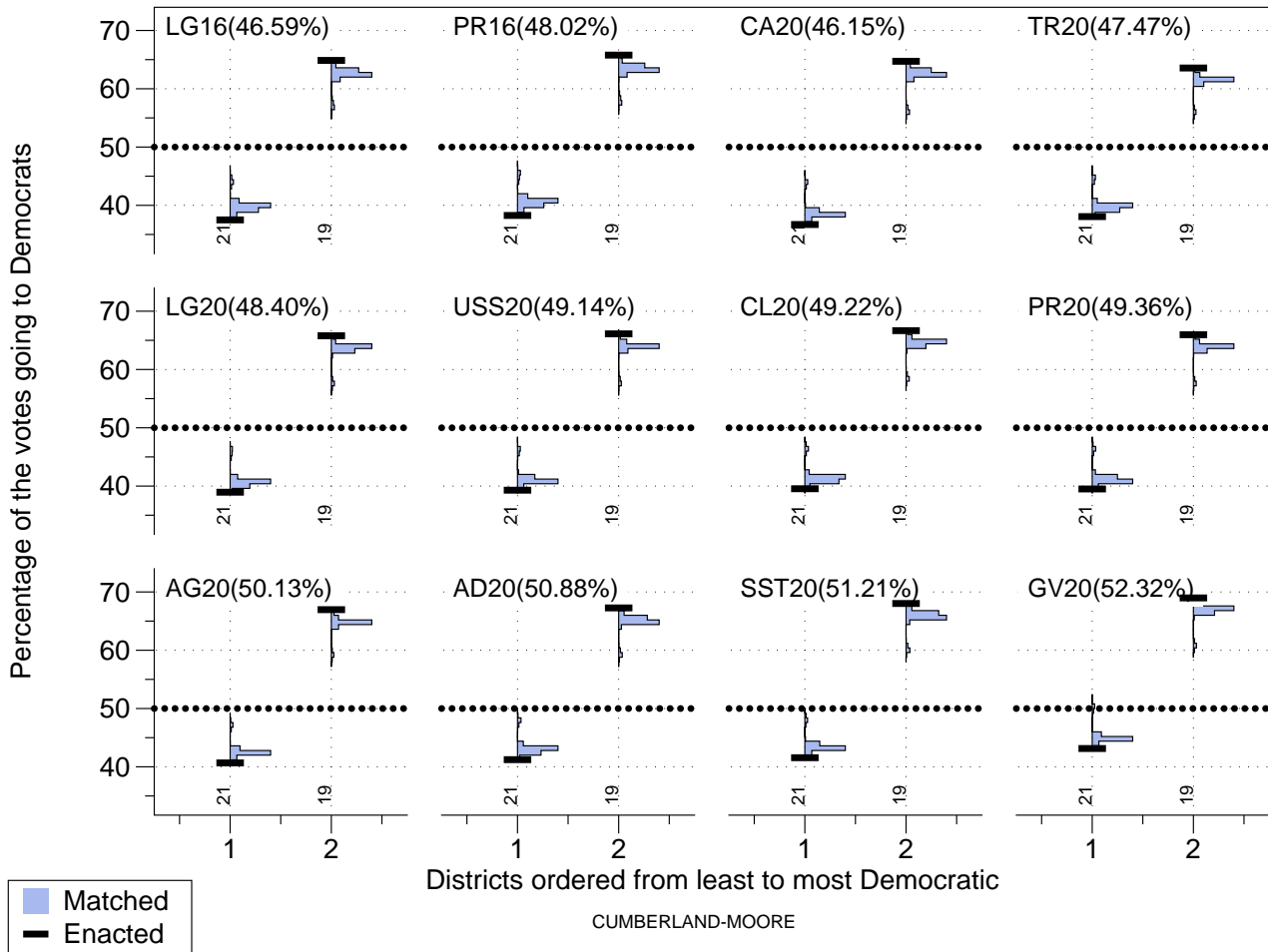


Figure 6.2.10: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

in the most Republican districts. Also no more than 0.06% of the ensemble plans have a higher fraction of Democrats in the most Democratic districts.

The prioritization of municipal preservation leads a dramatically less responsive pair of districts. When municipalities are less prioritized, both district have politically more centrist make up. Additionally, the more Republican district would regularly lean democratic without the prioritization of municipal preservation. The effect is show in Figure 6.2.11 across the 12 elections.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** In the Cumberland-Moore cluster, the enacted plan ousts a number of people close to the minimum number of ousted people seen in the ensemble prioritization municipal preservation. The enacted plan splits two municipalities which is the most common number of splits found in the ensemble prioritization municipal preservation.

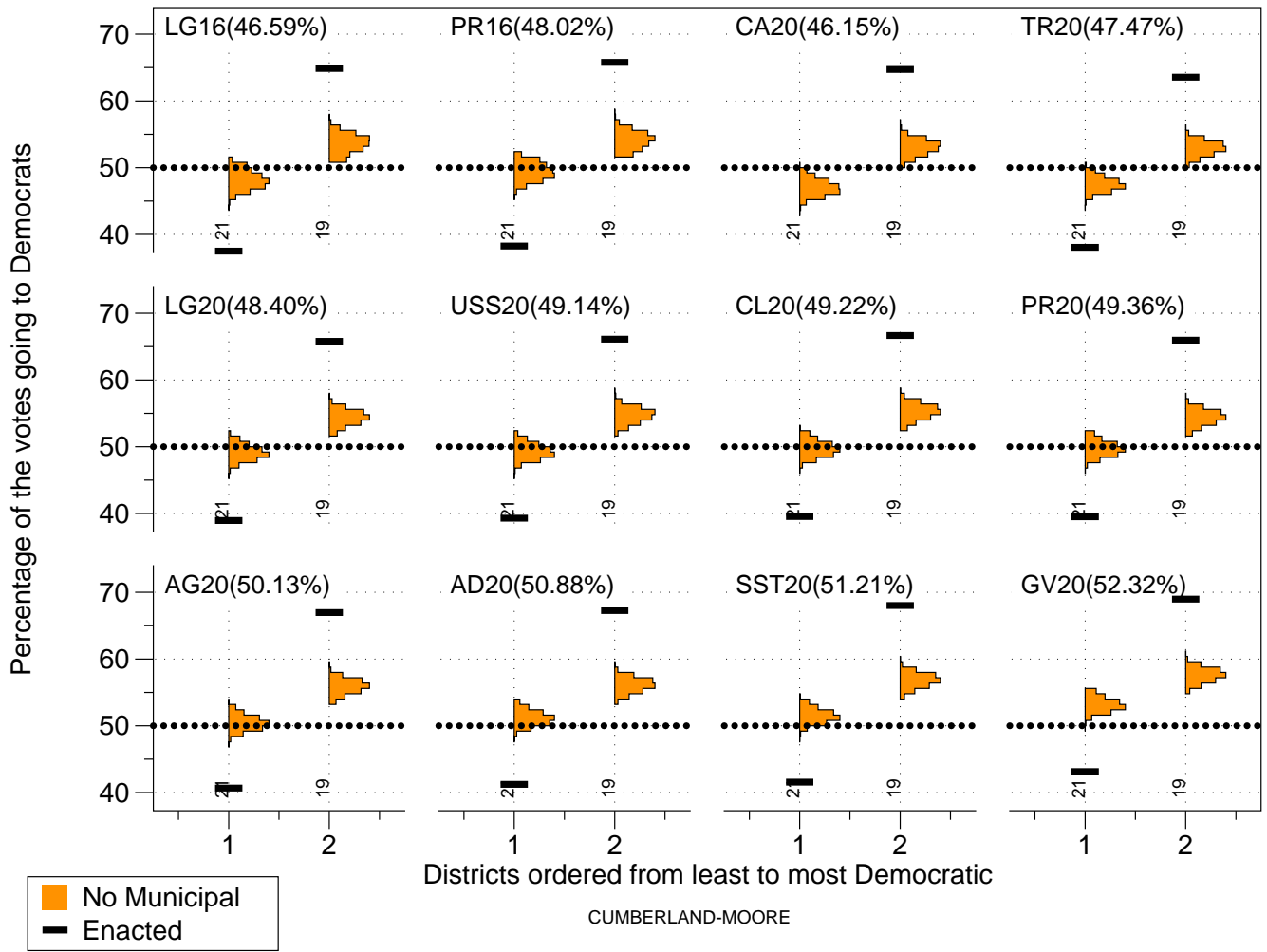


Figure 6.2.11: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “—” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “—”. This plot uses the NC Senate Secondary ensemble which does not explicitly preserves municipalities.

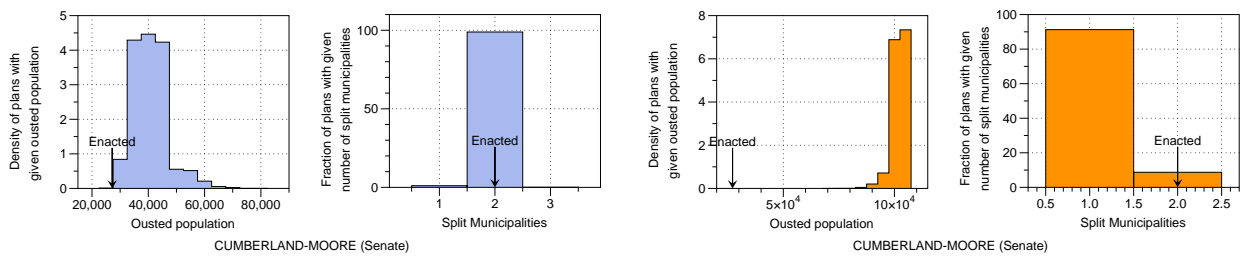


Figure 6.2.12: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.2.5 Guilford-Rockingham

The three districts in the Guilford-Rockingham cluster are constructed to pack an exceptional number of democrats in the most democratic district (district 28) and exceptionally few Democrats in the most Republican district (district 26). The effect is to ensure a Republican victory in the district 26, when in some elections the most republican district would be at risk of going to the Democratic Party. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.13 across the 12 elections. In the Guilford-Rockingham

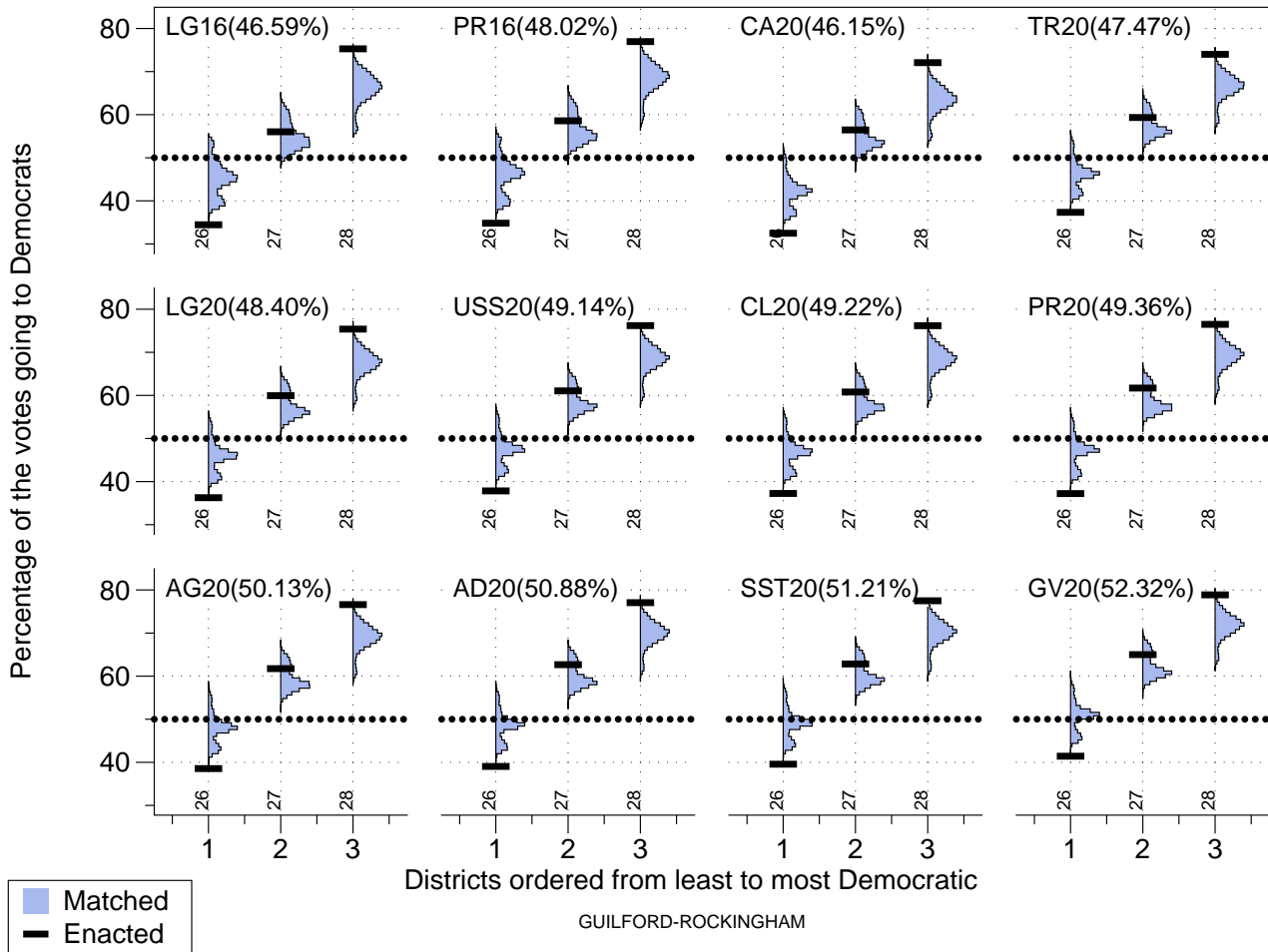


Figure 6.2.13: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “–” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “–”. This plot uses the Primary ensemble which was tuned to match the municipal preservation of the enacted plan.

across all of the elections considered, none of the plans have lower fraction of Democrats in the most Republican district than the enacted plan. Conversely, in none of the elections considered do more than 0.08% of the plans have more Democrats packed in the most Democratic district than the enacted plan.

When municipalities are prioritized less, the effect is even more dramatic. In that setting, the extreme number of Democrats packed into the most democratic district and Republicans into the most Republican distinct is even more extreme. The effect is shown in Figure 6.2.14 across the 12 elections.

**Municipal Splits and Ousted Population:** In the Guilford-Rockingham cluster, the enacted plan splits one municipality and ousts a number of people which is typically found in the ensemble prioritizing municipality preservation which has an average ousted population which is slightly higher than the enacted plan.

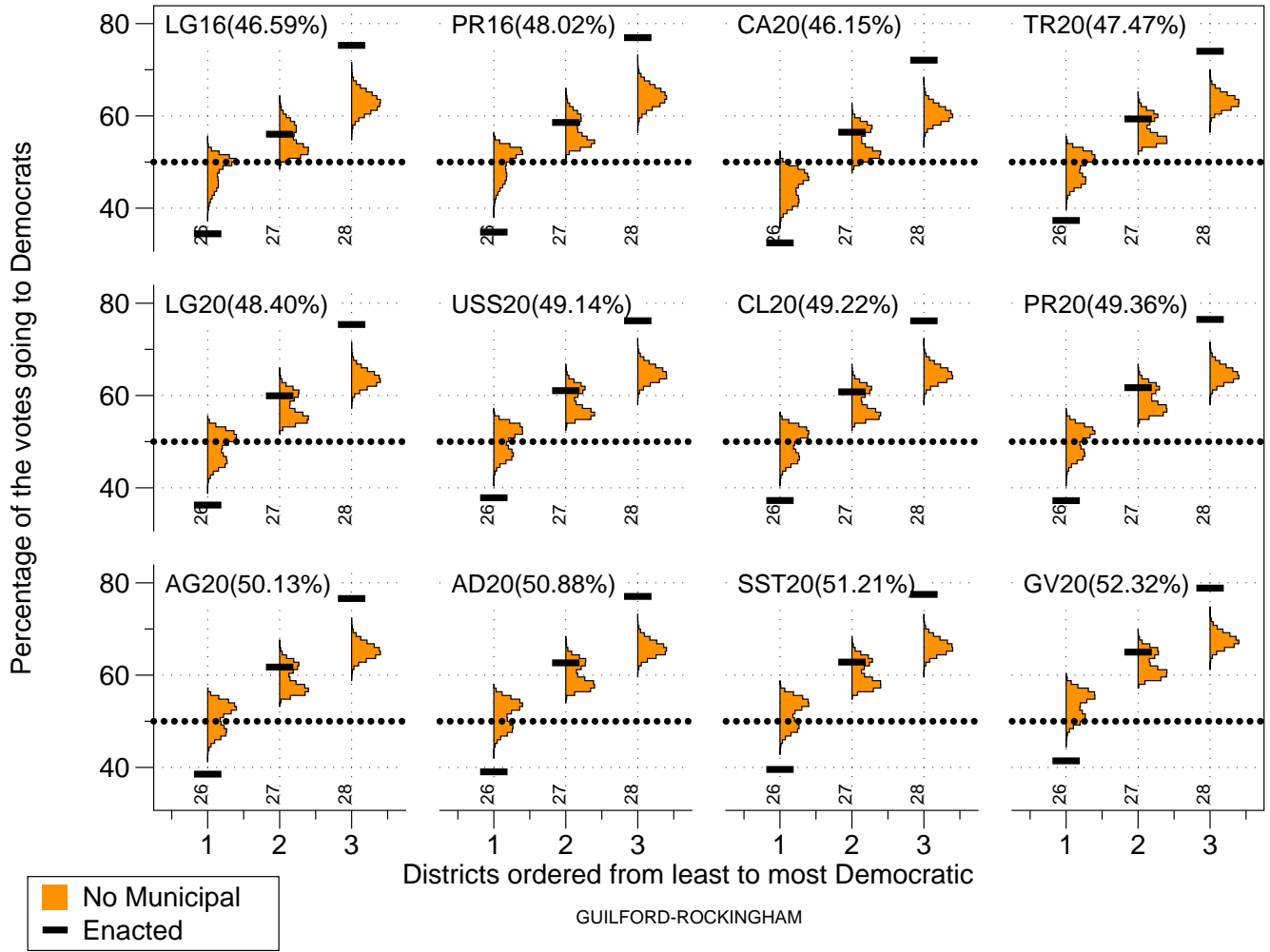


Figure 6.2.14: Shown are the distributions of the Democratic vote fraction of the districts in the plan when ordered from most Republican (on the left) to most Democrat (on the right). The “—” on each marginal histogram denotes the vote fraction of the corresponding district in the enacted plan. The numbers along the horizontal axis give the district numbers in the enacted plan corresponding to the “—”. This plot uses the NC Senate Secondary ensemble which does not explicitly preserves municipalities.

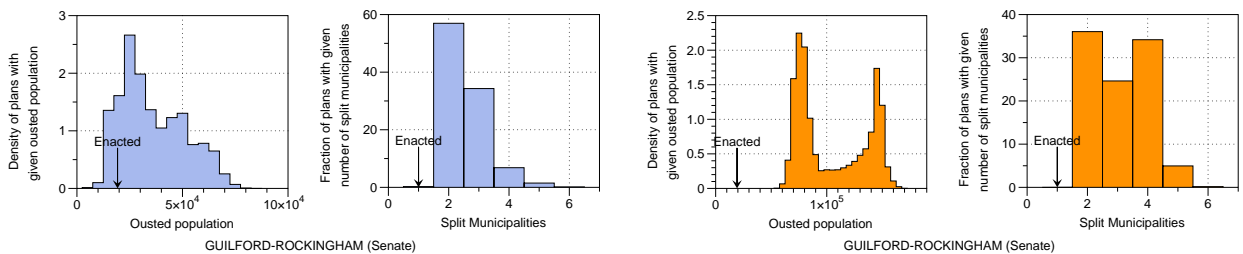


Figure 6.2.15: Plots showing the distribution of the number of people ousted from municipalities in this cluster under the primary and secondary ensemble. The amount of people ousted by the enacted map is also shown.

## 6.2.6 Northeastern County Cluster

In the NC Senate, there is more than one possible group of county clusters in the northeast corner of the state. As described in Figure 4.3.1 from Section 4.3, there is a choice between two different groups of county clusters. Each group consists of two different county clusters. Based on their population, each of these clusters has only one district. Thus, there is no choice on how to redistrict this region once the county grouping is set. We now explore partisan implications of choosing one county grouping over the other. As shown in the table below, under the enacted county groupings, Republicans win both districts in every election we consider. By contrast, under the alternative county grouping, each party won one of the two districts under every election we consider.

County Clusters	Enacted Cluster 1	Enacted Cluster 2	Alternative Cluster 1	Alternative Cluster 2
	Martin, Warren, Halifax, Hyde, Pamlico, Chowan, Washington, Carteret	Gates Currituck Pasquotank Dare Bertie Camden Perquimans Hertford Tyrrell Northampton	Pasquotank, Dare, Perquimans, Hyde, Pamlico, Chowan, Washington, Carteret	Gates, Currituck, Camden, Bertie, Warren, Halifax, Hertford, Tyrrell, Northampton, Martin
Democratic Vote %(LG16)	46.07%	47.74%	38.51%	55.42%
Democratic Vote %(PR16)	45.60%	46.70%	37.83%	54.59%
Democratic Vote %(CA20)	42.28%	44.47%	36.48%	50.75%
Democratic Vote %(USS20)	45.31%	45.36%	38.45%	52.75%
Democratic Vote %(TR20)	44.12%	44.58%	37.61%	51.59%
Democratic Vote %(GV20)	46.79%	47.56%	40.75%	54.12%
Democratic Vote %(AD20)	47.79%	47.72%	41.02%	54.99%
Democratic Vote %(SST20)	47.56%	47.85%	41.03%	54.89%
Democratic Vote %(AG20)	45.88%	46.11%	39.15%	53.40%
Democratic Vote %(PR20)	44.09%	45.54%	38.30%	51.84%
Democratic Vote %(LG20)	43.80%	45.12%	37.74%	51.69%
Democratic Vote %(CL20)	45.23%	46.42%	39.12%	52.00%

Table 3: Voting History for the two different choices of county grouping northeast corner in the NC Senate.

## 7 State Legislature: Additional Details

### 7.1 State Legislature: Details on the Sampling Method

To effectively generate a representative ensemble of maps from the desired non-partisan distributions, we use the well-established method of parallel tempering. It allows one to effectively sample from a possibly difficult to sample distribution by connecting it to an easy to sample distribution through a sequence of intermediate “interpolating” distributions.

We connect our desired distributions to a distribution on redistricting plans that favors plans with a larger number of spanning trees. This alternative distribution satisfies the same constraints, however, it does not consider compactness nor municipal preservation. We make this choice because it can be effectively sampled using a variation on the Metropolized Multiscale Forest RECOM sampling algorithm outlined in [1, 2] coupled with the Metropolis-Hasting algorithm. Using Parallel Tempering, we interpolate between the desired distribution on redistricting and a distribution which is chosen so that the Markov Chain Monte Carlo algorithm converges to its target distribution quickly.

In sampling the interpolating ladder of distributions between the easier-to-sample distribution and our target distribution with the needed policy considerations, we use parallel tempering with a classical Metropolis-Hasting sampling scheme to sample each level of the interpolating ladder of distributions. As proposals in the Metropolis-Hasting sampling scheme, we use a mixture of the Multiscale Forest RECOM proposals and single node flip proposals, depending on what is appropriate for the distribution associated with the given level in the interpolation. The Multiscale Forest RECOM has a number of advantages. Its multiscale nature seems to provide improvements in computational efficiency and the global moves of RECOM lead empirically to faster mixing. Additionally, it can efficiently preserve counties and other groupings. Lastly, it can be effectively combined with the Metropolis-Hasting algorithm to produce an algorithm that samples from the specified

distribution.

To facilitate mixing and for computational practicality, we often split the interpolating groups of manageable size, typically between 10 and 30 interpolating levels. Each grouping is then run to produce an ensemble at the top level which approaches; which is closer to the desired ensemble. This ensemble is then used as an *independent sample reservoir* to generate independent samples for the next group of interpolating levels. This process is repeated until the desired level is reached. We typically use between 60 and 100 interpolating levels in our sampling schemes. The number of plans sampled differs from cluster to cluster. We also sometimes group clusters together for sampling. Usually the number of samples in around 80,000 but in all cases we have check various empirical measure to evaluate if the sampling has converged and is well mixed.

## 7.2 State Legislature: Mathematical Description of Ensemble Distribution

In designing our distributions, we have chosen to define explicit distributions and then use an implementation of the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm to generate the ensemble. We feel this choice promotes transparency because an explicit distribution can better be discussed and critiqued. It also allows us to more explicitly translate the policy considerations into the ensemble.

In order to formally define our distributions, we consider the labeling  $\xi$  of the precincts of the map of NC with the number  $\{1, \dots, d\}$ , where  $d$  is the total number of districts. So for the  $i$ -th precinct,  $\xi(i)$  gives the district to which the precinct belongs. If we let  $A_j(\xi)$  and  $B_j(\xi)$  be respectively the surface area and perimeter (or length of the boundary) of the  $j$ -district then our compactness score is

$$J_{\text{compact}}(\xi) = \sum_{j=1}^d \frac{A_j(\xi)}{B_j^2(\xi)}.$$

Then the probability of drawing the redistricting  $\xi$  is

$$\text{Prob}(\xi) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{Z} e^{-w_{\text{compact}} J_{\text{compact}}(\xi)} & \text{for } \xi \text{ which is allowable} \\ 0 & \text{for } \xi \text{ which is not allowable} \end{cases}$$

Here  $Z$  is a number that makes the sum of  $\text{Prob}(\xi)$  over all redistricting plans are equal to one.

The collection of allowable redistricting plans  $\xi$  is defined to be all redistricting plans which satisfy the following conditions:

1. all districts are connected
2. the populations of each district is within %5 of the ideal district population unless the district in the wake county cluster in the senate or the Craven-Carteret county cluster in the house.<sup>2</sup>
3. The number of split counties is minimized.
4. We minimize the occurrence of districts traversing county boundaries.

The second distribution includes a municipality score,  $J_{MCD}(\xi)$ . This score describes the number of people who have been displaced from a district that could have preserved the voters within their municipality, and is defined as

$$J_{MCD}(\xi) = \sum_{m \in M} \text{pop}_{\text{oust}}(\xi, m),$$

where  $M$  is the set of all MCDs, and  $\text{pop}_{\text{oust}}(\xi, m)$  is the number of displaced people from the municipality  $m$  under the redistricting plan  $\xi$ . We define  $\text{pop}_{\text{oust}}$  in one way if the population of the municipality is less than the size of a district and another if it is greater.

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<sup>2</sup>In the two exceptional clusters, it is impossible to draw districts that preserve precincts and also achieve population balance within 5%. For Wake in the senate, we sample with a deviation of 6% and generate an associated ensemble; past experience has shown that this does not create a partisan effect and we will be confirming this in follow on analyses. In Craven-Carteret, precinct 02 in Craven is the only precinct that connects the bulk of Craven with Carteret and it must be split to achieve population balance between the two districts within this cluster. We have examined the voting patterns when assigning this precinct to the district with the bulk of Craven or with all of Carteret and found minimal effects on the outcome.

If  $m$  has a population that is less than the population of a district, we consider the district that holds the most people from the municipality  $m$  as the representative district for that municipality. Any person within municipality  $m$ , but not within the representative district is considered to have been displaced.

If  $m$  has a population that is greater than the population of a district, we consider the number of districts that could fit within  $m$  to be  $d(m) = \lfloor \text{pop}(m)/\text{pop}_{\text{ideal}} \rfloor$ , where  $\text{pop}(m)$  is the population of the MCD  $m$  and  $\text{pop}_{\text{ideal}}$  is the ideal district population. We also consider the remaining population in the municipality that cannot fit within a whole district to be  $r(m) = \text{pop}(m) - d(m) \times \text{pop}_{\text{ideal}}$ . To determine the displaced population, we look at the  $d(m)$  districts that contain the largest populations from the municipality  $m$ . Hypothetically, everyone in these districts could live in the municipality  $m$ . Therefore, anyone who is in one of these districts and that does not live in the municipality  $m$  could be replaced by someone who does live in the municipality. Thus, we sum the number of people not in  $m$  in the  $d(m)$  districts that contain the largest populations of  $m$ . We also note that the remaining population  $r(m)$  could hypothetically be kept intact when drawing a  $(d(m) + 1)$ th district. We, therefore, look at the number of people in the municipality  $m$  who are living in the district with the  $(d(m) + 1)$ th most population of the municipality. If the number of people in  $m$  is less than  $r(m)$ , then we add this difference to the number of ousted people (since each of these people in the municipality could have conceivably been placed in the district).

Formally, we let the  $|M| \times d$  matrix,  $MCD(\xi)_{m,j}$  represent the number of people who are in the municipality  $m$  and the district  $\xi_j$ . Then

$$\text{pop}_{\text{oust}}(\xi, m) \begin{cases} \sum_j MCD(\xi)_{m,j} - \max_j(MCD(\xi)_{m,j}) & \text{pop}(m) < \text{pop}_{\text{ideal}} \\ \sum_{j \in D(m)} (\text{pop}(\xi_j) - MCD(\xi)_{m,j}(\xi)) & \text{pop}(m) \geq \text{pop}_{\text{ideal}} \\ + \max(0, MCD(\xi)_{m,N(m)} - r(m)) & \end{cases}$$

where  $\text{pop}(\xi_j)$  is the population of district  $\xi_j$ ,  $D(m)$  is the set of district indices that represent the  $d(m)$  districts with the largest populations of municipality  $m$ , and  $N(m)$  represents the district index with the  $d(m) + 1$  most population of municipality  $m$ .

### **7.3 State Legislature: Additional Ensemble Statistics**

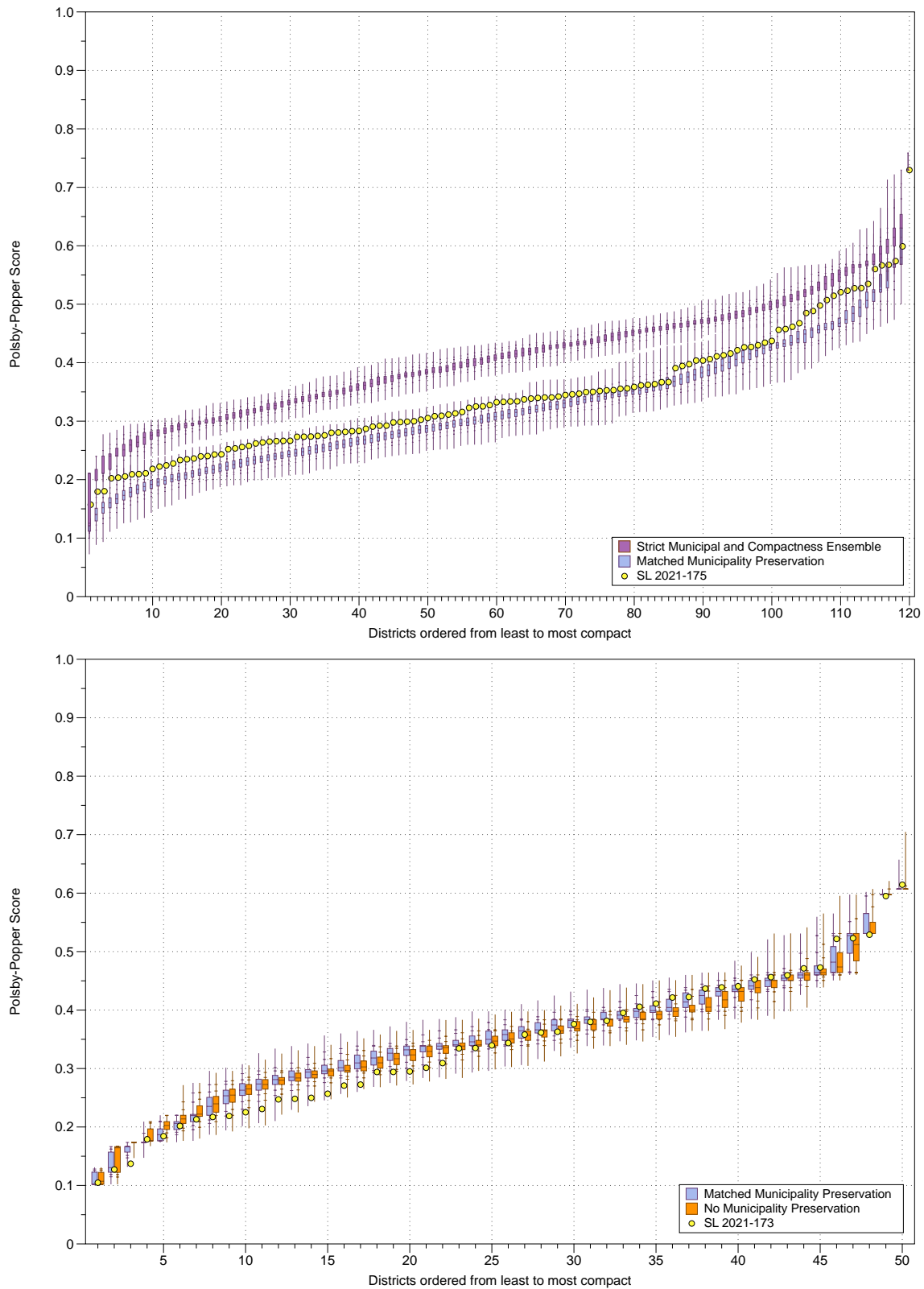


Figure 7.3.1: These plots compare the Polsby-Popper Score of the enacted maps (shown we the yellow dots) with the marginal histograms of the primary and secondary ensembles.

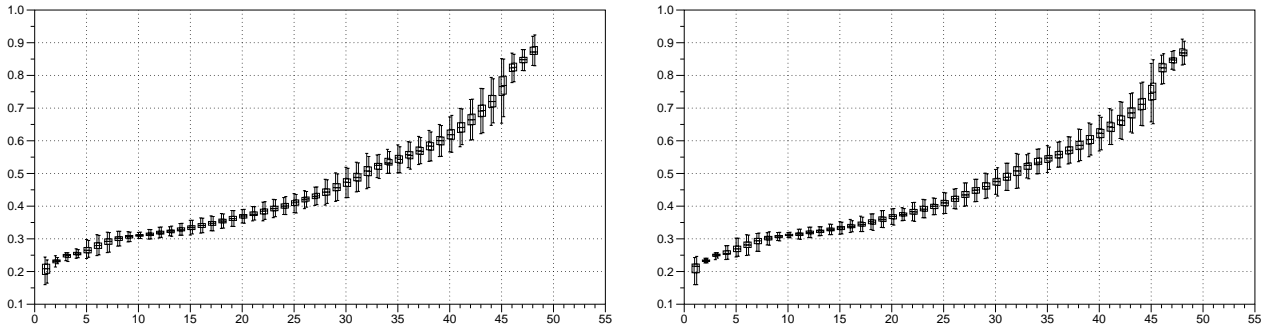


Figure 7.4.1: We compare a subset of the threads to the remaining threads. Each thread represents a different initial condition, and thus takes a different trajectory through the phase space. We compare our standard observables, such as the ranked ordered marginal distributions and confirm that they yield equivalent results. On the left we show an example of comparing one thread with all threads in a parallel tempering run; on the right we show an example of comparing half of the thread with the other half of the threads in a parallel tempering run.

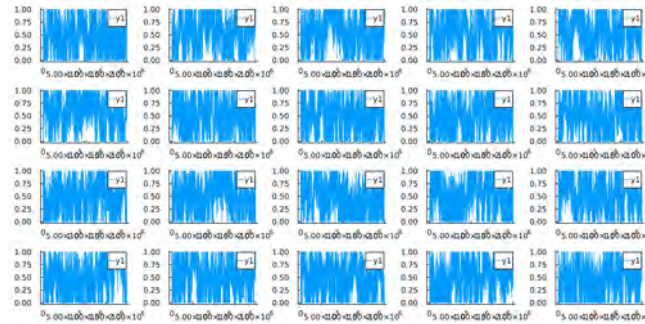


Figure 7.4.2: We examine how each of the parallel tempering threads swaps as a function of the proposal number. The vertical axis represents different measures and the horizontal axis represents the proposal in the Markov Chain. When the thread (or redistributing) is near the bottom of the vertical axis it mixes quickly when drawing from the reservoir; when it is at the top of the vertical axis it is at the desired measure which is either the desired measure we are sampling from or an intermediate measure that will act as a subsequent reservoir.

## 7.4 State Legislature: Convergence Tests

We performed a number of tests to assess if our sampling of the desired distribution was sufficient to provide an accurate representation of the desired distribution. Sometimes many samples are needed, yet in other cases a much smaller number is sufficient. We use a number of different methods to assess convergence.

Many of our runs were generated with an implementation of the *parallel tempering algorithm* with an *independent sample reservoir*. The use of parallel tempering provides a number of different threads that can be grouped and then compared against each other. As each thread starts from a different initial condition, if the distributions look similar then there is evidence that the system is mixing. Similarly, if a subset of the threads has a similar distribution to all of the threads, then there is evidence that enough samples were used.

The following plots show representative ranked ordered histograms for some NC House and NC Senate runs where different threads in a parallel tempering run are compared.

Each time a thread exchanges its state with the independent sample reservoir, it receives a new configuration that is independent of the previous state of the system. Additionally, if the thread then progresses up to the parameter level of interest, then we have strong evidence that we are producing decorated samples. The following plots show the current level of each for the different threads in a parallel tempering run. Switching regularly from the highest level (the desired sample distribution) to the lowest level (the level with the independent sample reservoir) is a strong indication that the system will be well mixed and converged.

In some cases, we run two or more complete sampling runs for the same target distribution. If the ensembles generated are close then we have strong evidence that the ensembles are converged as each run started from different initial conditions and used different randomness.

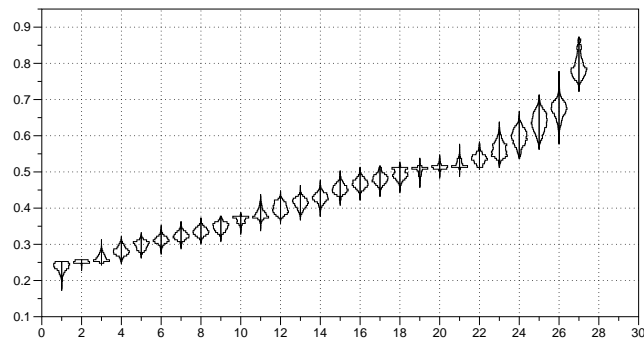


Figure 7.4.3: We compare the ranked ordered marginals on two independent parallel tempering runs.

## 8 Congressional Plan

As with the NC House and NC Senate plans, we place a probability distribution on Congressional plans for North Carolina. The distributions embody different policy choices. With each distribution, we produce representative ensembles of maps to serve as benchmarks against which to compare specific maps. The ensembles are generated by using the Metropolis-Hasting Markov Chain Monte Carlo Algorithm in a parallel tempering framework which employs the proposal from the Multiscale Forest RECOM algorithm [2, 1].

This analysis parallels the analysis already presented for the NC House and NC Senate with the simplification that we no longer need to consider County Clusters and that some of the criteria are modified. The details are given in Sections 8.1 and 10.1.

### 8.1 Congressional: Ensemble Overview

Similarly to the distribution placed on the NC Legislative redistricting plans in Section 4.4, we consider a distribution (and hence an ensemble) satisfying the following constraints:

- The maps split no more than 14 counties.
- The maps split no county into more than two districts.
- Districts traverse counties as few times as possible.
- All districts are required to consist of one contiguous region.
- The deviation of the total population in any district is within 1% of the ideal district population. We have verified in previous work in related settings that the small changes needed to make the districting plan have perfectly balanced populations do not change the results. (See [7] and the expert report in *Common Cause v. Rucho*).
- **Compactness:** The distributions on redistricting plans are constructed so that a plan with a larger total isoperimetric ratio is less likely than those with a lower total isoperimetric ratio. The total isoperimetric ratio of a redistricting plan is simply the sum of the isoperimetric ratios over each district. The isoperimetric ratio is the reciprocal of the Polsby-Poper score; hence, smaller isoperimetric ratio corresponds to larger Polsby-Poper scores. As the General Assembly stated in its guidance that the plans should be compact according to the Polsby-Popper score [9], we tuned the distribution so that it yields plans of a similar compactness to those of the legislature. ( See Figure 10.2.1 in Section 10.2. ) We further limited our distribution only to include those with an Isoparametric score less than 80.

The legislature also listed the Reock score as another measure of compactness which one could consider. However, we have found Polsby-Popper/isoperimetric score to be a better measure when generating districts computationally. In our previous work, we have seen that this choice did not qualitatively change our conclusions (see [7] and the expert report in *Common Cause v. Rucho*).

### 8.2 Congressional Plan: Sampling Method

We have chosen the distribution from which to draw our ensemble to comply with the desired policy and legal considerations. It is well accepted that not all distributions on possible redistricting plans are equally easy to sample from.

As discussed in Section 7.1 to effectively generate a representative ensemble of maps from these distributions, we use the well-established method of parallel tempering. It allows one to effectively sample from a possibly difficult to sample distribution by connecting it to an easy to sample distribution through a sequence of intermediate “interpolating” distributions.

We connect our desired distributions, which includes a compactness score, to a measure on redistricting plans which is uniform on spanning forests which satisfy the population and county constants. Furthermore, the enacted plan can be effectively sampled using a variation on the Metropolized Multiscale Forest RECOM sampling algorithm outlined in [1, 2].

In sampling the interpolating ladder of distributions between the easier-to-sample measure and our target measure which includes a compactness score, we use parallel tempering with a classical Metropolis-Hasting sampling scheme to sample each level of the interpolating ladder of distributions. As proposals in the Metropolis-Hasting sampling scheme, we use Multiscale Forest RECOM proposals. We sample around 80,000 plans have confirmed that the distribution seems well mixed and than it has been sufficiently sampled to provide stable statistics.

### **8.3 Election Data Used in Analysis**

The same historic elections and abbreviations were use to analyze the congressional plan and ensemble as were used for the NC legislative maps and ensemble. See Section 4.6.

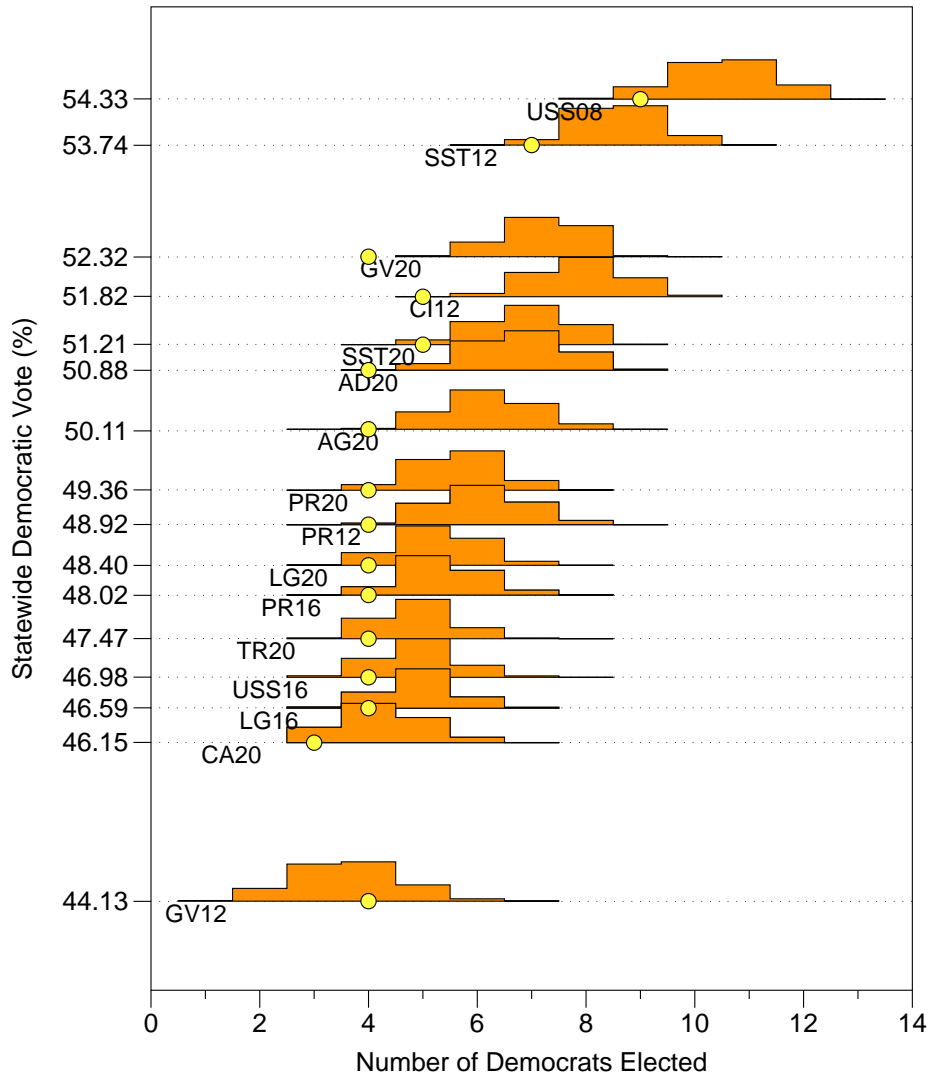


Figure 9.0.1: Each histogram represents the range and distribution of possible Democratic seats won in the ensemble of plans; the height is the relative probability of observing the result. The yellow dots represent the results from the enacted congressional plan under the various historic votes.

## 9 Congressional Plan: Main Analysis

Figure 9.0.1 gives the *Collected Seat Histograms* for the ensemble sampled from the distribution. This figure also shows how many Democrats the enacted congressional plan would have elected under the votes from a variety of historic elections.

Without reference to a particular ensemble, a primary message of this plot is that the enacted congressional plan is largely stuck electing 4 of 14 Democrats despite large shifts in the statewide vote fraction and across a variety of election structures. Over the statewide vote Democratic partisan vote range of 46.59% to 52.32%, the enacted map only twice changes the number of Republicans elected. The outcome of the election is largely stuck at 4 Democrats. This shows the enacted map to be highly non-responsive to the changing opinion of the electorate. Without holding the election one largely knows that the result will be 10 Republicans and 4 Democrats.

This non-responsiveness is not observed in the ensemble. The ensemble shows that a typical map drawn without political considerations gradually shift from 4-5 Democrats typically being elected at one end of this regime to 7-8 being elected at the other end. Hence, under historic elections in which Democrats win 46% to 53% of the statewide vote, a typical map would gradually shift from around 4 Democrats in the NC congressional delegation to around 8 Democrats as the electorate changed its vote. This does not happen under the enacted plan with the elections considered. Instead, as described above, the

enacted map sticks at only 4 Democrats in North Carolina’s congressional delegation under nearly all of these elections.

To better illuminate the structure responsible for making the enacted map an extreme outlier, we turn to the Rank Ordered Box plots already discussed in general in Section 3.4 and in the context of the state legislative maps in the previous sections. The plots show extreme packing of Democrats in the three most Democratic districts and depletion of Democrats from the

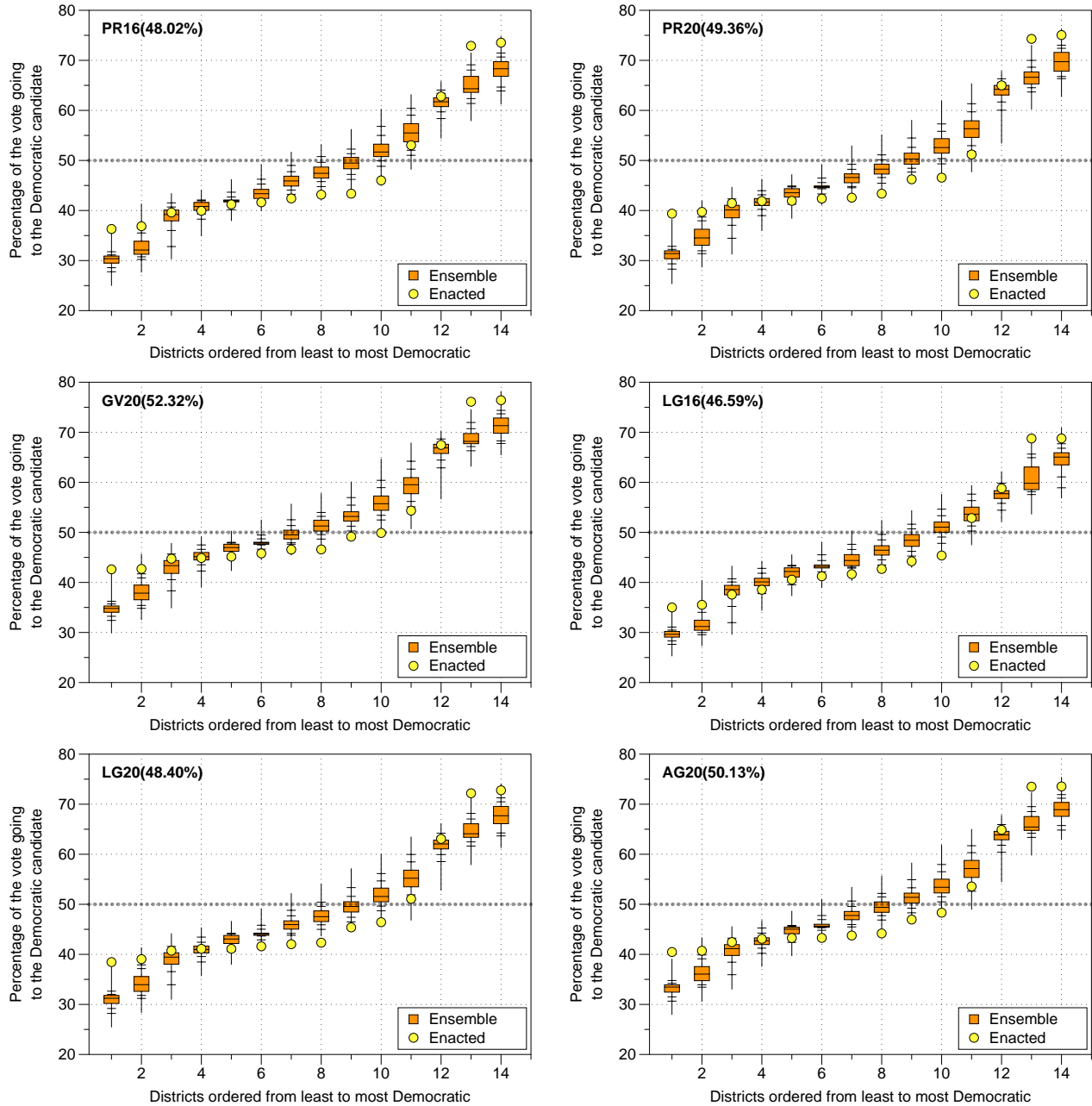


Figure 9.0.2: The Ranked Marginal Box-plots for the NC Congressional Plan. The ranked ordered marginals for the enacted map are shown in yellow. 50% of the ensemble is contained within the box. Inside the first pair of tick marks is 80% of the data and inside the second set is 95% of the points.

next 7 to 9 most Democratic districts. The effect of this cracking and packing is the non-responsiveness seen in Figure 9.0.1.

Motivated by the cracking and packing of Democrats shown in Figure 9.0.1, we ask how common is such a highly polarized districts in our non-partisan ensemble of maps. The results are summarized in Table 4. They show that the Congressional map is not only non-responsive to the changing preferences of the electorate but it is also an extreme partisan gerrymander. Maps which lock in such an extreme partisan outcome do not occur in our ensemble.

Election	Plans with the same or more Dem (1-2)	Plans with the same or more Rep (5-11)	Plans with the same or more Dem (12-14)	Total Plans
LG16	18	0	0	79997
PR16	0	0	0	79997
CA20	0	0	0	79997
TR20	0	0	0	79997
LG20	0	0	0	79997
USS20	0	0	0	79997
CL20	0	0	0	79997
PR20	0	0	0	79997
AG20	0	0	0	79997
AD20	0	0	0	79997
SST20	0	0	0	79997
GV20	0	0	0	79997
CI20	0	0	0	79997
USS16	0	0	0	79997
GV16	1	0	0	79997
AG16	15	0	0	79997

Table 4: Over the approximately 80,000 plans in our ensemble, we ask how many plans have (1) as high Democratic fraction in the two most Republican districts, (2) as small a fraction of Democrats in the 5th through 11th most Republican districts, and (3) have as high a Democratic fraction in the 12th through 14th most Republican districts. The answer is given in this table along with the total number of plans in our ensemble.

## 10 Congressional: Additional Details

### 10.1 Congressional Plan: Mathematical Description of Ensemble Distribution

In specifying our distribution, we have chosen to define explicit distributions and then use an implementation of the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm to generate the ensemble. We feel this choice promotes transparency because an explicit distribution can better be discussed and critiqued. It also allows us to more explicitly translate the policy considerations into the ensemble.

In order to formally define our distributions, the partition of the precinct adjacency graph into a spanning forest  $\mathcal{T}$  with 14 district trees  $\{\mathcal{T}_1, \dots, \mathcal{T}_{14}\}$  corresponding to each district. Hence  $\mathcal{T} = \{\mathcal{T}_1, \dots, \mathcal{T}_{14}\}$  completely specifies the redistricting.

If we let  $A_j(\mathcal{T})$  and  $B_j(\mathcal{T})$  be respectively the surface area and perimeter (or length of the boundary) of the  $j$ -district then our compactness score is

$$J_{\text{compact}}(\mathcal{T}) = \sum_{j=1}^{14} \frac{A_j(\mathcal{T})}{B_j^2(\mathcal{T})}.$$

Then the probability of drawing the spanning forest  $\mathcal{T}$  is

$$\text{Prob}(\mathcal{T}) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{Z} e^{-w_{\text{compact}} J_{\text{compact}}(\mathcal{T})} & \text{for } \mathcal{T} \text{ which is allowable} \\ 0 & \text{for } \mathcal{T} \text{ which is not allowable} \end{cases}$$

Here  $Z$  is a number which makes the sum of  $\text{Prob}(\mathcal{T})$  over all spanning forests with 14 trees equal to one.

The collection of allowable spanning forests  $\mathcal{T}$  is defined as those which produce redistricting plans which satisfy the following conditions:

1. all districts are connected
2. the populations of each district is within %1 of the ideal district population.
3. No more than 14 counties are split with no county split more once.
4. We minimize the occurrence of districts traversing county boundaries.

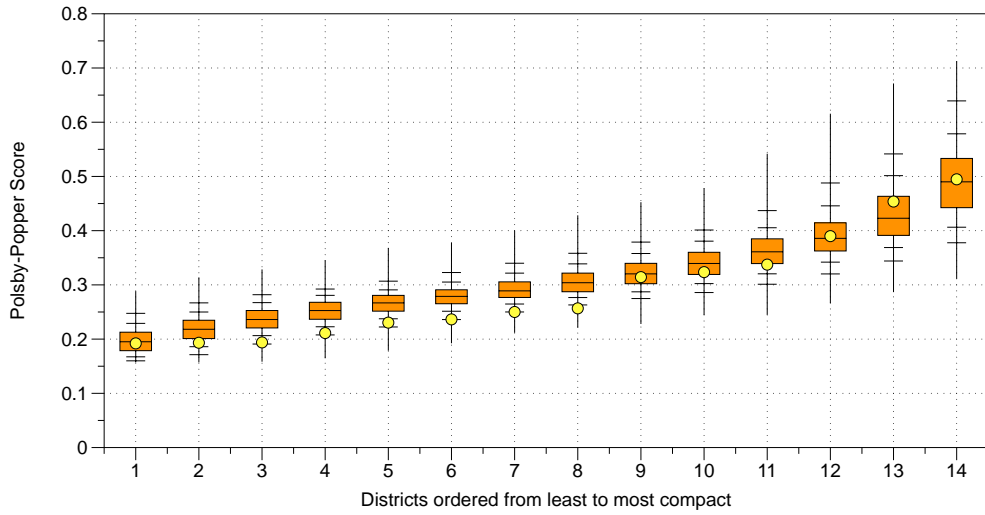


Figure 10.2.1: The yellow dots display the ordered Polsby-Popper score of the 14 districts in the enacted plan.

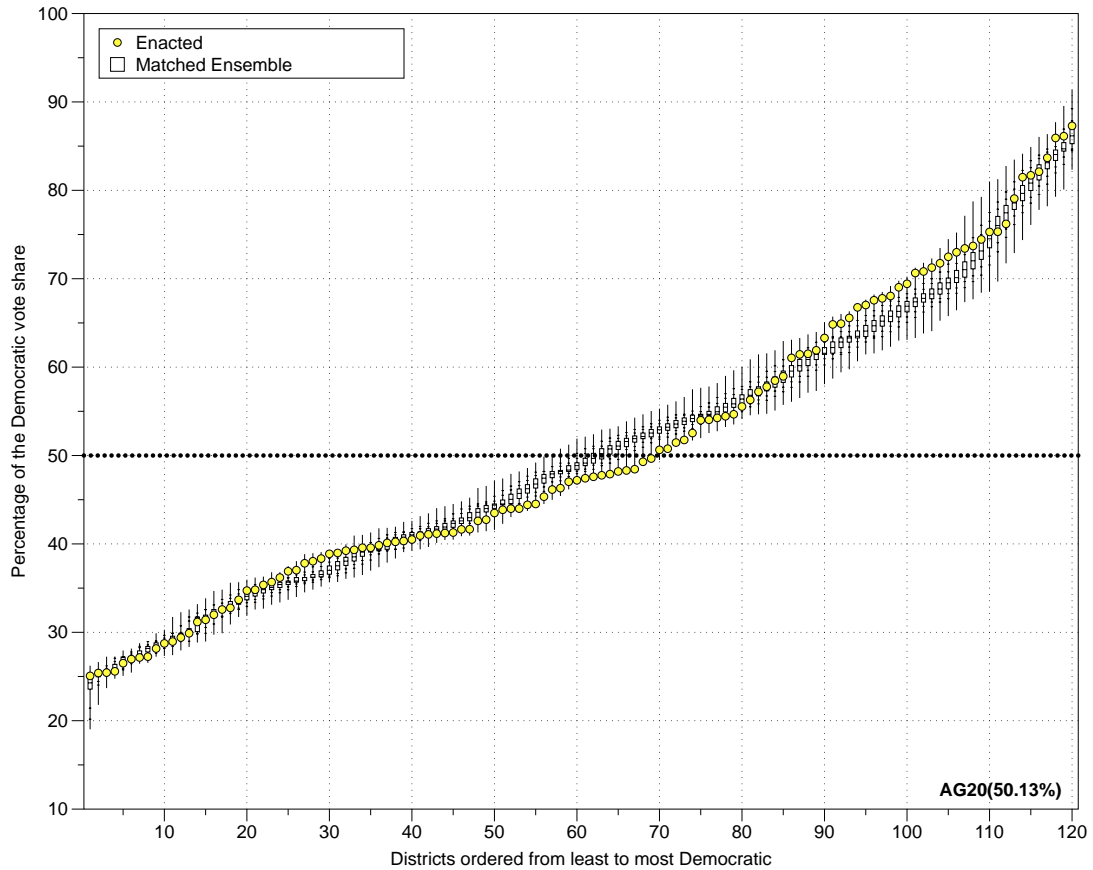
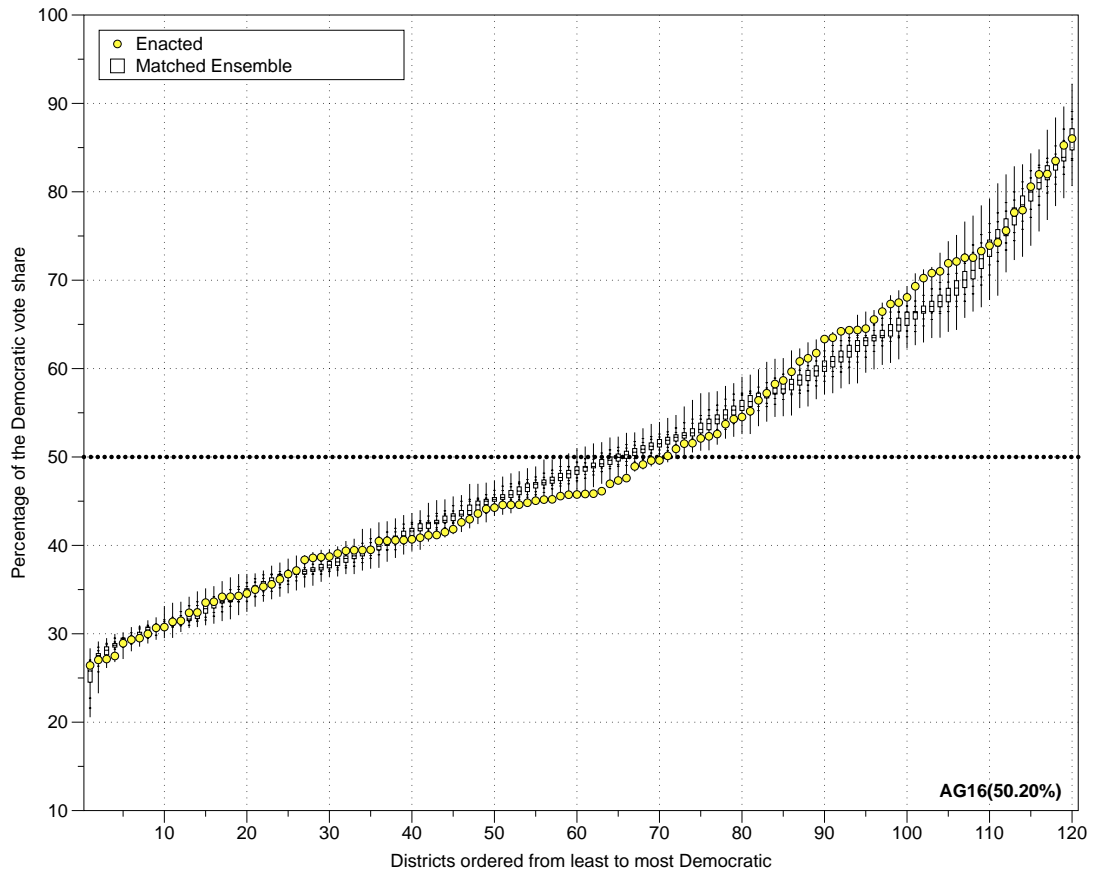
## 10.2 Congressional Plan: Additional Ensemble Statistics

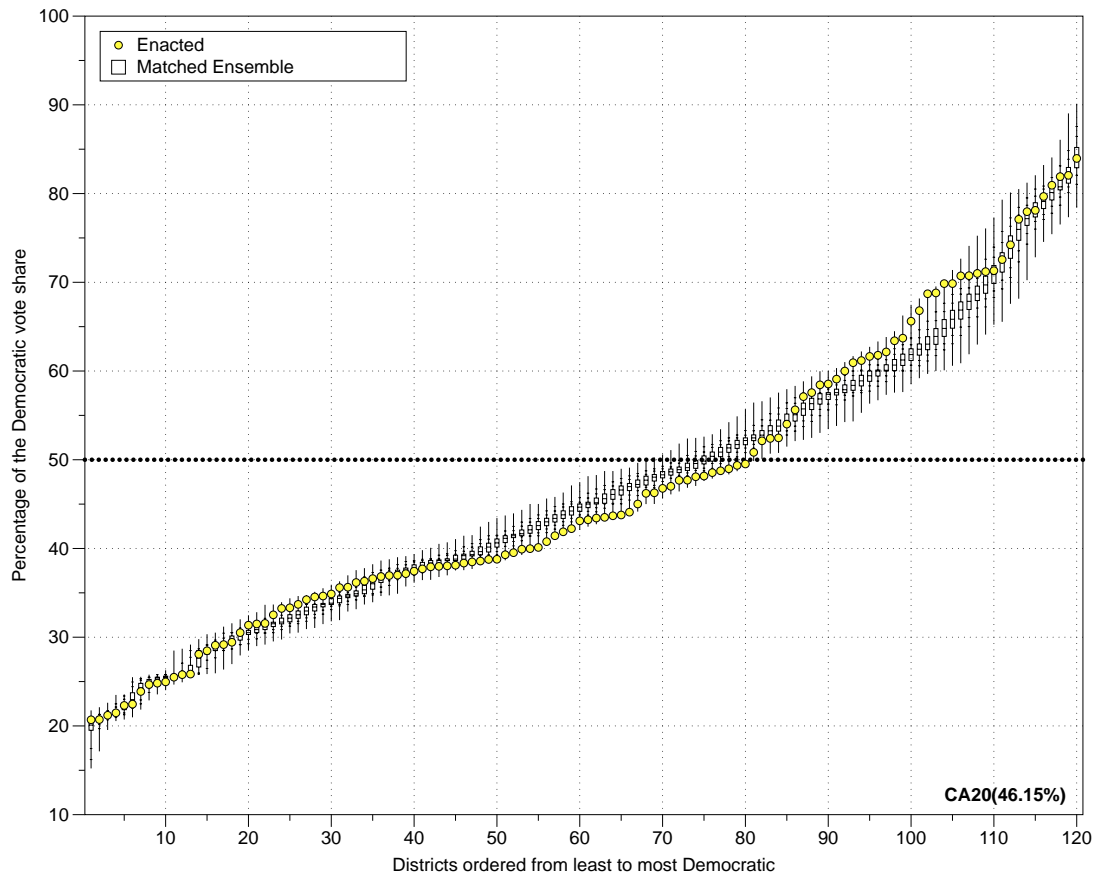
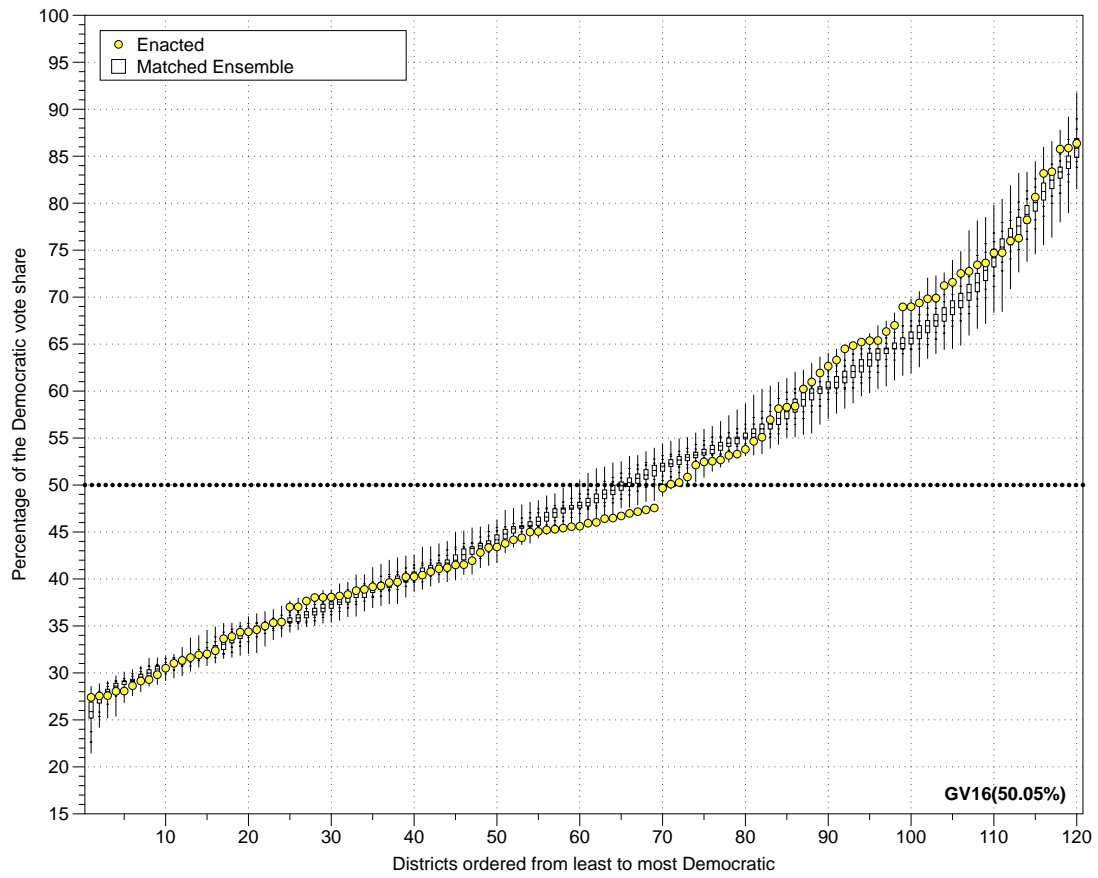
In Figure 10.2.1, we give the box-plots for the ranked ordered marginal distribution for the compactness score, namely the Polsby-Popper score (see companion methods document). We compare the ensemble of plans with the enacted plan.

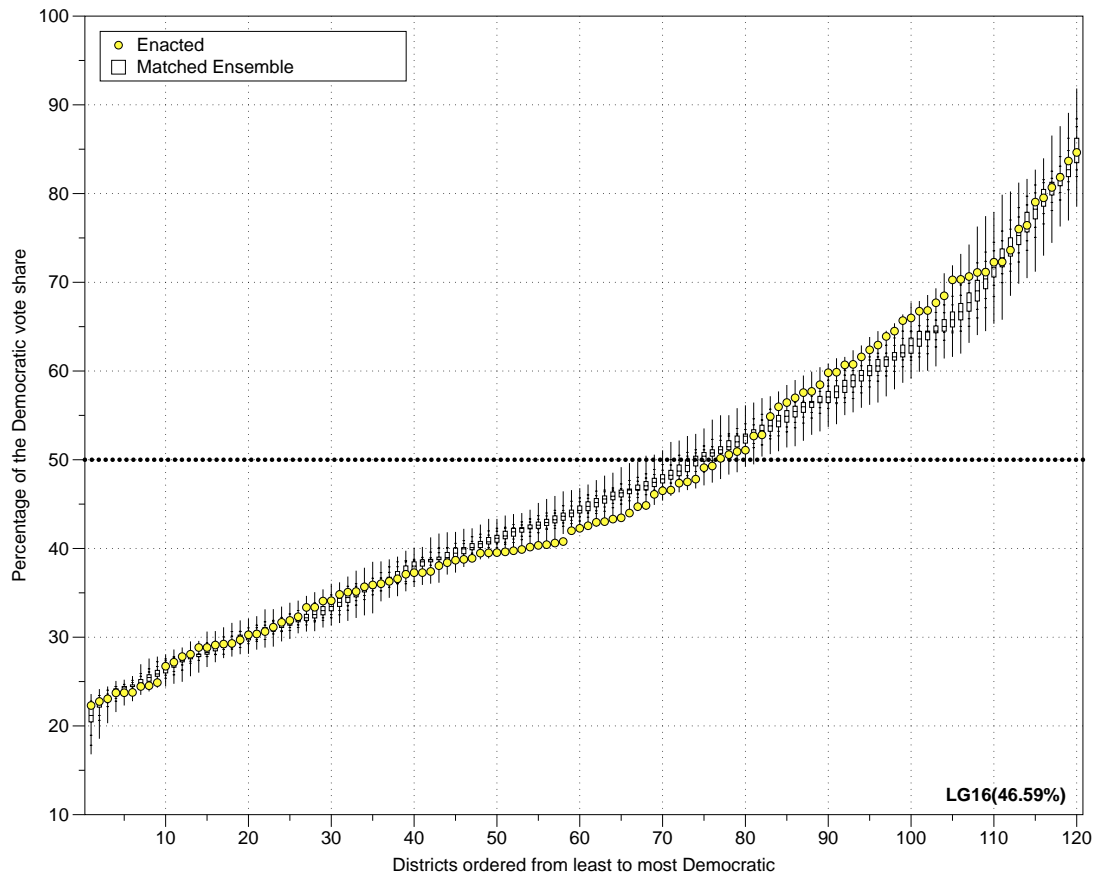
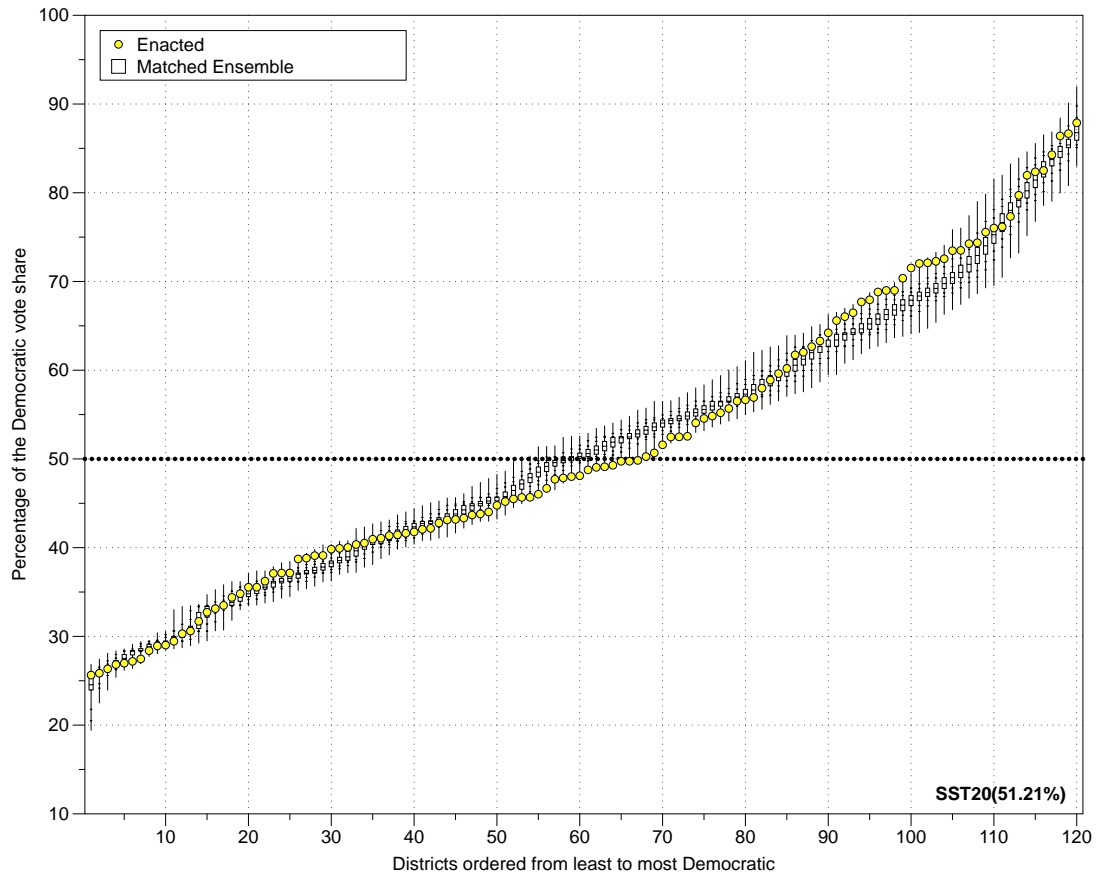
## 10.3 Congressional Plan: Convergence Tests

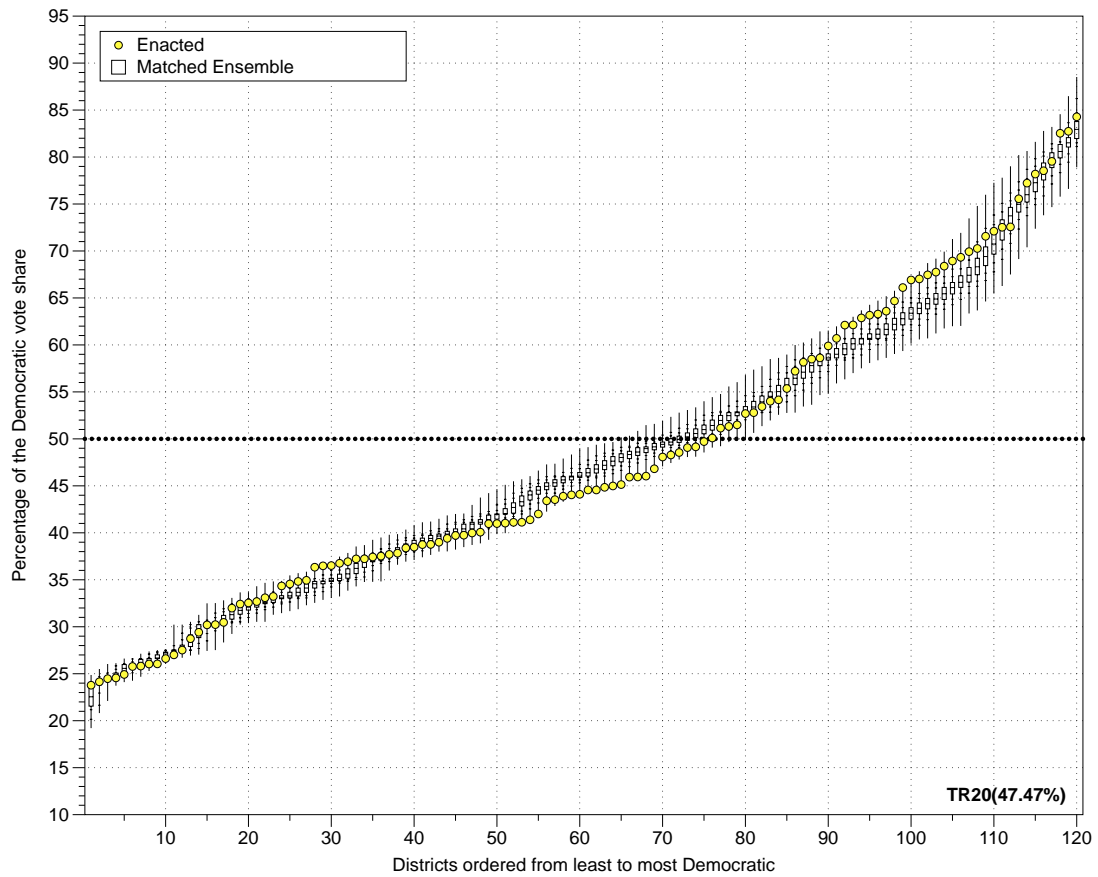
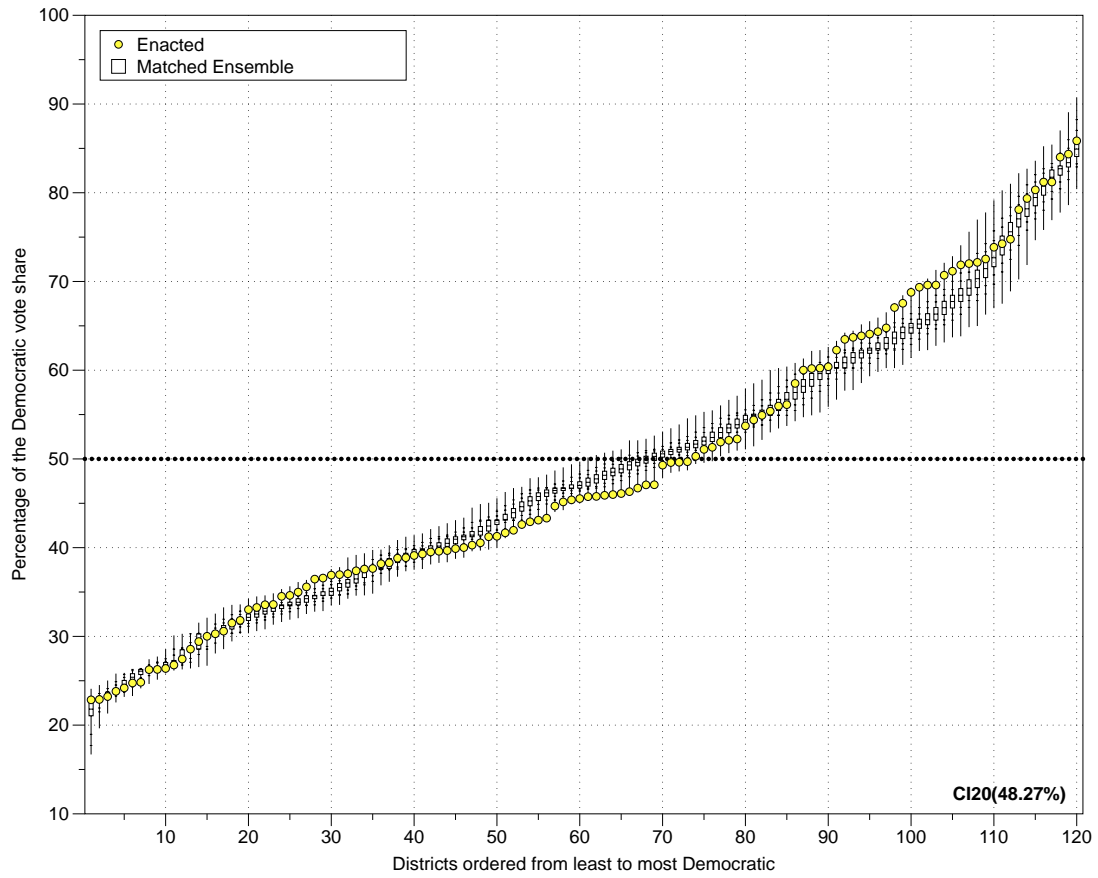
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## A NC House: Ranked-Ordered Marginal Boxplots

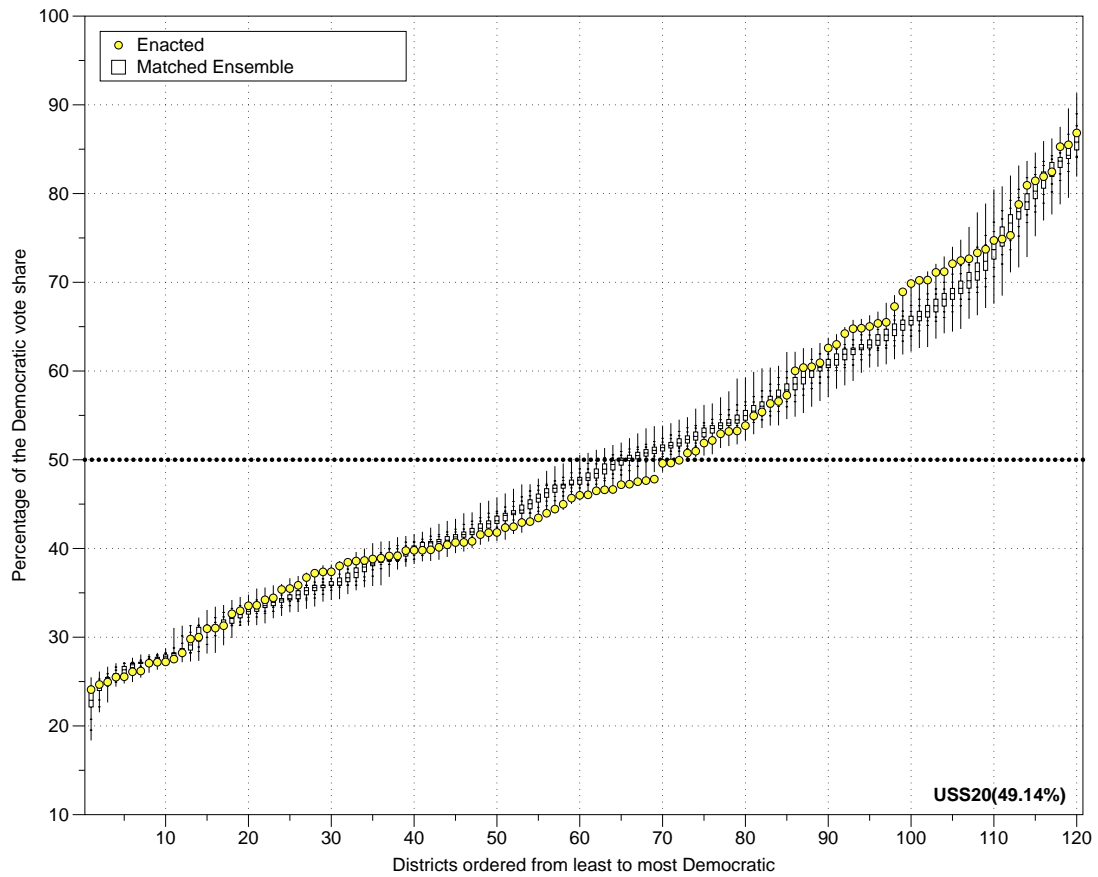
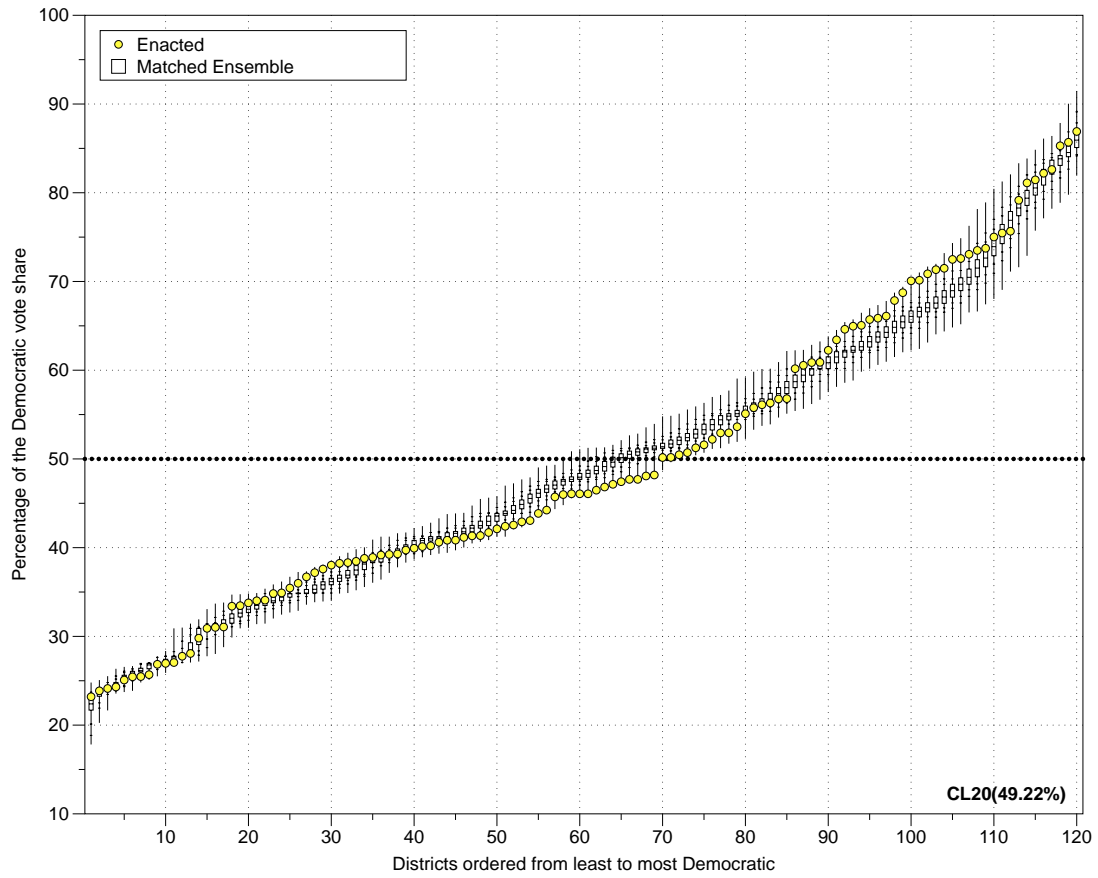




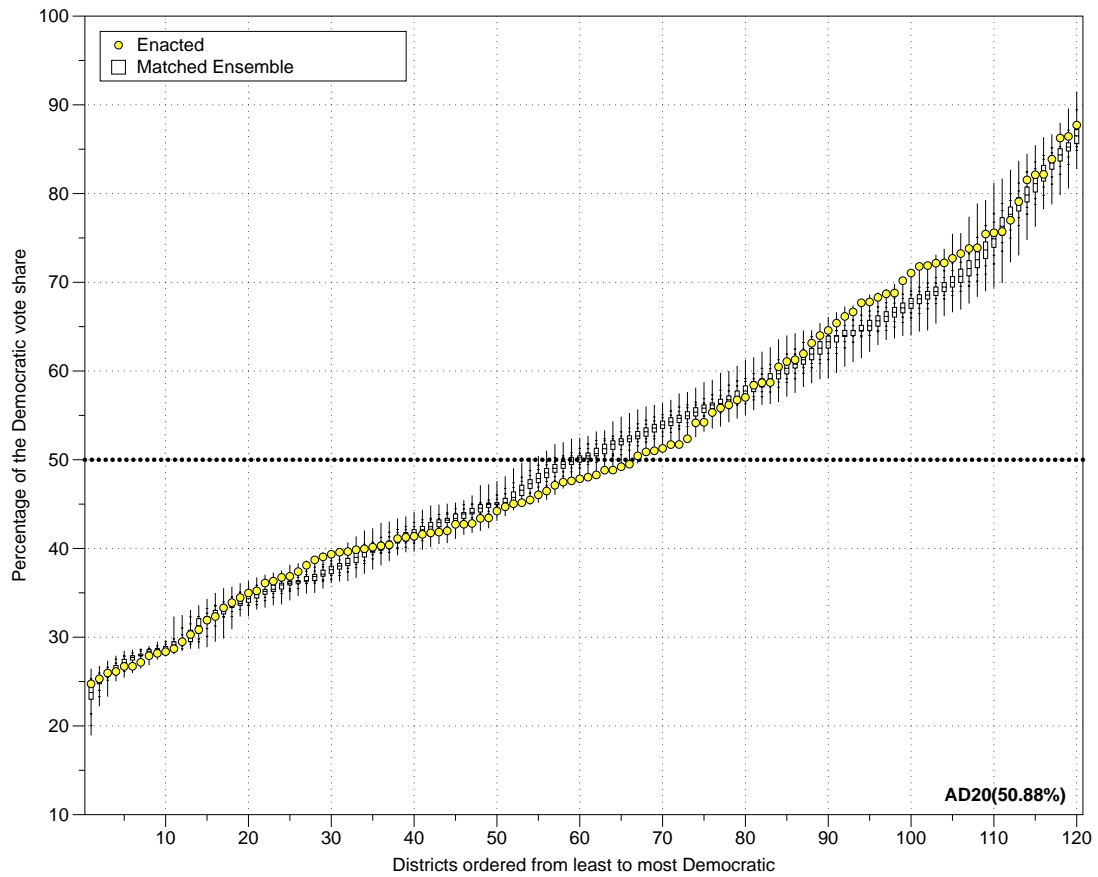
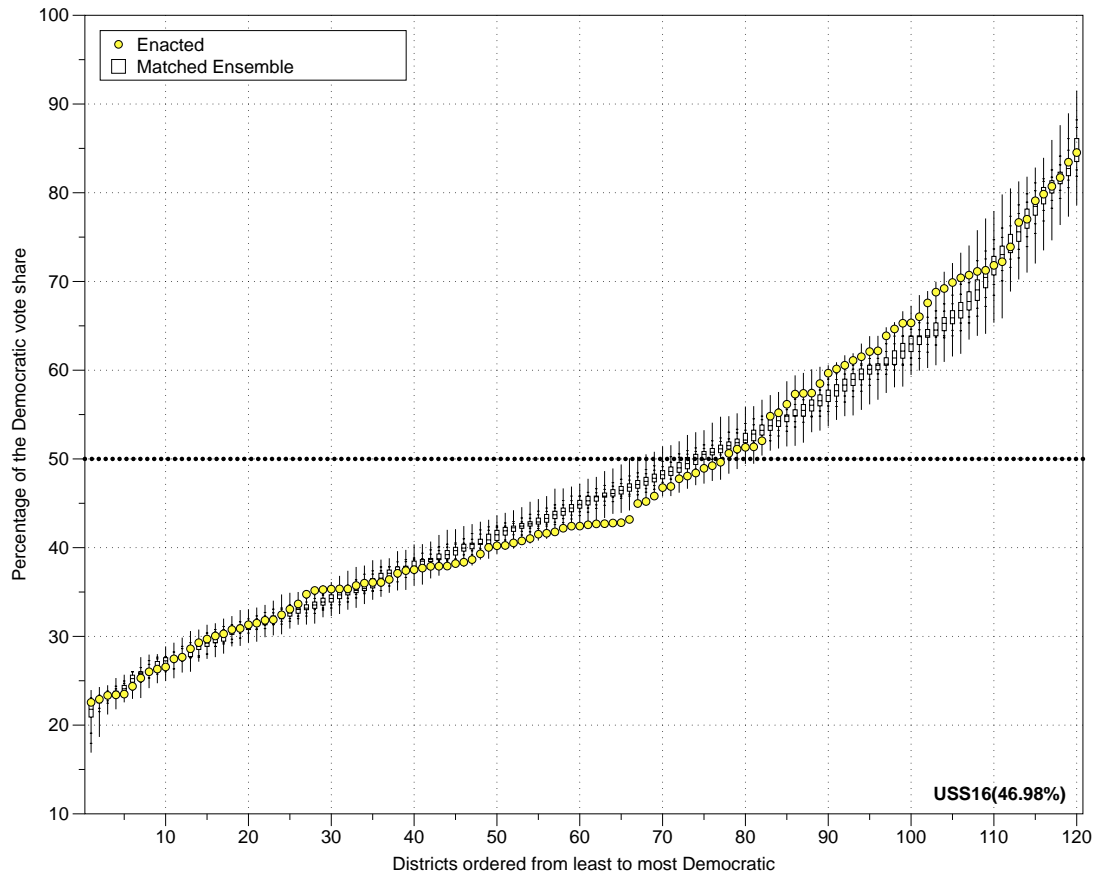


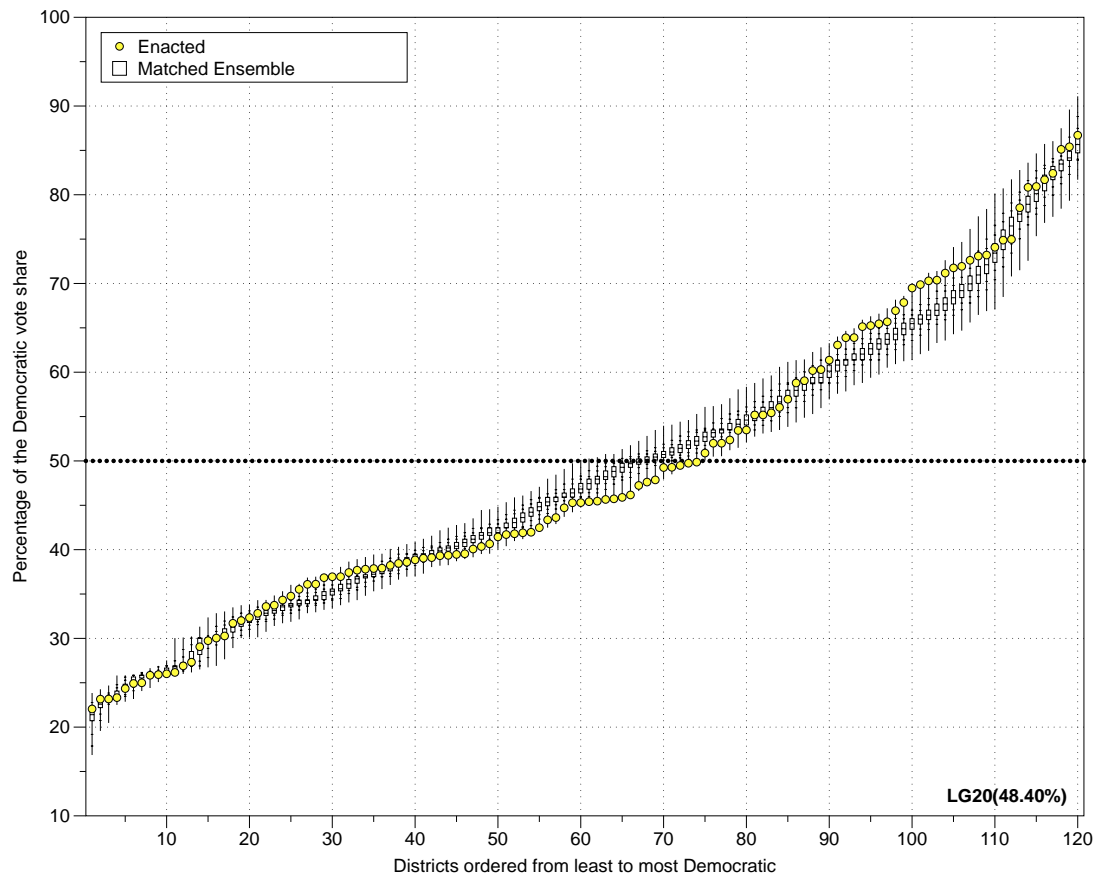


– Ex. 6555 –

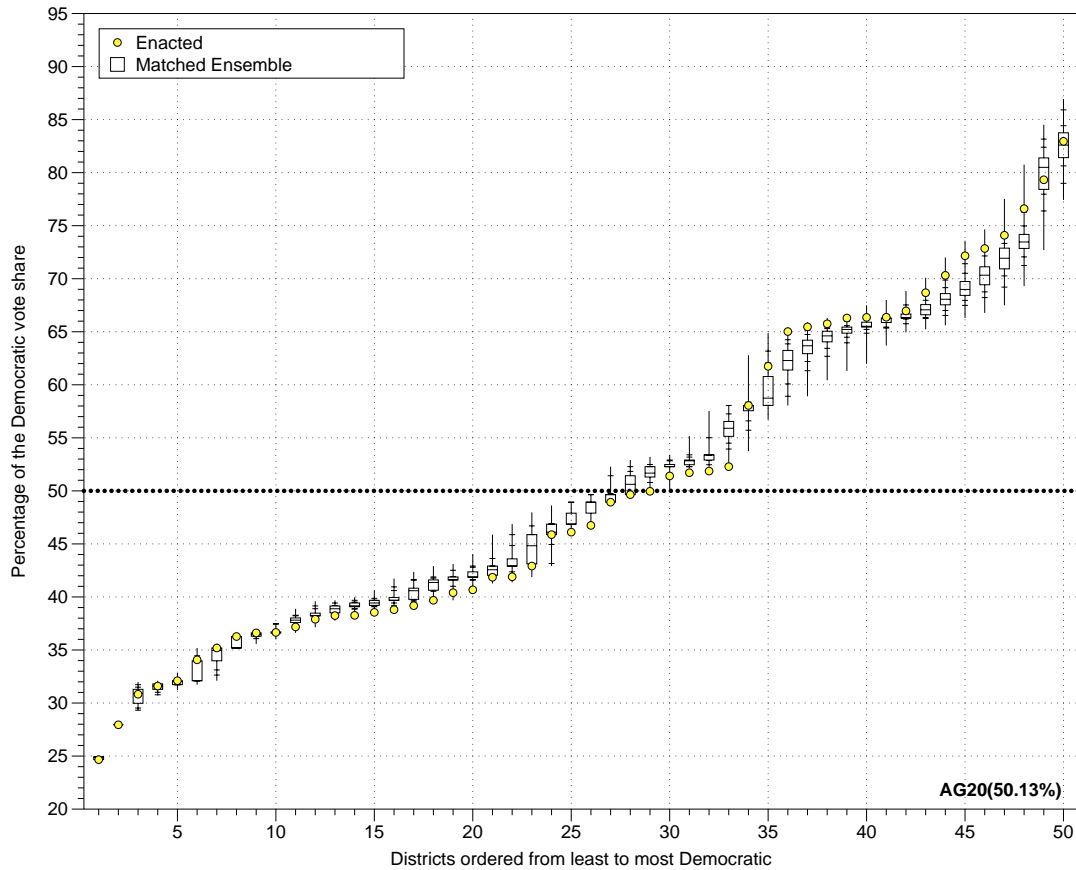
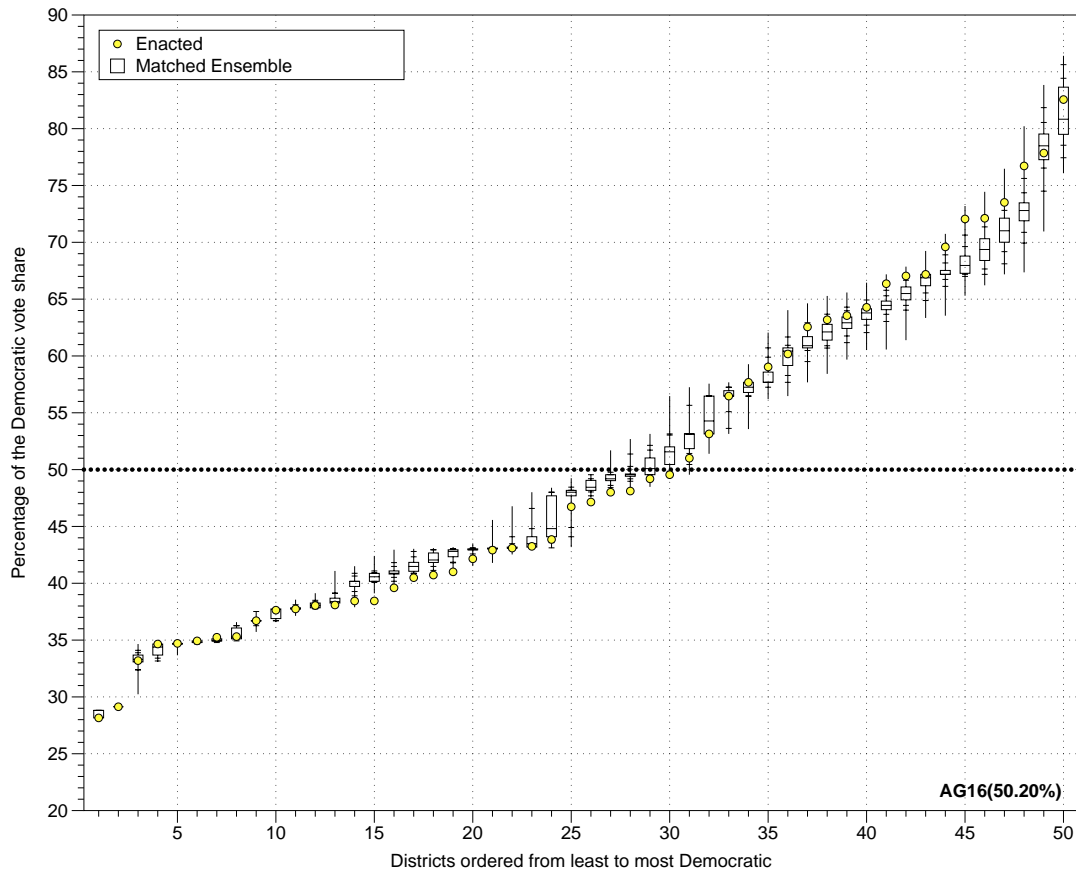


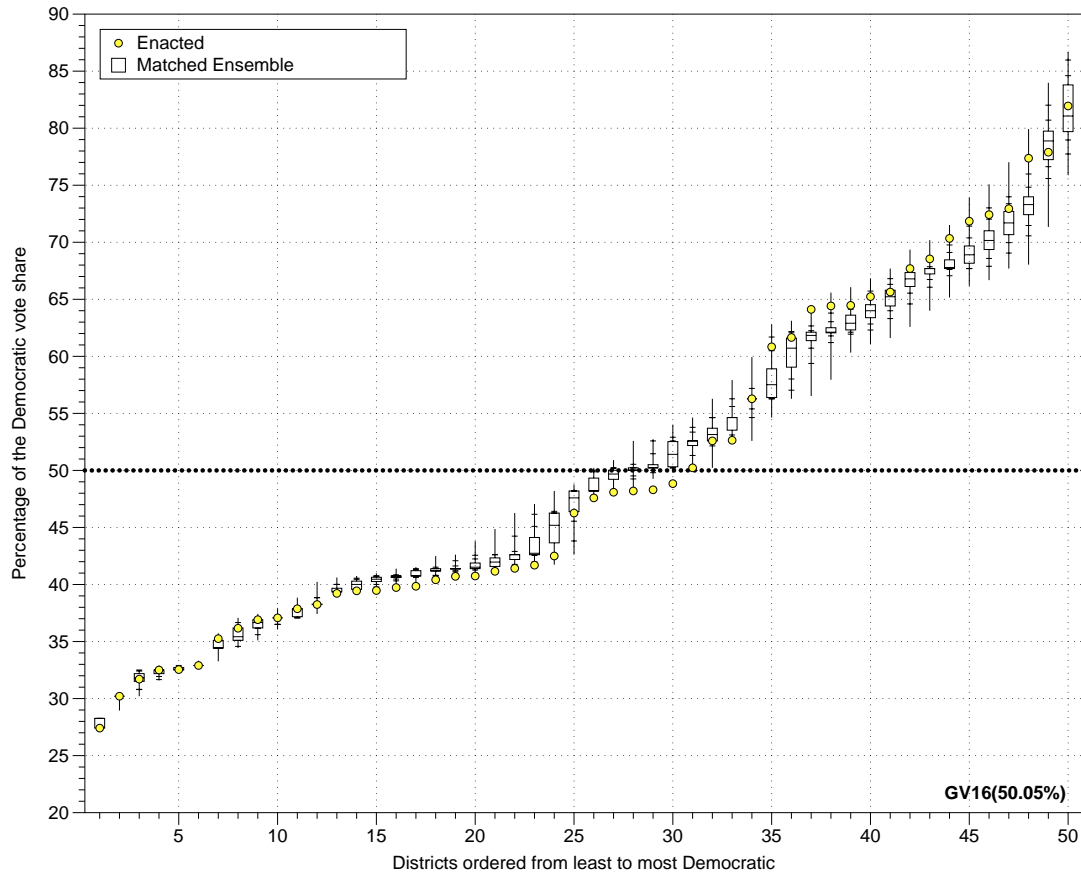
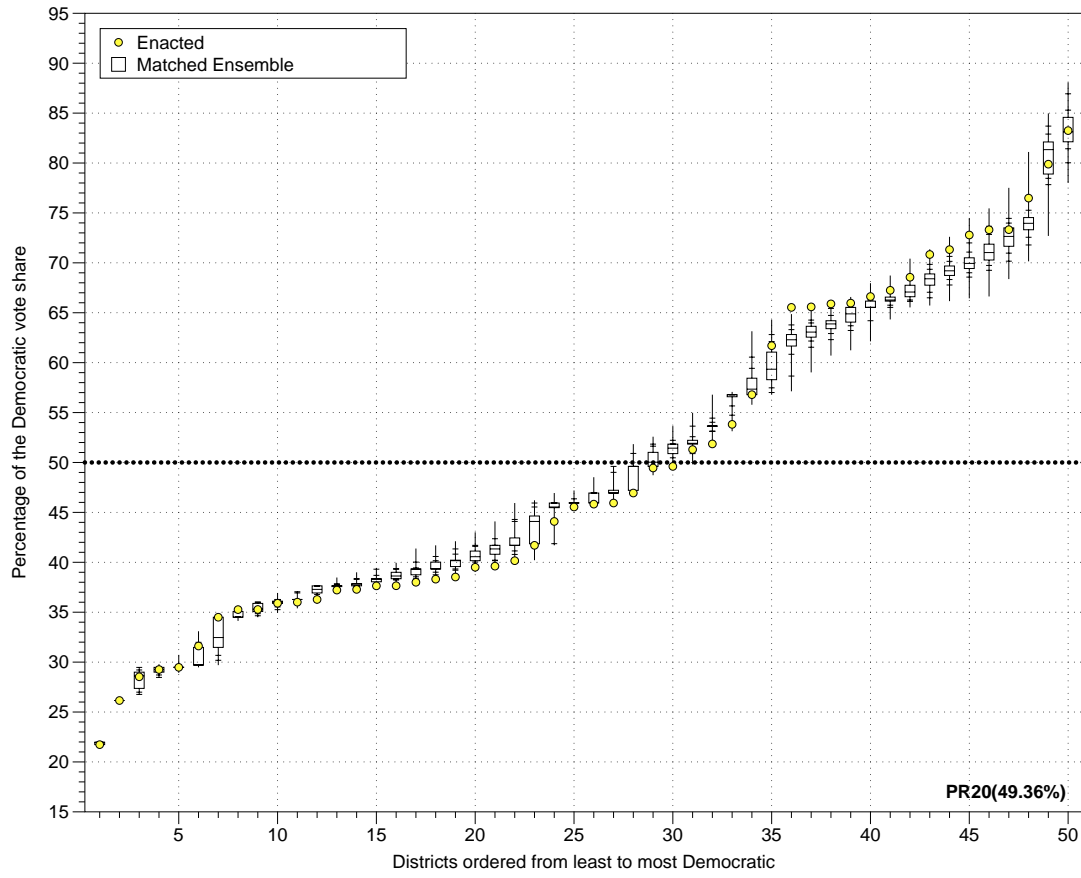
– Ex. 6556 –

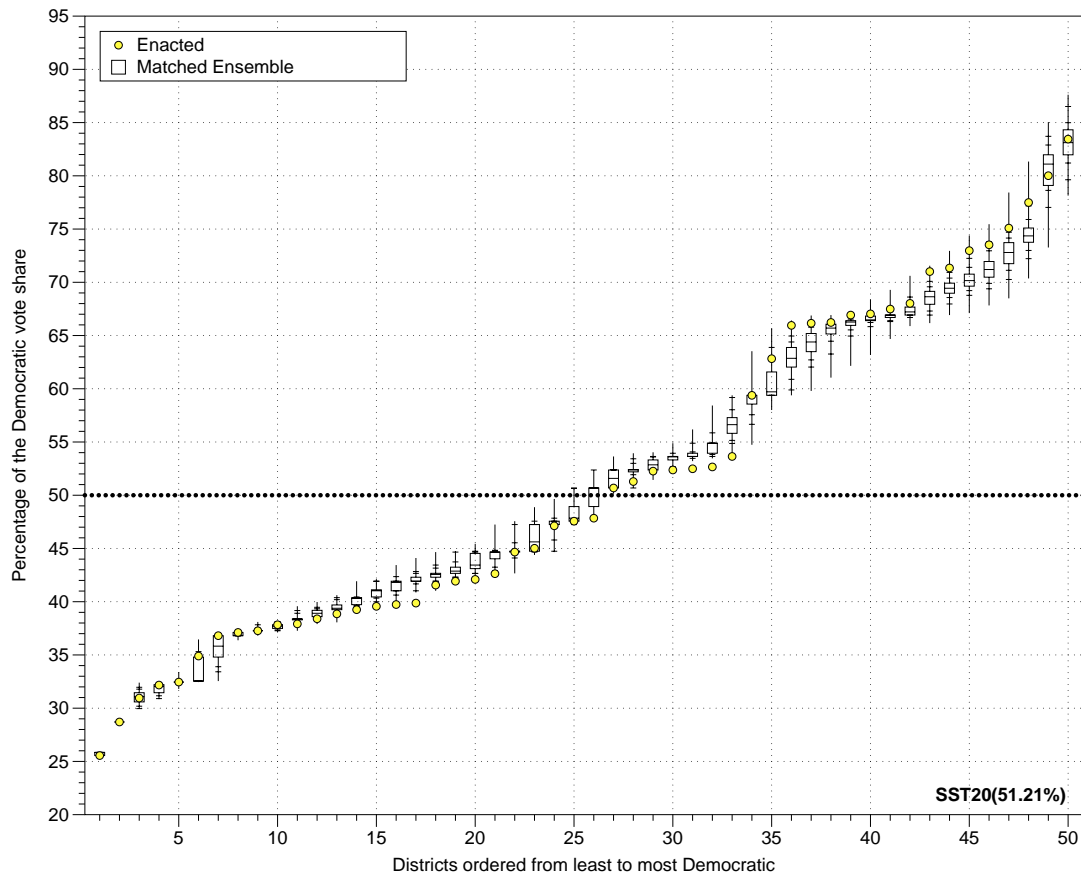
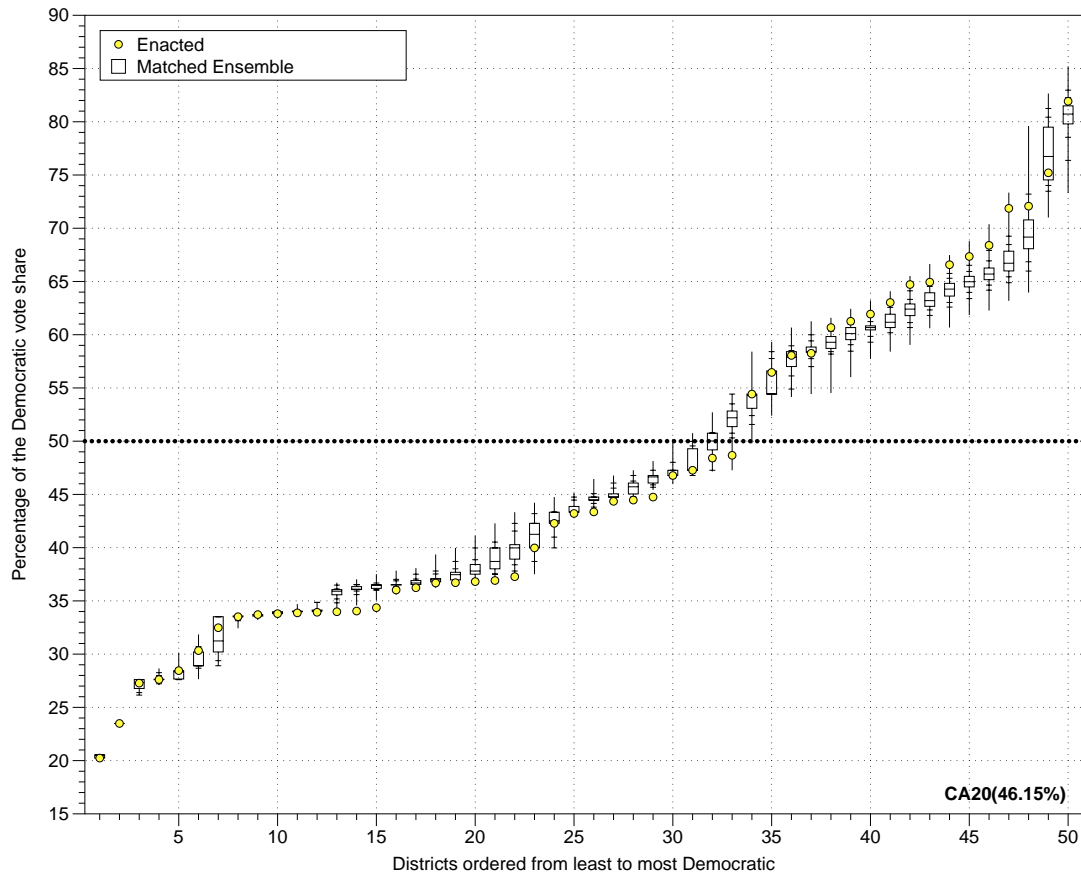


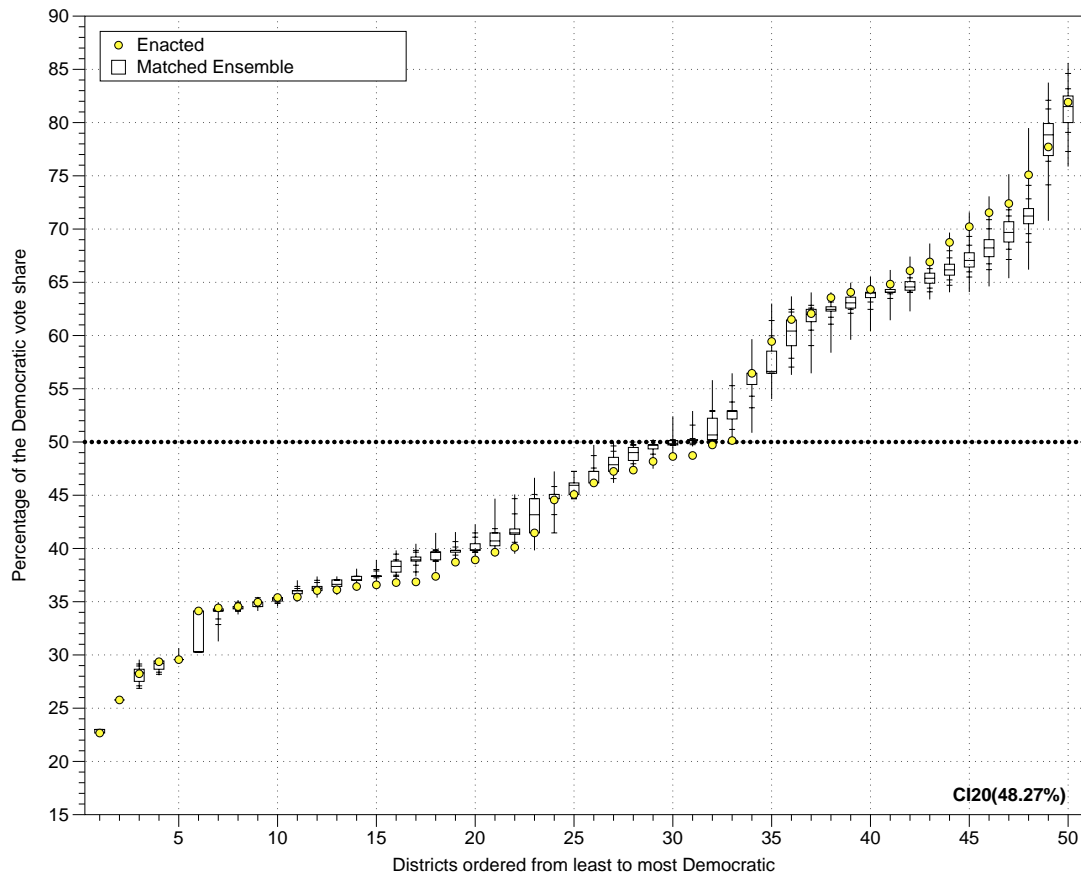
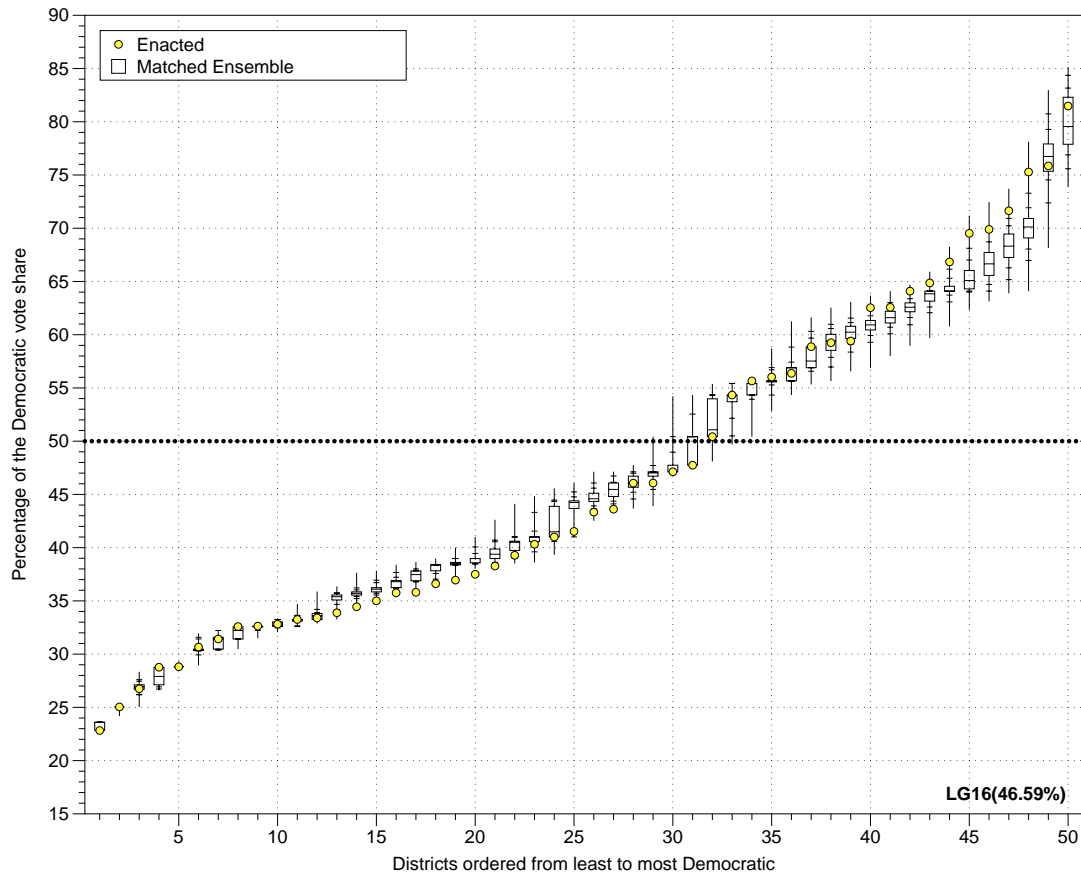


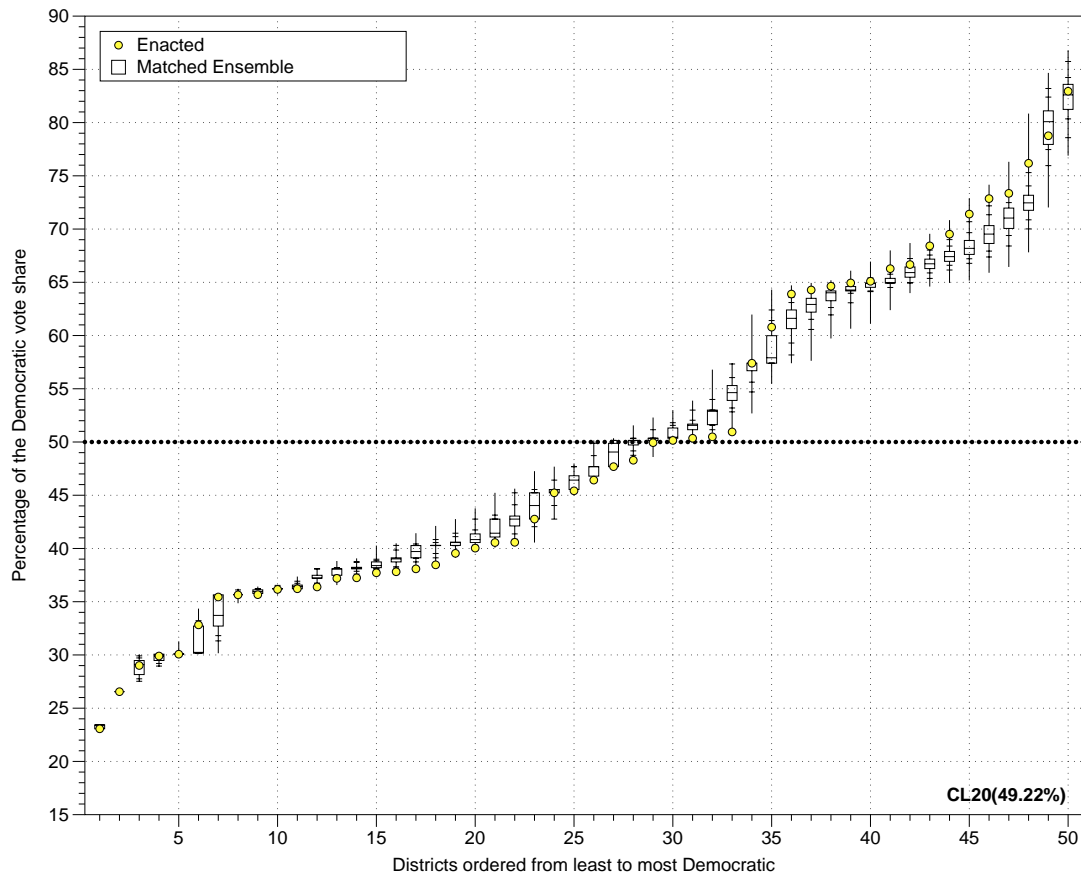
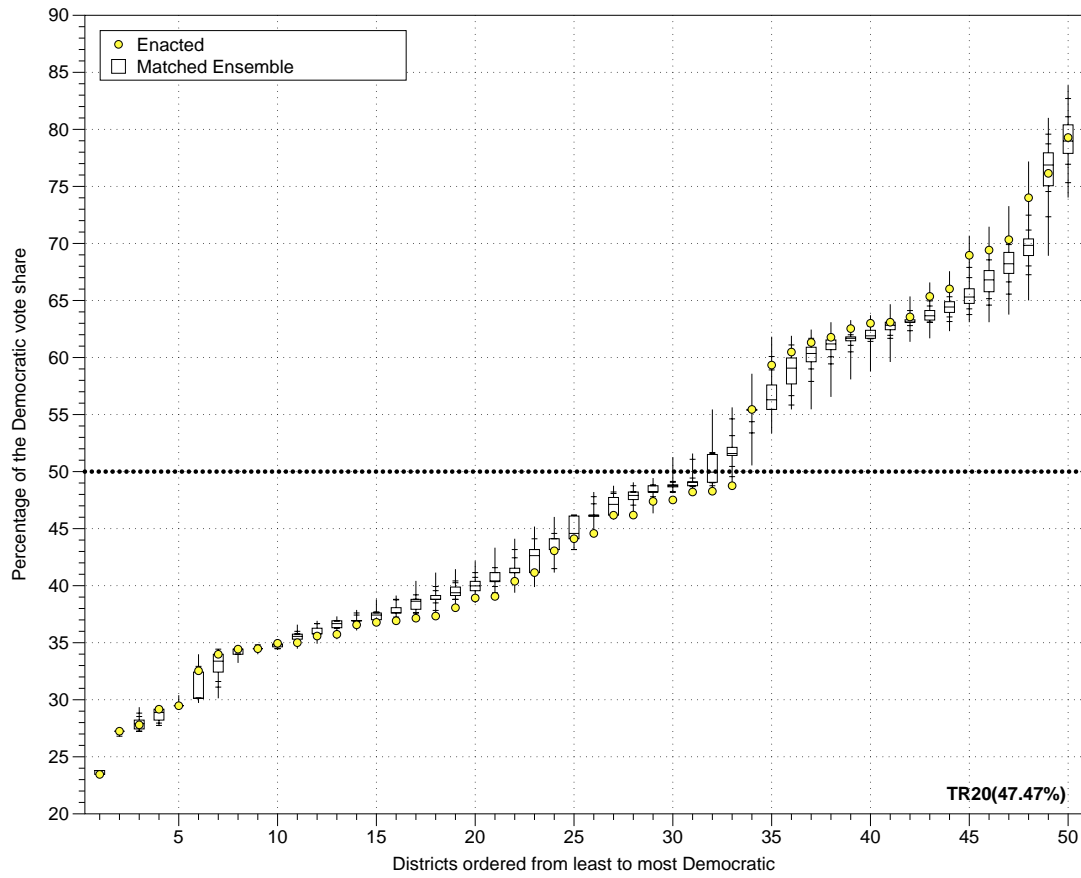
## B NC Senate: Ranked-Ordered Marginal Boxplots

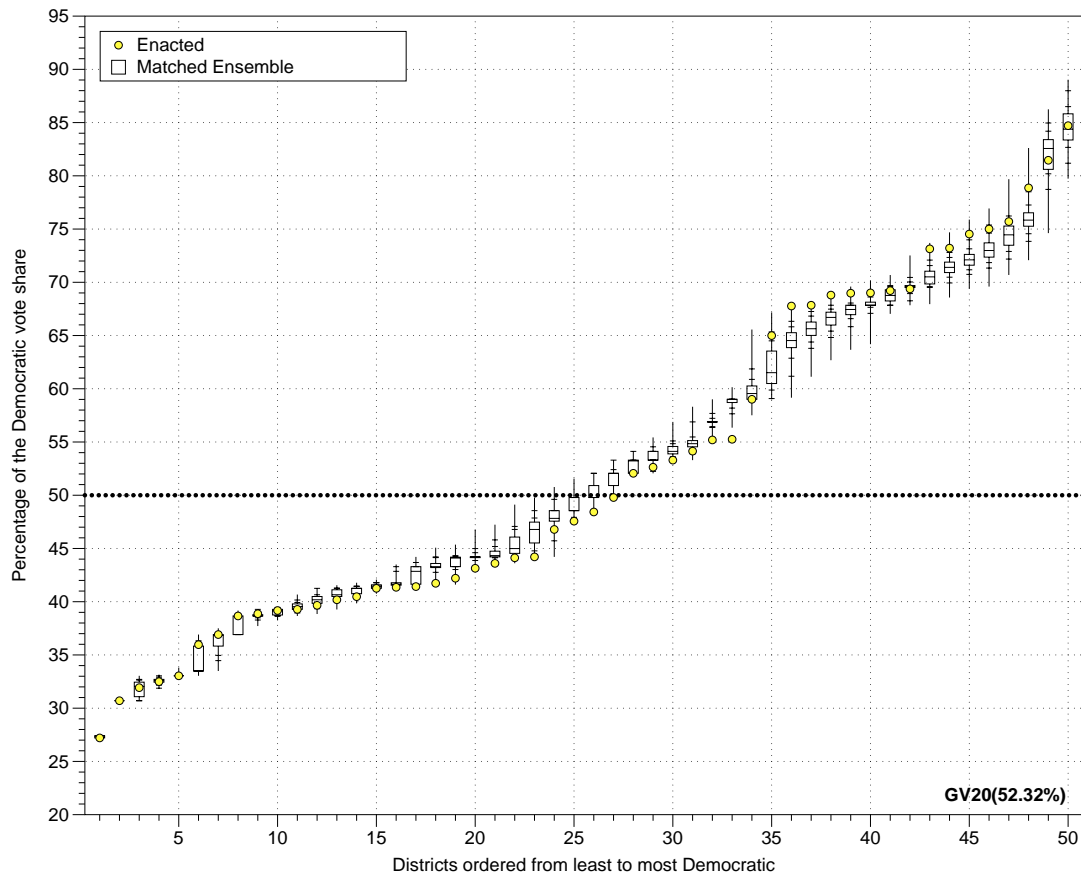
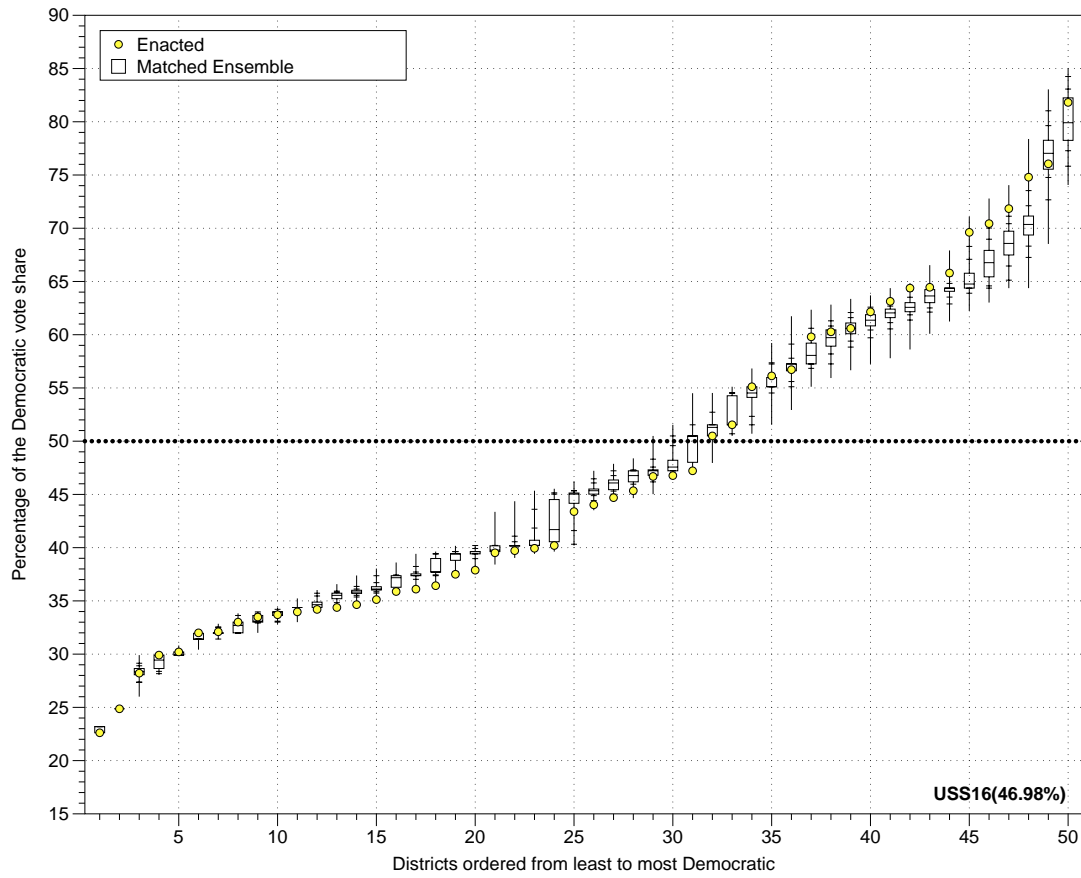


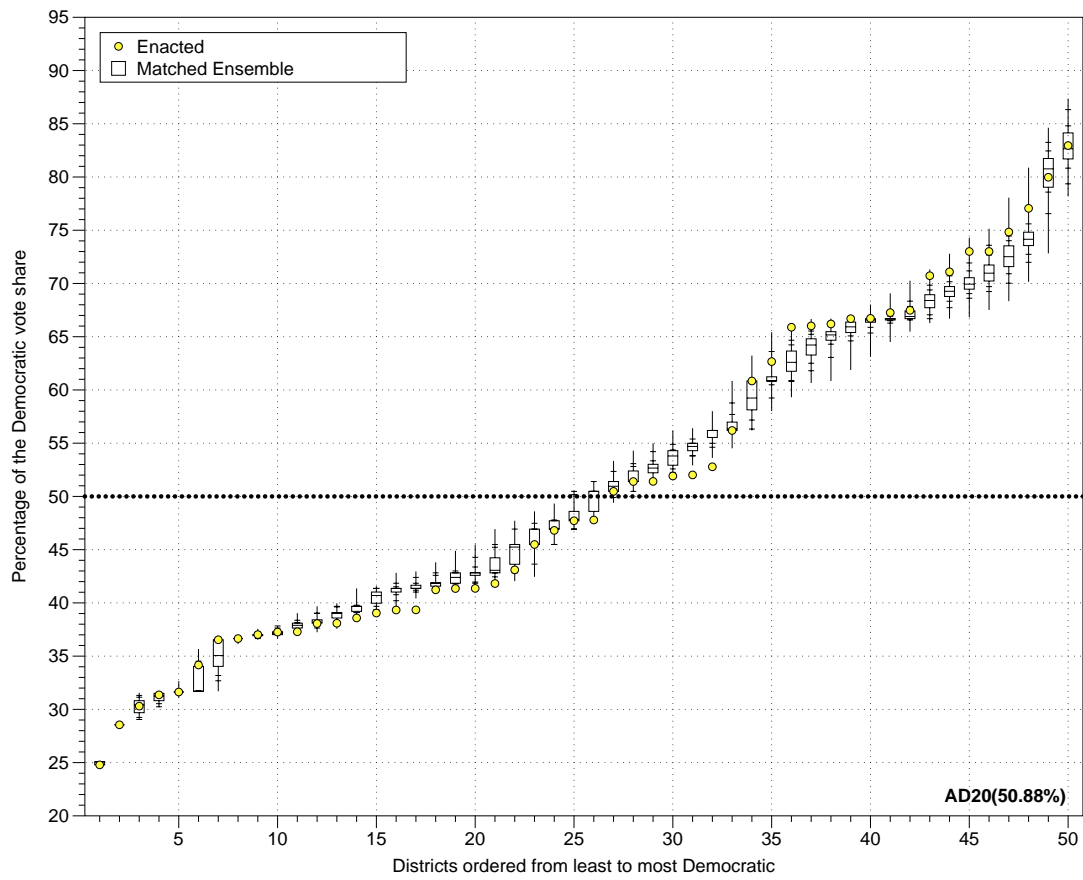












## C NC House: Additional Plots

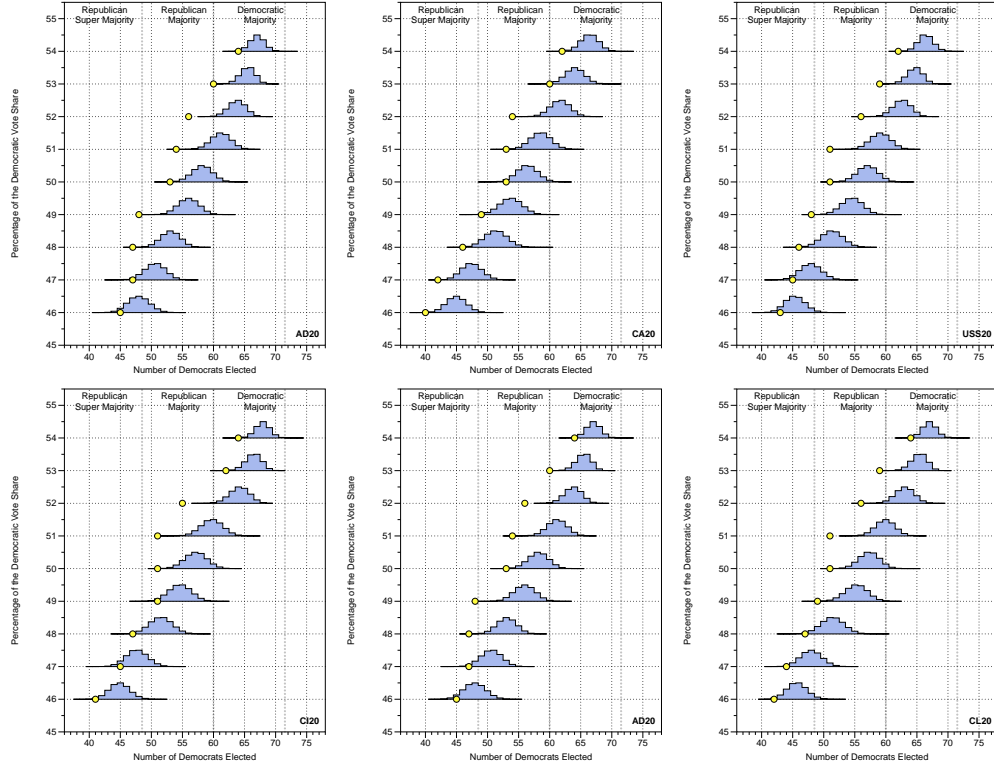


Figure C.0.1: The Collected Seat Histograms for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House built from a collection of voting data generated via uniform swing.

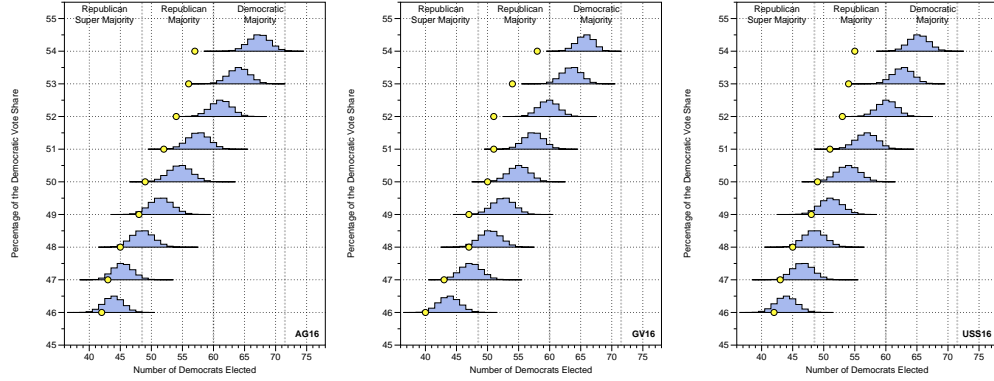


Figure C.0.2: The Collected Seat Histograms for the Primary Ensemble on the NC House built from a collection of voting data generated via uniform swing.

## D NC Senate: Additional Plots

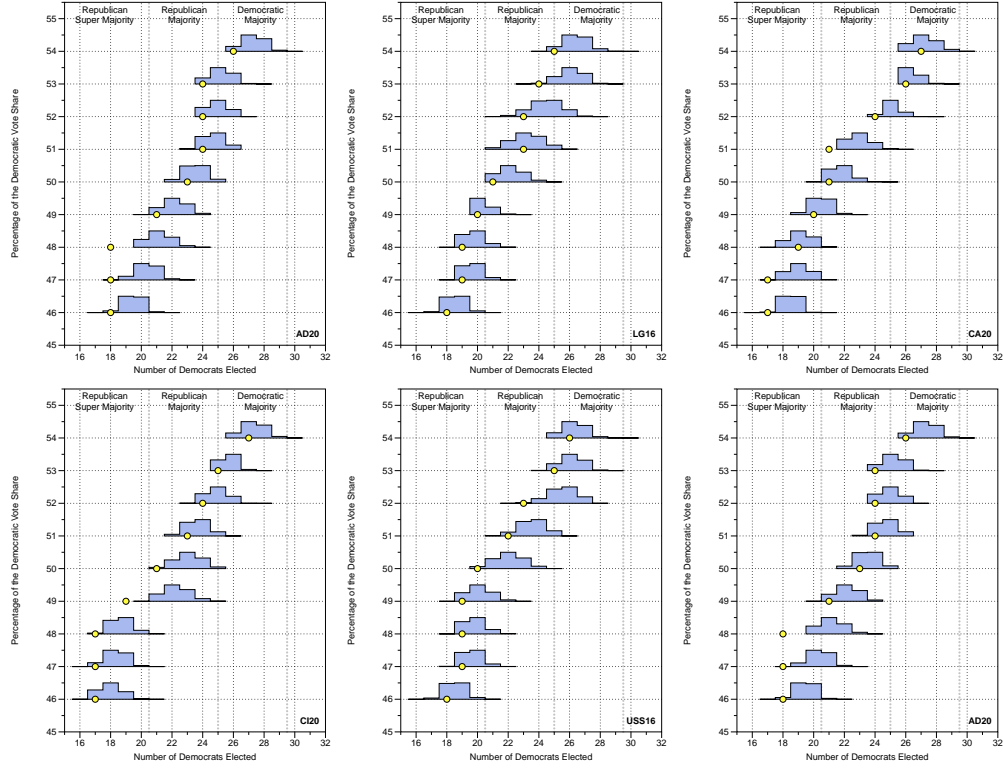


Figure D.0.1: The Collected Seat Histograms for the Primary Ensemble on the NC Senate built from a collection of voting data generated via uniform swing.

## E NC Congressional: Ranked-Ordered Marginal Boxplots

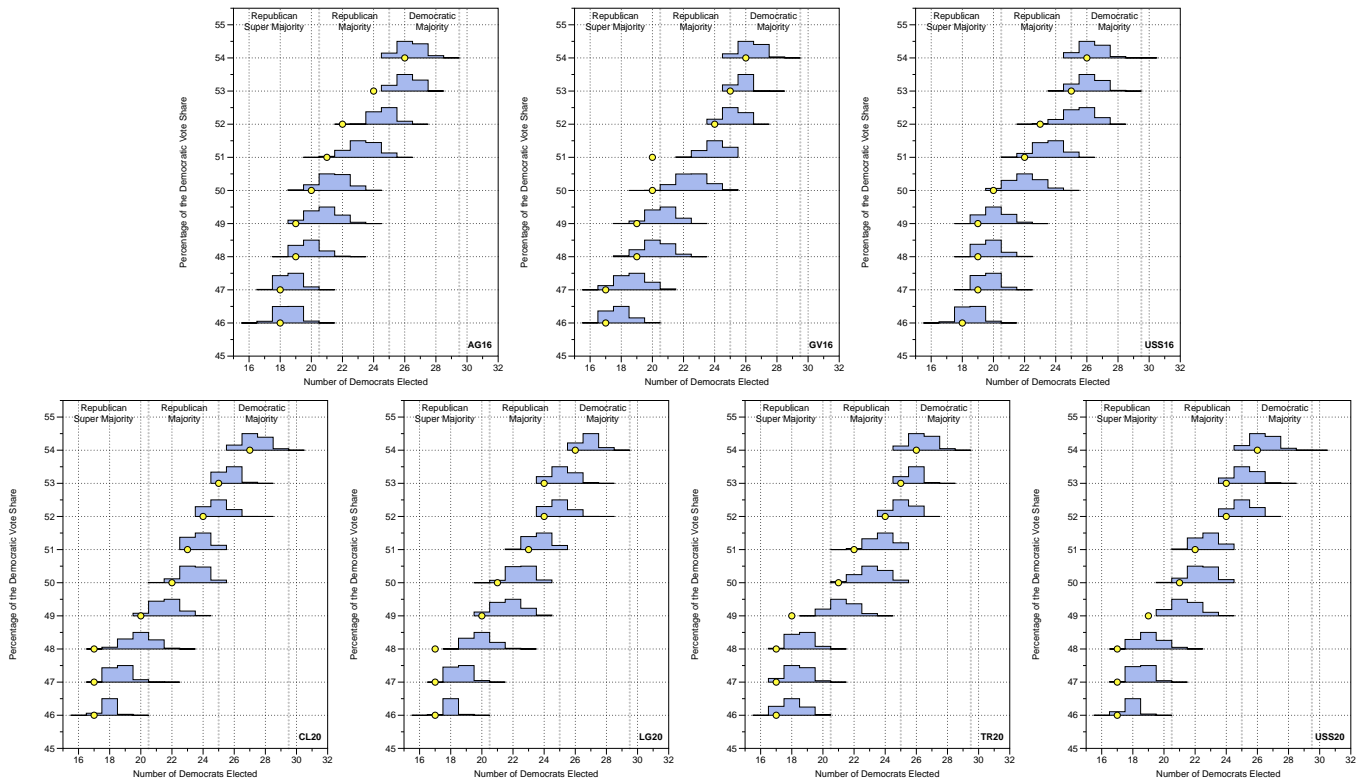


Figure D.0.2: The Collected Seat Histograms for the Primary Ensemble on the NC Senate built from a collection of voting data generated via uniform swing.

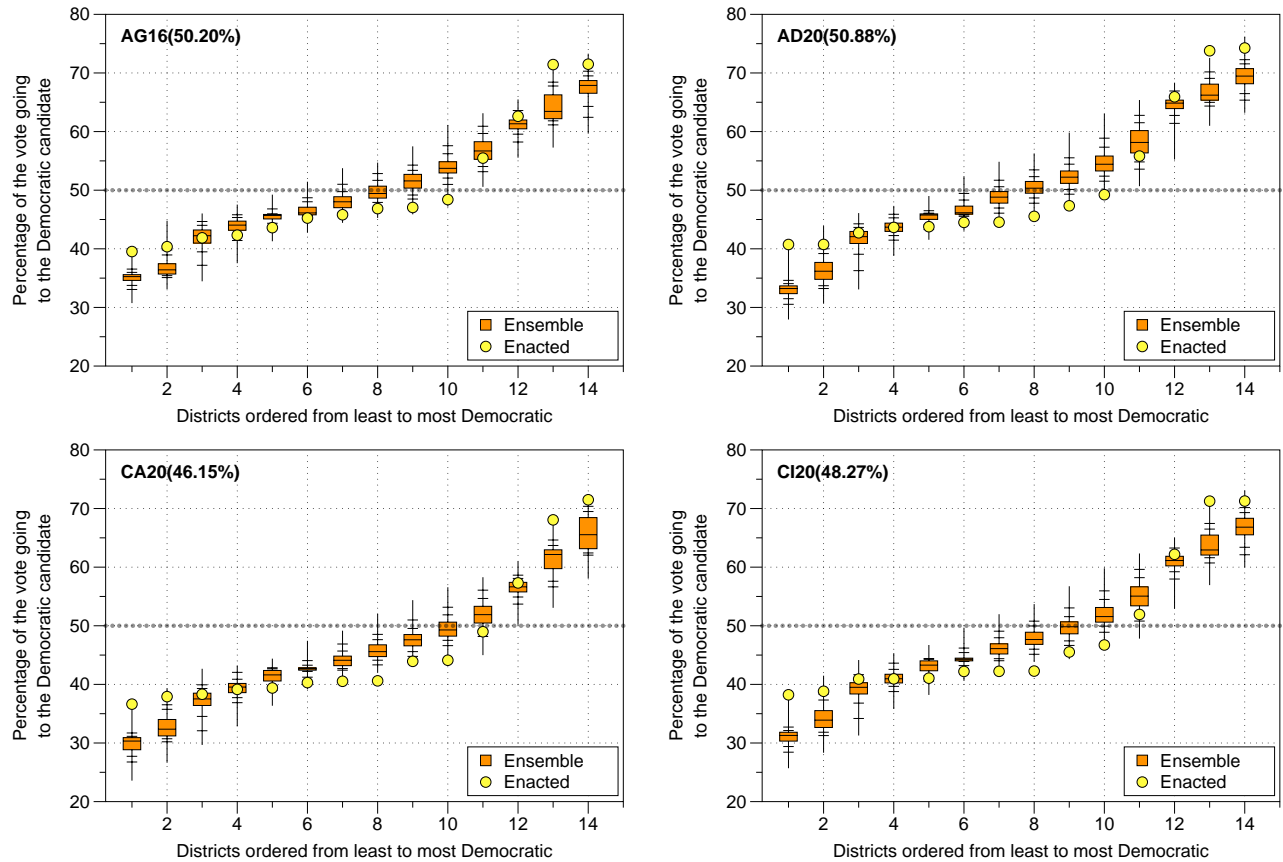


Figure E.0.1: something

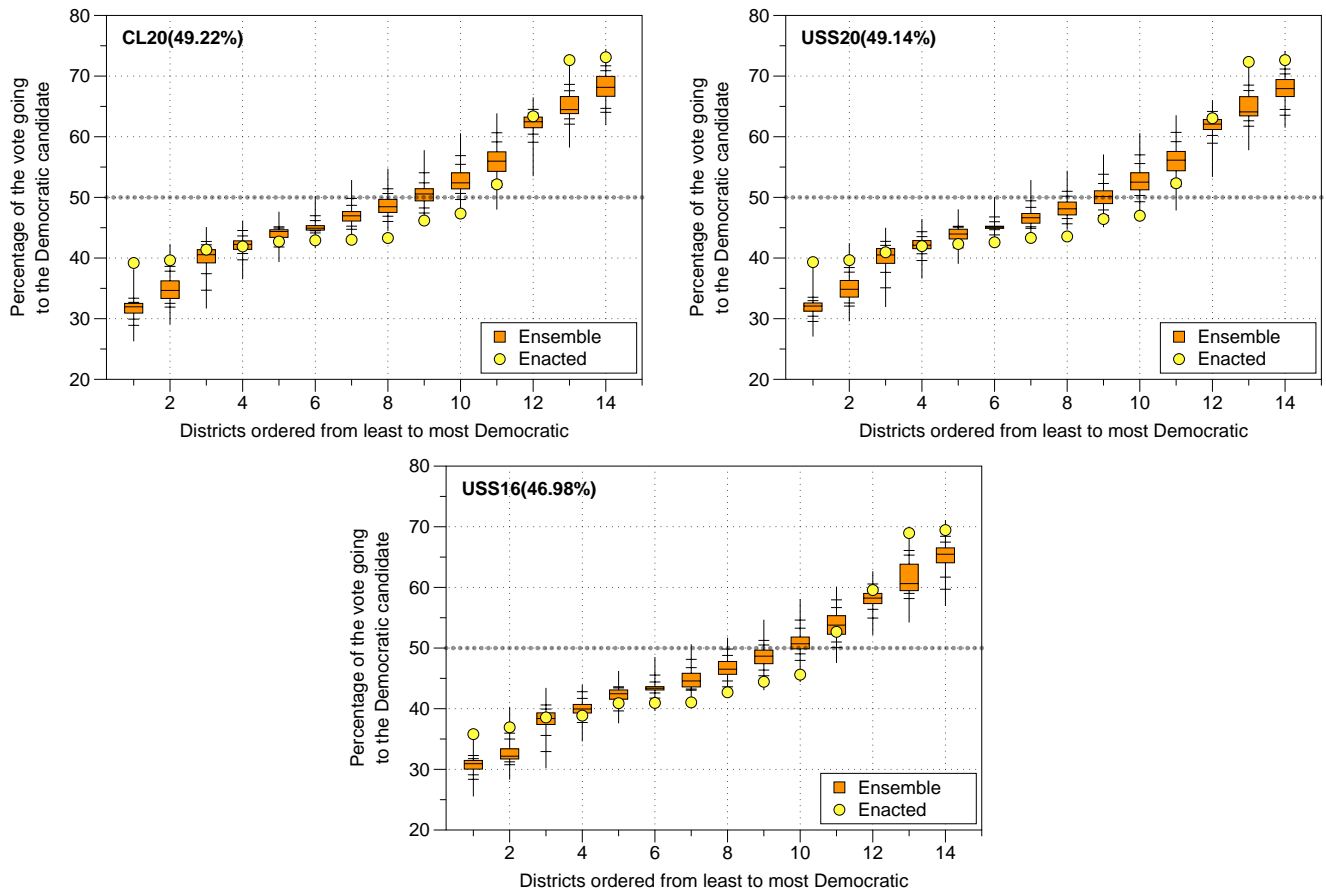


Figure E.0.2: something

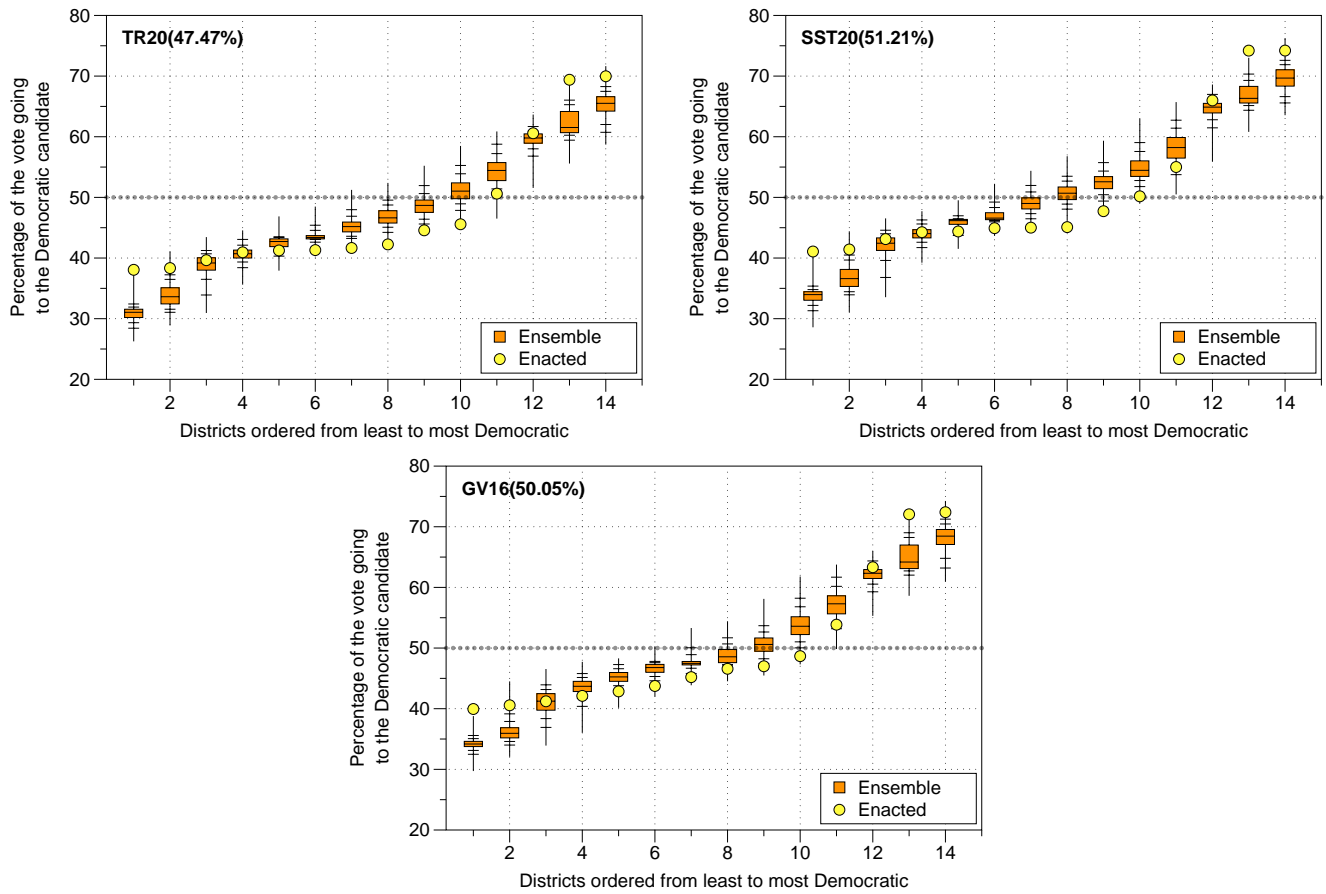


Figure E.0.3: something

Election	No. plans w/ $\leq$ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ $\leq$ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ $\geq$ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ $\geq$ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	13507	16.9	16380	20.5	79997	1	2
PR16	23688	29.6	25268	31.6	79997	1	2
AD20	7579	9.47	13561	17.0	79997	1	2
AG20	8831	11.0	14968	18.7	79997	1	2
CA20	7818	9.77	12779	16.0	79997	1	2
CL20	8308	10.4	14272	17.8	79997	1	2
GV20	14684	18.4	19730	24.7	79997	1	2
LG20	10040	12.6	15902	19.9	79997	1	2
PR20	15099	18.9	19674	24.6	79997	1	2
SST20	9265	11.6	15681	19.6	79997	1	2
TR20	10164	12.7	16049	20.1	79997	1	2
USS20	11197	14.0	16428	20.5	79997	1	2

Table 5: Alamance; house

Election	No. plans w/ $\leq$ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ $\leq$ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ $\geq$ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ $\geq$ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	384	0.48	2281	2.85	79997	2 3	4
PR16	288	0.36	4743	5.93	79997	2 3	4
AD20	72	0.09	5122	6.4	79997	2 3	4
AG20	64	0.08	5154	6.44	79997	2 3	4
CA20	48	0.06	4227	5.28	79997	2 3	4
CL20	56	0.07	4995	6.24	79997	2 3	4
GV20	200	0.25	6254	7.82	79997	2 3	4
LG20	80	0.1	5107	6.38	79997	2 3	4
PR20	128	0.16	5842	7.3	79997	2 3	4
SST20	72	0.09	5418	6.77	79997	2 3	4
TR20	80	0.1	4755	5.94	79997	2 3	4
USS20	56	0.07	4334	5.42	79997	2 3	4

Table 6: Brunswick-New Hanover; house

## F Cluster-by-cluster outlier analysis

We quantify the visual trends seen in the cluster-by-cluster ordered marginal vote distributions. Similar to the analysis in Table 4, we group ranked districts and inquire how many plans in the ensemble have an average Democratic vote fraction that is more toward the extremes than the enacted plan. In general, lower numbers in the tables below signify more atypical clusters.

– Ex. 6571 –

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	288	0.36	2406	3.01	79997	1	3
PR16	848	1.06	3910	4.89	79997	1	3
AD20	578	0.723	3738	4.67	79997	1	3
AG20	657	0.821	3711	4.64	79997	1	3
CA20	506	0.633	3072	3.84	79997	1	3
CL20	573	0.716	3578	4.47	79997	1	3
GV20	892	1.12	4803	6.0	79997	1	3
LG20	642	0.803	3699	4.62	79997	1	3
PR20	960	1.2	4790	5.99	79997	1	3
SST20	546	0.683	3305	4.13	79997	1	3
TR20	555	0.694	3295	4.12	79997	1	3
USS20	541	0.676	3404	4.26	79997	1	3

Table 7: Buncombe; house

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	12935	16.2	12183	15.2	79997	3 4	5
PR16	13057	16.3	5371	6.71	79997	3 4	5
AD20	12585	15.7	1657	2.07	79997	3 4	5
AG20	12230	15.3	2081	2.6	79997	3 4	5
CA20	12445	15.6	1573	1.97	79997	3 4	5
CL20	12411	15.5	1785	2.23	79997	3 4	5
GV20	12167	15.2	1489	1.86	79997	3 4	5
LG20	12312	15.4	1789	2.24	79997	3 4	5
PR20	12320	15.4	921	1.15	79997	3 4	5
SST20	12059	15.1	1709	2.14	79997	3 4	5
TR20	12102	15.1	1537	1.92	79997	3 4	5
USS20	11901	14.9	1669	2.09	79997	3 4	5

Table 8: Cabarrus-Davie-Rowan-Yadkin; house

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	3767	4.71	13593	17.0	79997	2	3 4
PR16	5414	6.77	13064	16.3	79997	2	3 4
AD20	970	1.21	11880	14.9	79997	2	3 4
AG20	899	1.12	11149	13.9	79997	2	3 4
CA20	833	1.04	11167	14.0	79997	2	3 4
CL20	341	0.426	10790	13.5	79997	2	3 4
GV20	517	0.646	11339	14.2	79997	2	3 4
LG20	346	0.433	10829	13.5	79997	2	3 4
PR20	579	0.724	11315	14.1	79997	2	3 4
SST20	1206	1.51	12333	15.4	79997	2	3 4
TR20	587	0.734	10981	13.7	79997	2	3 4
USS20	360	0.45	10674	13.3	79997	2	3 4

Table 9: Cumberland; house

– Ex. 6572 –

Election	No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	46063	57.6	46238	57.8	79997	1	2
PR16	43010	53.8	43894	54.9	79997	1	2
AD20	41097	51.4	41193	51.5	79997	1	2
AG20	38601	48.3	38516	48.1	79997	1	2
CA20	39051	48.8	39158	48.9	79997	1	2
CL20	38891	48.6	39038	48.8	79997	1	2
GV20	38179	47.7	38073	47.6	79997	1	2
LG20	38313	47.9	38392	48.0	79997	1	2
PR20	38660	48.3	38492	48.1	79997	1	2
SST20	41059	51.3	40686	50.9	79997	1	2
TR20	38891	48.6	39342	49.2	79997	1	2
USS20	38430	48.0	38734	48.4	79997	1	2

Table 10: Duplin-Wayne; house

Election	No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	0	0.0	2768	3.46	79997	1	3 4
PR16	0	0.0	409	0.511	79997	1	3 4
AD20	0	0.0	274	0.343	79997	1	3 4
AG20	0	0.0	312	0.39	79997	1	3 4
CA20	0	0.0	929	1.16	79997	1	3 4
CL20	0	0.0	417	0.521	79997	1	3 4
GV20	0	0.0	232	0.29	79997	1	3 4
LG20	0	0.0	328	0.41	79997	1	3 4
PR20	0	0.0	96	0.12	79997	1	3 4
SST20	0	0.0	296	0.37	79997	1	3 4
TR20	0	0.0	280	0.35	79997	1	3 4
USS20	0	0.0	497	0.621	79997	1	3 4

Table 11: Durham-Person; house

Election	No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	1	0.00125	659	0.824	79997	1 2 3	4 5
PR16	0	0.0	543	0.679	79997	1 2 3	4 5
AD20	8	0.01	952	1.19	79997	1 2 3	4 5
AG20	11	0.0138	1025	1.28	79997	1 2 3	4 5
CA20	11	0.0138	1032	1.29	79997	1 2 3	4 5
CL20	9	0.0113	995	1.24	79997	1 2 3	4 5
GV20	8	0.01	982	1.23	79997	1 2 3	4 5
LG20	8	0.01	980	1.23	79997	1 2 3	4 5
PR20	8	0.01	893	1.12	79997	1 2 3	4 5
SST20	0	0.0	912	1.14	79997	1 2 3	4 5
TR20	9	0.0113	944	1.18	79997	1 2 3	4 5
USS20	16	0.02	1106	1.38	79997	1 2 3	4 5

Table 12: Forsyth-Stokes; house

– Ex. 6573 –

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR16	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
AD20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
AG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
CA20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
CL20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
GV20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
LG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
SST20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
TR20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
USS20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6

Table 13: Guilford; house

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	661	0.826	2	0.0025	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
PR16	168	0.21	6	0.0075	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
AD20	569	0.711	32	0.04	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
AG20	763	0.954	35	0.0438	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
CA20	1363	1.7	84	0.105	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
CL20	1146	1.43	72	0.09	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
GV20	396	0.495	40	0.05	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
LG20	700	0.875	36	0.045	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
PR20	202	0.253	19	0.0238	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
SST20	496	0.62	29	0.0363	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
TR20	975	1.22	88	0.11	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8
USS20	1082	1.35	69	0.0863	79997	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8

Table 14: Mecklenburg; house

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	1194	1.49	899	1.12	79997	1	2
PR16	2115	2.64	1829	2.29	79997	1	2
AD20	8230	10.3	4317	5.4	79997	1	2
AG20	4434	5.54	2326	2.91	79997	1	2
CA20	2295	2.87	1334	1.67	79997	1	2
CL20	4069	5.09	2163	2.7	79997	1	2
GV20	6311	7.89	3379	4.22	79997	1	2
LG20	4123	5.15	2222	2.78	79997	1	2
PR20	6573	8.22	3564	4.46	79997	1	2
SST20	5386	6.73	2656	3.32	79997	1	2
TR20	4243	5.3	2177	2.72	79997	1	2
USS20	3799	4.75	2074	2.59	79997	1	2

Table 15: Pitt; house

– Ex. 6574 –

Election	No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	209	0.261	6107	7.63	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
PR16	160	0.2	4317	5.4	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
AD20	240	0.3	4968	6.21	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
AG20	230	0.288	4728	5.91	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
CA20	1151	1.44	15113	18.9	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
CL20	337	0.421	6643	8.3	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
GV20	225	0.281	3777	4.72	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
LG20	298	0.373	5552	6.94	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
PR20	241	0.301	4462	5.58	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
SST20	291	0.364	4572	5.72	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
TR20	377	0.471	7229	9.04	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
USS20	354	0.443	6912	8.64	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Table 16: Wake; house

Election	No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)	No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)	Total Plans	First Cluster	Second Cluster
LG16	48	0.06	0	0.0	79997	1	2
PR16	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
AD20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
AG20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
CA20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
CL20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
GV20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
LG20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
PR20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
SST20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
TR20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2
USS20	48	0.06	48	0.06	79997	1	2

Table 17: Cumberland-Moore; senate

– Ex. 6575 –

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	855	1.07	3472	4.34	79997	1	2
PR16	600	0.75	1822	2.28	79997	1	2
AD20	506	0.633	1745	2.18	79997	1	2
AG20	595	0.744	2455	3.07	79997	1	2
CA20	570	0.713	2521	3.15	79997	1	2
CL20	550	0.688	2191	2.74	79997	1	2
GV20	471	0.589	1496	1.87	79997	1	2
LG20	485	0.606	1967	2.46	79997	1	2
PR20	447	0.559	1392	1.74	79997	1	2
SST20	515	0.644	1827	2.28	79997	1	2
TR20	646	0.808	2696	3.37	79997	1	2
USS20	498	0.623	2174	2.72	79997	1	2

Table 18: Forsyth-Stokes; senate

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	0	0.0	6	0.015	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR16	0	0.0	3	0.0075	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
AD20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
AG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
CA20	0	0.0	9	0.0225	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
CL20	0	0.0	4	0.01	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
GV20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
LG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
SST20	0	0.0	0	0.0	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
TR20	0	0.0	5	0.0125	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6
USS20	0	0.0	4	0.01	39991	1 2	3 4 5 6

Table 19: Granville-Wake; senate

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≤ Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ ≥ Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	0	0.0	13	0.0163	79997	1	3
PR16	0	0.0	13	0.0163	79997	1	3
AD20	0	0.0	54	0.0675	79997	1	3
AG20	0	0.0	33	0.0413	79997	1	3
CA20	0	0.0	15	0.0188	79997	1	3
CL20	0	0.0	23	0.0288	79997	1	3
GV20	0	0.0	56	0.07	79997	1	3
LG20	0	0.0	22	0.0275	79997	1	3
PR20	0	0.0	59	0.0738	79997	1	3
SST20	0	0.0	32	0.04	79997	1	3
TR20	0	0.0	20	0.025	79997	1	3
USS20	0	0.0	23	0.0288	79997	1	3

Table 20: Guilford-Rockingham; senate

<b>Election</b>	<b>No. plans w/ <math>\leq</math> Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ <math>\leq</math> Dems (First Cluster)</b>	<b>No. plans w/ <math>\geq</math> Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>% of plans w/ <math>\geq</math> Dems (Second Cluster)</b>	<b>Total Plans</b>	<b>First Cluster</b>	<b>Second Cluster</b>
LG16	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR16	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
AD20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
AG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
CA20	0	0.0	8	0.01	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
CL20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
GV20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
LG20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
PR20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
SST20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
TR20	0	0.0	8	0.01	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6
USS20	0	0.0	0	0.0	79997	1 2	3 4 5 6

Table 21: Iredell-Mecklenburg; senate

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I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the state of North Carolina that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of two distinct parts. The first part is a stylized, cursive 'J' followed by several loops. The second part is a more complex, scribbled signature with multiple overlapping strokes and a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Jonathan Mattingly, 12/23/2021

### **Addendum to Primary Expert Report of Jonathan C. Mattingly, Ph.D.**

I am a Professor of Mathematics and Statistical Science at Duke University. My degrees are from the North Carolina School of Science and Math (High School Diploma), Yale University (B.S.), and Princeton University (Ph.D.). I grew up in Charlotte, North Carolina and currently live in Durham, North Carolina.

I lead a group at Duke University which conducts non-partisan research to understand and quantify gerrymandering. This report grows out of aspects of our group's work around the current North Carolina legislative districts which are relevant to the case being filed.

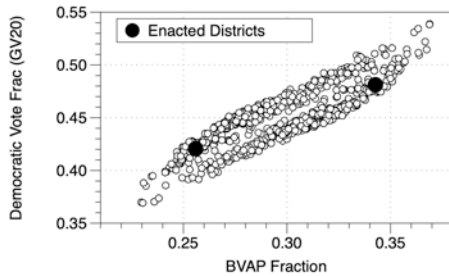
I previously submitted an expert report in *Common Cause v. Rucho*, No. 18-CV-1026 (M.D.N.C.), *Diamond v. Torres*, No. 17-CV-5054 (E.D. Pa.), *Common Cause v. Lewis* (N.C. Sup. Ct No. 18-cvs-014001), and *Harper v. Lewis* (No. 19-cv-012667) and was an expert witness for the plaintiffs in *Common Cause v. Rucho* and *Common Cause v. Lewis*. I am being paid at a rate of \$400/per hour for the work on this case. This note is a companion to the main expert report. It has been requested by a subset of plaintiffs' counsel.

### **Addendum Analysis**

We examine the correlation between the fraction of the black voting age population and the partisan make up of (i) the North Eastern cluster choices in the North Carolina State Senate, and (ii) the districts within the Duplin-Wayne county cluster in the North Carolina State House.

North Eastern Cluster Options

County Clusters (1 district per cluster)	Enacted Clusters		Alternative Option	
	MARTIN WARREN HALIFAX HYDE PAMLICO CHOWAN WASHINGTON CARTERET	GATES CURRITUCK PASQUOTANK DARE BERTIE CAMDEN PERQUIMANS HERTFORD TYRRELL NORTHAMPTON	PASQUOTANK DARE PERQUIMANS HYDE PAMLICO CHOWAN WASHINGTON CARTERET	GATES CURRITUCK CAMDEN BERTIE WARREN HALIFAX HERTFORD TYRRELL NORTHAMPTON MARTIN
BVAP(%)	30.0%	29.49%	17.47%	42.33%
Dem Vote % (LG16)	46.07%	47.74%	38.51%	55.42%
Dem Vote %(PR16)	45.60%	46.70%	37.83%	54.59%
Dem Vote %(CA20)	42.28%	44.47%	36.48%	50.75%
Dem Vote %(USS20)	45.31%	45.36%	38.45%	52.75%
Dem Vote %(TR20)	44.12%	44.58%	37.61%	51.59%
Dem Vote %(GV20)	46.79%	47.56%	40.75%	54.12%
Dem Vote %(AD20)	47.79%	47.72%	41.02%	54.99%
Dem Vote %(SST20)	47.56%	47.85%	41.03%	54.89%
Dem Vote %(AG20)	45.88%	46.11%	39.15%	53.40%
Dem Vote %(PR20)	44.09%	45.54%	38.30%	51.84%
Dem Vote %(LG20)	43.80%	45.12%	37.74%	51.69%
Dem Vote %(CL20)	45.23%	46.42%	39.12%	52.00%



The Northeastern corner of the North Carolina State Senate has two possible county clusterings; each clustering is made of two clusters each with one district. We compare the enacted plan with the other possible districting option. We find that the enacted plan splits the Black voters roughly in half, whereas the other potential clustering would have concentrated Black voters in one of the two resulting districts. Furthermore, we find that the enacted plan leads to two stable Republican districts when measured across a range of

historic voting patterns. In contrast, the alternative clustering would have allowed the district with the larger BVAP (42.33% BVAP) to reliably elect a Democratic candidate. Thus, the chosen cluster is the choice that favors the Republican party and significantly fractures Black voters in the area.

Next, we examine the correlation between BVAP fraction and Democratic vote fraction in the Duplin-Wayne cluster. We elect to use the 2020 Governor votes and plot the relationship between the BVAP and the vote fraction in (i) our ensemble and (ii) the enacted plan. We demonstrate that (i) it is possible to draw districts with significantly higher BVAPs and that (ii) according to the examined historic votes, raising the BVAP would likely raise the Democratic vote fraction.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the state of North Carolina that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my Knowledge.

Jonathan C Mattingly  
Dec 23, 2021.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION  
21 CVS 015426

NORTH CAROLINA LEAGUE OF CONSER-  
VATION VOTERS, INC., et al.,

REBECCA HARPER, et al.,

COMMON CAUSE,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his offi-  
cial capacity as Chair of the House Standing Com-  
mittee on Redistricting, et al.

*Defendants.*

**EXPERT REPORT OF  
JAMES L. LELOUDIS II**

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1486**

## Race and Voting Rights in North Carolina, 1860-2021

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## I. Summary of Opinions

My name is James L. Leloudis II. I have taught history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for thirty-one years, with a focus on North Carolina and the American South. I have published extensively on the history of the state and region, and my scholarship has won awards from the nation's leading professional associations in my field.

I was retained by the Plaintiffs in this case to assess whether there is a history of racial discrimination in North Carolina, specifically with respect to the regulation of elections and legislative redistricting. Based on my forty years of researching, writing, and teaching in this field, and having reviewed published works by historians of race and politics in the American South, newspapers from the time period covered by this declaration, the public laws of North Carolina, archival sources for individuals and institutions, and reports from various federal and state agencies, it is my opinion that:

- North Carolina has a long and cyclical history of struggle over minority voting rights and political participation, from the time of Reconstruction to the present day.
- When minority rights have been constrained, North Carolina's state government has been decidedly unresponsive to minority concerns and interests related to social and economic policy. That lack of responsiveness to Blacks and, in recent years, a rapidly growing population of Hispanics, has perpetuated minority disadvantages in employment and education, further hindering the ability of minority populations to participate fully and freely in the political process.<sup>1</sup>
- Over the last century and a half, North Carolina lawmakers have employed a variety of measures to limit the rights of racial and ethnic minorities to register, to vote, and to participate in the democratic process. These measures have included vigilante violence, a literacy test and poll tax, and a host of other regulations regarding the preparation of ballots, procedures for challenging electors' right to register and to vote, and election monitoring by partisan poll watchers.
- During the late 1950s and 1960s, lawmakers acted to limit the political participation of newly enfranchised Black voters by switching from ward to at-large representation in county and municipal governments, increasing the number of multi-member districts in the state legislature, introducing numbered-seat plans for legislative elections, and outlawing single-shot voting. After the federal courts began to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and limited those practices, extreme partisan gerrymandering and racial vote dilution became the tactics of choice for limiting minority voting rights and political participation.
- Actions by the North Carolina legislature in the current redistricting cycle fit the pattern of conservative backlash to minority gains. With a rising minority electorate, lawmakers have created district maps that they claim are colorblind; but in fact, the maps reproduce

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<sup>1</sup> The terms 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' are often used interchangeably to describe immigrants from Mexico, Cuba, and Central and South America. I will use 'Hispanic' throughout this report because that is the term most often employed by the U.S. Census Bureau, the North Carolina State Board of Elections, and other government agencies and researchers to characterize voters who have ties to those regions.

familiar forms of racial discrimination. The legislature is acting with no fear of repercussion in part because this is the first redistricting cycle without the preclearance protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

- In the context of North Carolina’s political history, race and politics overlap, to the extent that partisan gerrymandering many times acts as a cover for racial discrimination in redistricting.

Each of these opinions is explained and supported in detail below.

## II. Background and Qualifications

I am employed as Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I received a B.A., with highest honors, from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1977), an M.A. from Northwestern University (1979), and a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1989). My primary training was in the history of the United States, with specialization in the history of race, politics, labor, and reform in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century American South. For the past thirty-one years I have taught undergraduate and graduate courses in my area of specialization. I have published four books, nine articles, and numerous book reviews. I have also made more than fifty presentations to academic and lay audiences.

My scholarship has won a number of prestigious awards, including the Louis Pelzer Prize for the best essay by a graduate student (1982, Organization for American Historians), the Philip Taft Labor History Award for the best book on the history of labor (1988, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University), the Merle Curti Award for the best book on American social history (1988, Organization of American Historians), the Albert J. Beveridge Award for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada (1988, American Historical Association), the Mayflower Cup for the best non-fiction work on North Carolina (1996, North Carolina Literary and Historical Association), and the North Caroliniana Society Award for the best work on North Carolina history (2010).

In 1982, as a graduate student in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, I conducted research that became part of the expert testimony provided by Professor Harry Watson in *Gingles v. Edmisten*, 590 F. Supp. 345 (1984).<sup>2</sup> In 2014-2016, I provided expert testimony for the plaintiffs in *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 182 F. Supp. 3d 320 (M.D.N.C. 2016), and *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204 (4th Cir. 2016). In 2017, I was retained as an expert witness for the plaintiffs in *Hall v. Jones County Board of Commissioners*, 4:17-cv-00018 (E.D.N.C. July 5, 2017), but the case was settled before I submitted a report. I recently served as an expert witness for the plaintiffs in *Holmes v. Moore*, 270 N.C. App. 7 (Wake Cnty. Sup. Ct. 2019), and I am currently an expert witness for the plaintiffs in *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. Cooper*, 1:18-cv-01034 (M.D.N.C. Aug. 17, 2021).

I produced this report under contract with the Southern Coalition for Social Justice and Hogan Lovells, representing Common Cause. My billing rate is \$300/hour, with total payment not

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<sup>2</sup> *Gingles v. Edmisten*, 590 F. Supp. 345 (E.D.N.C. 1984).

to exceed \$20,000, unless approved by counsel. Payment is not contingent on reaching specific conclusions as a result of my research, or on the outcome of my findings.

A detailed record of my professional qualifications and publications is set forth in the curriculum vitae appended to this report, which I prepared and know to be accurate.

### **III. Materials Reviewed**

I have conducted qualitative research on the history of race, voting rights, voter suppression, and redistricting in North Carolina, from the end of the Civil War to the present. Sources that I have consulted include published works by historians of race and politics in the American South, newspapers from the time period covered by this declaration, the public laws of North Carolina, archival sources for individuals and institutions, court cases, and reports from various federal and state agencies. All of the sources relied upon for this report are footnoted and fully cited herein, and also listed in my bibliography.

### **IV. Scope**

This report examines the historical context for recent attempts to limit minority citizens' voting rights and ability to elect candidates of their choice. It details more than a century and a half of fierce conflict between efforts to expand access to the ballot box for all citizens, especially Blacks, and campaigns to impose restrictions on the franchise and minority participation in democratic governance. The report begins with the Civil War and Reconstruction era and concludes with today's battles over the regulation of elections and both legislative and municipal redistricting.

### **V. Introduction – Democracy, Racial Equality, and the Rights of Citizenship**

Today, Americans are sharply divided over questions of voting rights and minority political participation. To understand how we came to this impasse, we must look back to 1865 and the end of America's Civil War. The Union had been preserved and the Confederacy was in ashes, but the sacrifice of nearly three quarters of a million lives had not decided the republic's future. Would there be a "new birth of freedom," as Abraham Lincoln had imagined in his Gettysburg Address, or would the nation be reconstituted as a "white man's government," the outcome preferred by his successor, Andrew Johnson? Between 1865 and 1870, self-styled "radicals" in Lincoln's Republican Party answered that question with three constitutional amendments that historians have described as America's "Second Founding."<sup>3</sup>

The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) abolished slavery and guaranteed the liberty of four million Black men, women, and children who had been enslaved in the South. The Fourteenth (1868) granted them citizenship by birthright and established the principle of "equal protection of the laws." And the Fifteenth (1870) forbade the states from denying or abridging male citizens' right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

These constitutional guarantees tied the fate of American democracy to the citizenship rights of a newly emancipated Black minority and their descendants. For one hundred and fifty

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<sup>3</sup> Carmichael, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address*, 72, and Foner, *Second Founding*. Johnson spoke often of a "white man's government"; for the example used here, see Speech on the Restoration of State Government, January 21, 1864, in Graf and Haskins, eds., *Papers of Andrew Johnson*, vol. 6, 577-78.

years, the exercise of those rights and the connection between racial justice and democratic governance have been the centermost issues in American politics. This has been particularly true for the right to vote.

In North Carolina, battles over the political rights of citizenship have played out through cycles of emancipatory politics and conservative retrenchment. In a pattern repeated multiple times, Blacks and their allies have formed political movements to end racial exploitation and claim their rights as equal citizens. They have done so not only to advance their own interests but to promote participatory democracy more generally and to make government responsive to the needs of all its people. Invariably, these efforts have met resistance from conservative lawmakers who erected safeguards – or what advocates of enfranchisement called barriers – around the ballot box. Conservatives have been remarkably creative in that work. When one restriction was struck down in the courts or through protest and political mobilization, they quickly invented another. Sometimes, they spoke in overtly racial terms and implemented reforms through violent means. At other times, they cast franchise restrictions in the more euphemistic language of fraud and corruption. Consistently, they presented strict regulation of the right to vote as a means of ensuring "good order" and "good government."

Some pundits have suggested that the fight over ballots and democratic governance represents little more than competition between Democrats and Republicans to reshape the electorate and gain partisan advantage. No doubt the contest has been intensely partisan, but the ideological realignment of the Democratic and Republican parties reminds us that something far more significant has been at stake. In the decades immediately after the Civil War, Conservatives called themselves Democrats, campaigned for limited social provision, and took the vote from Black men, while Republicans identified as social progressives, championed an expansive and generous state, and fought for equality at the ballot box and in the halls of government. Beginning in the mid twentieth century, these positions flipped. Grassroots activists and national leaders reshaped the Democratic Party to support the advancement of civil rights, while the Republican Party became overwhelmingly white, sought to limit federal involvement in state and local affairs, and adopted a restrictive stance toward citizenship and its attendant rights.

Through all these changes, one fact has remained constant. Discrimination on the basis of color has been white conservatives' primary means of securing both political advantage over minority citizens and their progressive white allies. That was glaringly obvious in 1900, when Democrats amended North Carolina's constitution in order to disenfranchise Black men. It is also evident today in Republicans' attempts to restrict minority citizens' voting rights and in their use of racially discriminatory redistricting practices and partisan gerrymandering to consolidate control over state government and public policy. This politics of race threatens the fundamental principles of our democracy. When racial equality has been denied, and when the consideration of race has been used for partisan gain and the exclusion of minority electors from the democratic polity, the result has been a society in which vast numbers of citizens – not only racial minorities – have had their right to fair and effective representation compromised.

Understood in this historical context, today's conflicts over minority political rights are reminders that we live in a time every bit as consequential as the flush of reform that followed the Civil War. Then, as now, democracy was imperiled by divisive racial appeals, violent expressions of white supremacy, and efforts to roll back newly won citizenship. In such a moment, history has clarifying power.

## VI. War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction

### A. Civil War to the Black Code

On the eve of the Civil War, North Carolina's government was an oligarchy, not a democracy. The state constitution gave political advantage to a slaveholding elite concentrated in the eastern counties of the coastal plain. Seats in the state Senate were apportioned among fifty districts defined by the value of the taxes that residents paid into state coffers; in the House of Representatives, apportionment was governed by the "federal ratio," which counted slaves as three-fifths of a person. These provisions, together with property requirements for election to high state office, effectively removed a large majority of middling and poor whites from governance of the state and their local communities. Free Black men with property had been entitled to vote under the state constitution of 1776, but that right was rescinded in 1835 by a constitutional amendment. This was the first time in the state's history that the franchise was restricted on the basis of race. Political leaders framed Black disenfranchisement as a necessary response to Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 and the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. They saw it as protection against the threat of slave insurrections encouraged by white abolitionists and their perceived agents, free Black men exercising the rights of citizenship.<sup>4</sup>

By 1860 more than 85 percent of lawmakers in the North Carolina General Assembly were slaveholders, a higher percentage than in any other southern state. Wealth was closely held by this elite, who constituted roughly seven percent of the state's population of one million and resided primarily in the east. These men also maintained a firm grip on political power. Indeed, the principles of oligarchy were written into the state's constitution. At the local level, voters elected only two county officials: a sheriff and a clerk of court. The power to govern rested in the hands of justices of the peace who were nominated by members of the state House of Representatives and commissioned for life terms by the governor.<sup>5</sup>

North Carolina's antebellum oligarchs did not rule with unchallenged authority. In the 1850s, they faced political revolt by white yeoman farmers in the central Piedmont and the western mountain region who called for removal of property requirements for the right to vote for state senators and demanded an *ad valorem* tax on slaveholders' human property – more than three hundred and thirty thousand Black men, women, and children. Dissenters won the first contest by popular referendum on free suffrage in 1856, and they prevailed in the second when delegates to the state secession convention gave ground on taxation for fear that in war with the North, ordinary whites "would not lift a finger to protect rich men's negroes."<sup>6</sup>

Most of North Carolina remained behind Confederate lines until the final days of the Civil War, and for that reason the state bore a Herculean share of hardship and deprivation. By 1863, North Carolina troops were deserting by the thousands. Many did so with support from the Order of the Heroes of America, an underground network of Unionists and Quaker pacifists. Food riots broke out in the state's largest towns, and in the 1864 gubernatorial election, William Woods Holden, a self-made newspaper publisher, ran on a peace platform, arguing that a negotiated return

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<sup>4</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 3-31, and Morris, "Panic and Reprisal," 52.

<sup>5</sup> On antebellum North Carolina's economic and political structure, see Escott, *Many Excellent People*, chapt. 1. The figure on slaveholders in the state legislature is from p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-30, and 34.

to the Union offered North Carolina's only chance to "save human life" and "prevent the impoverishment and ruin of our people." Holden lost to incumbent governor Zebulon B. Vance by 58,070 to 14,491 votes, but his candidacy exposed a deep rift between the state's wealthy rulers and a significant minority of whites – twenty percent of the electorate – who had "tired of the rich man's war & poor man's fight."<sup>7</sup>

As defeat grew imminent, Calvin H. Wiley, a distinguished educator and publicist, warned of the insurrection that collapse of the Confederacy and the end of slavery would unleash. "The negroes [and] the meanest class of white people would constitute a majority," he warned, and those "who were once socially & politically degraded" would make common cause and rise up in rebellion. To forestall this political realignment, self-styled Conservatives took advantage of President Andrew Johnson's desire for a quick reconstruction of the South by acting decisively to retain political power and dominion over Black labor through legislative action.<sup>8</sup>

In the spring of 1866, Conservatives in the General Assembly passed an Act Concerning Negroes and Persons of Color, known informally as the Black Code. The act sought to keep Blacks subjugated and to "fix their status permanently" by attaching to them the same "burthen and disabilities" imposed on free persons of color by antebellum law.<sup>9</sup>

Under the Black Code, freedmen could not vote, carry weapons without a license, migrate into the state, return to the state after more than ninety days' absence, or give testimony against a white person in a court of law, except by consent of the white defendant. The law also gave sheriffs broad authority to prosecute freedmen for vagrancy, a crime punishable by hiring out to "service and labor."<sup>10</sup>

### **B. A New State Constitution and Expansion of the Franchise**

The Republican majority in the U.S. Congress watched developments in North Carolina and elsewhere in the South with growing concern, particularly for the rights of freedmen. Thaddeus Stevens, congressman from Pennsylvania, warned North Carolina Conservatives that they would "have no peace until a negro is free as a white man . . . and is treated as a white man!" To that end, Congress approved the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution in June 1866 and tendered it for ratification by the states. The amendment gave citizenship to freedmen and struck directly at the Black Code by guaranteeing all citizens equal protection under the law and forbidding the states to deprive any citizen of life, liberty, or property without due process.<sup>11</sup>

In North Carolina, as in all other southern states except Tennessee, Conservative lawmakers stood firm. They refused to ratify an amendment that, in their view, turned "the slave, master, and the master, slave." Congress answered that defiance by asserting its authority once more, this time through passage of the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867. The act ordered the continued military occupation of the South, instructed army commanders to organize conventions that would

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<sup>7</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 44 and 49, and Raper, *William W. Holden*, 51. On internal dissent during the Civil War, see also Durrill, *Uncivil War*.

<sup>8</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 89-90.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 130, and *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1865-66*, chapt. 40. For North Carolina law governing slaves and free Blacks before the Civil War, see *Revised Code of North Carolina, 1854*, chapt. 107. See also Browning, "North Carolina Black Code."

<sup>10</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1865-66*, chapt. 40.

<sup>11</sup> Raper, *William W. Holden*, 91.

rewrite the southern states' constitutions, and granted all adult male citizens – "of whatever race, or color, or previous condition" – the right to vote for convention delegates.<sup>12</sup>

This extension of a limited franchise to Black men radically rearranged the political landscape in North Carolina. It was now possible that an alliance between freedmen and dissenting whites could constitute a political majority. With that end in view, opponents of Conservative rule gathered in Raleigh in March 1867 to establish a biracial state Republican Party. William Holden, the Confederate peace candidate who had served briefly as North Carolina's provisional governor after the South's surrender, stood at the party's head and directed efforts to build a statewide organization using networks established during wartime by the Heroes of America and by the Union League in its campaigns to mobilize freedmen.

When voters went to the polls to elect delegates to the constitutional convention, leaders of the old elite were stunned: Republicans won 107 of the convention's 120 seats. Of that majority, fifteen were Black, including religious and political leader James W. Hood, who had presided over the first political convention of Blacks in North Carolina in late 1865. At that gathering, 117 delegates, most of them former slaves, met in Raleigh to petition white leaders for "adequate compensation for our labor . . . education for our children . . . [and abolition of] all the oppressive laws which make unjust discriminations on account of race or color."<sup>13</sup>

During the winter of 1867-68, delegates to the constitutional convention crafted a document that defined a thoroughly democratic polity. The proposed constitution guaranteed universal manhood suffrage, removed all property qualifications for election to high state office, and at the county level put local government in the hands of elected commissioners rather than appointed justices of the peace. North Carolina would no longer be "a republic erected on race and property." The constitution of 1868 also expanded the role of the state in advancing the welfare of its citizens by levying a capitation tax to fund education and "support of the poor," mandating for the first time in North Carolina history a state system of free public schools, and establishing a state board of public charities to make "beneficent provision for the poor, the unfortunate and orphan."<sup>14</sup>

Black delegates to the convention knew that the success of these reforms would depend on safeguarding broad access to the franchise and appealed for the forceful defense of voting rights. The convention passed an ordinance to criminalize efforts to intimidate "any qualified elector of this State . . . by violence or bribery, or by threats of violence or injury to his person or property."<sup>15</sup>

In May 1868, voters ratified the constitution, elected William Holden governor, and gave the biracial Republican Party six of North Carolina's seven Congressional seats and control of more than two-thirds of the seats in the state legislature. The scale of the Republicans' victory reflected the fact that in North Carolina the percentage of whites who crossed the color line and made common cause with former bondsmen was larger than in any other southern state.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 135, and *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations*, 429. Tennessee had been readmitted to the Union in 1866.

<sup>13</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 125 and 142; Bernstein, "Participation of Negro Delegates in the Constitutional Convention of 1868," 391; and Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 240-46.

<sup>14</sup> *Constitution of the State of North Carolina, 1868*, Article V, sec. 2; Article VI, Sec. 1; Article VII, Sec. 1; and Article XI, sec. 7; and Orth, "North Carolina Constitutional History," 1779.

<sup>15</sup> *Constitution of North Carolina, 1868*, Ordinances, chapt. XXXVI.

<sup>16</sup> Raper, *William W. Holden*, 101, and Foner, *Reconstruction*, 332.

That alliance and the democratic society it envisioned were startling, even by today's standards. In 1869, twenty Black political leaders from North Carolina traveled to Washington, D.C. to attend the Colored National Labor Convention, where they joined nearly two hundred other delegates from points across the South and throughout the nation. James H. Harris, a Black lawmaker and one of the founders of the North Carolina Republican Party, was elected president of the convention. Over the next five days, the delegates drafted a manifesto for a future built upon racial cooperation, labor solidarity, and respect for the rights of women and immigrants. The document called for unions organized "without regard to color"; extended a "welcome hand to the free immigration of labor of all nationalities"; and implored the states to fund "free school system[s] that know no distinction . . . on account of race, color, sex, creed or previous condition." These things, the manifesto proclaimed, would make the "whole people of this land the wealthiest and happiest on the face of the globe."<sup>17</sup>

### C. Klan Violence and "Redemption"

Historian Paul Escott writes that North Carolina's Republican Party "offered a new and vibrant democracy. It seemed inspired with a mission: to open up North Carolina's . . . politics and social system." But as he observes, the party's Conservative rivals were determined to make race, not democracy, the "central question." They described Republicans as a "mongrel mob" spawned by "negro suffrage and social disorder," and they warned non-elite whites of the loss of racial privilege. "IT IS IN THE POOR MAN'S HOUSE," the editor of the *Wilmington Journal* railed, "THAT THE NEGRO WILL ENFORCE HIS EQUALITY."<sup>18</sup>

Such provocations struck deep chords of sentiment in a society that had been organized around racial division for more than two hundred years. But in the new order, words alone could not loosen the Republicans' hold on power. To strike the crippling blow, Conservatives turned to the Ku Klux Klan and vigilante violence. The Klan was first organized in Tennessee in 1868 and subsequently spread across the South. In North Carolina, its leader was one of the Conservatives' own: William L. Saunders, a former Confederate colonel and later a trustee of the state university and secretary of state.

The Klan's masked nightriders committed "every degree of atrocity; burning houses, whipping men and women, beating with clubs, shooting, cutting, and other methods of injuring and insult." In Graham, the seat of Alamance County, they murdered Wyatt Outlaw, a Black town commissioner and constable, and hung his body from a tree in the public square; and in Caswell County, Klansmen lured state senator John W. Stephens, a white Republican, into the basement of the county courthouse, where they beat and stabbed him to death.<sup>19</sup>

Violence occurred in all parts of the state, but as the murders of Outlaw and Stephens attest, backlash against Black political power was especially fierce in the central Piedmont, where the Klan aimed to intimidate not only Black voters, but also the large number of dissenting whites who had crossed the race line. As one Klan leader explained, he and his compatriots aimed not to

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<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings of the Colored National Labor Convention*, 4 and 11-12.

<sup>18</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 145-48 and 151.

<sup>19</sup> Raper, *William W. Holden*, 160.

restore "a white man's government only, but – mark the phrase – an *intelligent* white man's government."<sup>20</sup>

On July 8, 1870, Governor Holden declared Alamance and Caswell Counties to be in open insurrection and ordered the state militia to suppress the Klan and arrest its leaders. That move quelled the worst violence but gave Holden's Conservative opponents the issue they needed to win back control of the General Assembly in the fall election. In 1871, Conservatives successfully impeached and removed Holden from office on charges of unlawfully suspending the prisoners' right of habeas corpus.<sup>21</sup>

From there, the democratic experiment of Reconstruction rapidly unwound. White northerners, weary of a decade of struggle with the South, had little will to continue a states' rights battle with their neighbors. Slavery had been abolished and secession, punished. That was enough for most whites, who found it perfectly consistent to hate the institution of slavery and to despise the slave with equal passion. For a majority, racial equality had never been a part of the Civil War's purpose. The last federal troops left North Carolina in 1877, a year after Conservatives – now calling themselves Democrats – elected Zebulon B. Vance Governor, a post that he had held for two terms during the Civil War. Across the state, Democrats celebrated "redemption" from what they had long described as the "unwise . . . doctrine of universal equality."<sup>22</sup>

In an effort to secure their victory, white Democrats abolished elected county government, returned authority to appointed justices of the peace, and limited appointed offices to whites only. But continued Black political participation at the state level sustained a competitive two-party system. White Democrats never polled more than 54 percent of the gubernatorial vote, and between 1877 and 1900, forty-three Black lawmakers served in the state House of Representatives, eleven served in the state Senate, and four served in the U.S. House of Representatives.<sup>23</sup>

#### **D. New Forms of Economic Subjugation**

Economic change swept through rural North Carolina in the decades after Reconstruction as an emerging merchant class pressed freedmen and white yeoman farmers into commercial production. The result was the notorious system of sharecropping that turned once-independent whites into debtors and locked Blacks in virtual peonage. Each spring, sharecroppers took out loans in the form of the seeds, tools, and supplies they needed in order to plant the year's crop. To ensure repayment – often at interest rates as high as 50 percent – merchants demanded that their clients grow cotton or tobacco, which could be sold readily for cash. As farmers produced more of these cash crops, prices fell and rural families spiraled downward into debt. Whites who owned their land sometimes managed to escape this trap, but Blacks – the vast majority of whom were landless and had to pay rent to landlords as well as interest to merchants – had no recourse. Black sharecroppers often ended the agricultural year with no profit and were unable to accumulate wealth. This process of immiseration repeated itself from generation to generation and produced enduring poverty. In eastern North Carolina, where sharecropping had dominated the agricultural economy,

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<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, ed., *Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell*, vol. 2, 376.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., chaps. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 147.

<sup>23</sup> Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 335, and Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 181. On North Carolina's Black congressmen, see E. Anderson, *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901*.

the effects could still be seen a century later, when Blacks' per capita income in the region was as low as 22 percent of that of whites.<sup>24</sup>

Desperation and resentment over a new economic order that rewarded manipulators of credit more than cultivators of the land led farmers into revolt. Whites joined the Southern Farmers Alliance, first organized in Texas and then spread throughout the South by means of local chapters, and Blacks affiliated with a parallel organization, the Colored Farmers Alliance. In 1892, these groups sought redress through the political process. Blacks remained true to the Republican Party, while whites, calling themselves Populists, bolted from the Democratic Party – controlled by the state's economic elite – to the new national People's Party. The results were disastrous for the Populists. In the governor's race, the Democratic candidate won 48.3 percent of the vote, while the Republican candidate received 33.8 percent and the Populist candidate trailed with 17.04 percent. These numbers contained a lesson that was obvious to voters who were less than a generation removed from the biracial politics of Reconstruction. Divided, the dissidents were all but certain to lose; united, they could challenge Democratic power.<sup>25</sup>

## **VII. Fusion Politics and a New Campaign for White Supremacy**

### **A. Biracial Alliance, Electoral Reform, and Investment in Social Provision**

In 1894, white Populists and Black Republicans in North Carolina forged a political partnership under the banner of "Fusion" and ran a historic joint slate of candidates. The logic of that move was clear and compelling. As one Populist explained, "We can join with others who agree with us and win a great victory." This sentiment also appealed to skilled artisans and factory laborers, Black and white, who during the 1880s had rallied to the Knights of Labor and embraced the organization's call for interracial cooperation and class solidarity. On Election Day, Fusion candidates won 116 of the 170 seats in the North Carolina legislature. On the local level, in 1894 and 1896, they also elected more than one thousand Black officials, including county commissioners, deputy sheriffs, school committeemen, and magistrates.<sup>26</sup>

A commitment to fair play and democracy animated the Fusion legislature. Lawmakers capped interest rates at 6 percent, a godsend for cash-strapped farmers who relied on credit to survive; shifted the weight of taxation from individuals to corporations; and restored elected local government, a postwar reform that Democrats had reversed after their return to power in the 1870s. In addition, the legislature made new investments in public services that Democrats had starved for resources, including the state penitentiary, state schools for deaf and blind children, a state-supported home for Black orphans, and state mental asylums.<sup>27</sup>

Most important, Fusion legislators also revised state election law with the aim of guaranteeing full and fair access to the franchise:

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<sup>24</sup> Petty, *Standing Their Ground*, and Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War*, 277-78.

<sup>25</sup> Beckel, *Radical Reform*, 135-77, and North Carolina Governor, 1896, <<http://bit.ly/32oHPk>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> On local elections, see Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 247, and Gershenhorn, "Rise and Fall of Fusion Politics in North Carolina," 4.

<sup>27</sup> Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 186, and *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, Session of 1895*, chaps. 69, 73, 116, 135, 174, 183, 219, 275, 348.

- The revised law required that the clerk of the superior court in every county lay out compact precincts "so as to provide, as near as may be, one separate place of voting for every three hundred and fifty electors." The clerks were also instructed to publish the details of precinct boundaries and polling places in local newspapers and to post that information in public places. In a rural state in which population was widely dispersed, these provisions ensured that neither travel nor lack of public notice would be an impediment to voting. Legislators revisited the law in 1897 to provide additional protection for the opportunity as well as the right to cast a ballot. They stipulated that every elector was "entitled," without penalty, "to absent himself from service or employment" for sufficient time to register and to vote.<sup>28</sup>
- To safeguard impartiality in voter registration and the supervision of elections, the law gave clerks of court – who were elected officials, and therefore accountable to voters – the authority to appoint in every precinct one registrar and one election judge from "each political party of the state." Prior to this time, that responsibility had belonged to county officers who owed their appointment and their loyalty to the majority party in the legislature.<sup>29</sup>
- The law also criminalized various forms of physical and economic intimidation. It specified that "no regimental, battalion or company muster shall be called or directed on election day, nor shall armed men assemble on the day of election." In addition, any person who attempted "by force and violence" to "break up or stay any election" was guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment and a fine of up to one hundred dollars. Similar penalties applied to "any person who shall discharge from employment, withdraw patronage from, or otherwise injure, threaten, oppress, or attempt to intimidate, any qualified voter."<sup>30</sup>
- The law sought to limit frivolous and obstructive challenges to voter eligibility and the legality of ballots cast by presuming the truthfulness of citizens' declarations. Challenges were allowed only on a specified day prior to an election, at which time registration books were opened for public review, and challengers were required to present proof that an elector had withheld or provided false information at the time of registration. Otherwise, the law treated "entry of the name, age, residence, and date of registration of any person by the registrar, upon the registration book of a precinct, [as] presumptive evidence of the regularity of such registration, the truth of the facts stated, and the right of such person to register and to vote at such precinct."<sup>31</sup>
- The law accommodated illiterate voters – 23 percent of whites and 60 percent of Blacks – by authorizing political parties to print ballots on colored paper and to mark them with party insignia, an old practice that Democrats had abolished. In this period, before the introduction of official, non-partisan ballots and secret voting, electors received ballots from the party, or parties, they favored, marked through the names of any candidates they did not support, and handed their ballots to an election judge for deposit in boxes labeled with the office or group of offices for which they were voting. The use of color coding and party

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<sup>28</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1895*, chapt. 159, sec. 5, and *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1897*, chapt. 185, sec. 72.

<sup>29</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1895*, chapt. 159, sec. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, chapt. 159, secs. 38, 39, and 41.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, chapt. 159, secs. 10-12 and 14.

insignia helped illiterate voters correctly identify and cast the ballot of the party they favored. To protect voters from fraudulent handling of their ballots, the law also specified that "any ballot found in the wrong box shall be presumed to have been deposited there by mistake of the officers of election, and unless such presumption shall be rebutted, the ballot shall be counted." This was important, because there could be as many as six boxes at each polling place, and apart from their labels, they all looked alike.<sup>32</sup>

- Finally, the law required public disclosure of campaign financing. Every candidate had to provide, within ten days after an election, "an itemized statement, showing in detail all the moneys contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person in aid of his election." Those reports also were to "give the names of the various persons who received the moneys, the specific nature of each item, and the purpose for which it was expended or contributed."<sup>33</sup>

These changes produced momentous results in the 1896 election. Republican registration overall increased by 25 percent, and turnout among registered Black voters rose from 60 to nearly 90 percent. Fusionists won more than three-fourths of the seats in the legislature and elected a white Republican, Daniel L. Russell Jr., as governor. Fusion insurgencies arose in other southern states, but only in North Carolina did a biracial alliance take control of both the legislative and executive branches of government.<sup>34</sup>

Fusion lawmakers used their political strength to redress two decades of Democrats' underinvestment in education. This was a particularly important issue for Black Republicans, whose predecessors had led the campaign to include a mandate for public schools in the 1868 state constitution and whose constituents were profoundly disadvantaged in their day-to-day interactions with landlords, merchants, and employers by an inability to read and do basic arithmetic. In an Act to Encourage Local Taxation for Public Schools, lawmakers instructed county commissioners to hold elections in every school district under their supervision on the question of "levying a special district tax" for public education. Districts that voted in favor of taxation were entitled to apply for matching funds from the state. To pressure those that refused, legislators ordered an election every two years until a special tax was approved.<sup>35</sup>

In separate legislation, Black lawmakers used their influence in the Fusion alliance to ensure equitable provision for students in their communities. A revised school law abolished separate white and Black committees appointed at the township level to manage schools for each race and replaced them with consolidated committees made up of five appointees, no more than three of whom could come from the same political party. The law charged the new committees with managing the schools in their districts as a single enterprise. They were to appropriate funds on a strict per capita basis and to apportion "school money . . . so as to give each school in their district, white

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<sup>32</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1895*, chapt. 159, secs. 19 and 20; Trelease, "Fusion Legislatures of 1895 and 1897," 282; and Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels*, 40. On illiteracy, see *Report of Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, part 2, xxxv.

<sup>33</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1895*, chapt. 159, sec. 72.

<sup>34</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 245-47; Beckel, *Radical Reform*, 179-80; and Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 182 and 187.

<sup>35</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1897*, chapt. 421.

and colored, the same length of school term." Districts were also required to limit enrollments to no more than 65 students per school, so as to ensure a rough measure of equity in school facilities.<sup>36</sup>

The election and education reforms enacted in 1895 and 1897 affirmed the values that Black and white reformers had written into the state constitution in 1868. That document, the core of which remains in force today, opened by invoking the Declaration of Independence and connecting the ideals of the American republic to the economic and political struggles set in motion by Confederate defeat and the abolition of slavery. Italics highlight language added by the framers of 1868: "We do declare . . . that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, *the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labor*, and the pursuit of happiness. . . . That all political power is vested in, and derived from the people; all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted *solely for the good of the whole*."<sup>37</sup> Fusion lawmakers in North Carolina, historian Morgan Kousser has observed, created "the most democratic" political system "in the late nineteenth-century South."<sup>38</sup>

### **B. Resurgent White Supremacy and the Wilmington Coup**

As they approached the election of 1898, Democrats once again made white supremacy their rallying cry and vigilante violence their most potent political weapon. Responsibility for orchestrating the party's return to power fell to former congressman Furnifold M. Simmons. Simmons lived in eastern North Carolina, in the Second Congressional District, which was known as the "Black Second" because of its large and politically active Black population. Counties in the district sent more than fifty Black representatives to the General Assembly in Raleigh and elected all four of the state's 19th-century Black congressmen, including Henry P. Cheatham, who had deprived Simmons of his seat in the 1888 election. Simmons and other Democratic leaders dodged the economic and class issues that held the Fusion coalition together and appealed instead to the specter of "negro domination."<sup>39</sup>

Democratic newspapers took the lead in whipping up race hatred. None was more influential than the *Raleigh News and Observer*, published by Josephus Daniels. Day after day, in the weeks leading up to the election, Daniels ran political cartoons on the front page of the paper to illustrate the evils unleashed by Black political participation. The cartoons depicted Black men as overlords and sexual predators who were intent on emasculating white men, turning them into supplicants and ravaging their wives and daughters. Across scores of images, the *News and Observer's* message was clear: in an inversion of the racial order, Blacks had lifted themselves by pressing white men down.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., chapt. 108.

<sup>37</sup> *Constitution of the State of North Carolina, 1868*, Article I, secs. 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 183.

<sup>39</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 253-58, and Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 206. On the Black Second, see E. Anderson, *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-190*, and Justesen, *George Henry White*.



"The New Slavery,"  
Raleigh News and Observer, October 15, 1898.

# The News and Observer.

VOL. XLV. NO. 17.

RALEIGH, N. C., TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 27, 1898.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

LEADS ALL NORTH CAROLINA DAILIES IN NEWS AND CIRCULATION.

## GETS DOWN TO WORK

The Commission to Investigate the War Department.

## FIRST FORMAL SESSION

PROCEEDINGS LIMITED TO OUTLINING A GENERAL POLICY.

## THE MEETING WAS STRICTLY SECRET

Letters of Inquiry will be Addressed to War Department Officials, Army Officers and all who Know Anything of Facts Concerned.

Washington, Sept. 26.—The commission selected by the President to investigate the conduct of the War Department was held its first formal session today with all the members present. Today's meeting was strictly secret and was confined to a session of two hours duration in the forenoon. The proceedings were limited to the outlining of a general policy and the formation of letters of inquiry which will be made public tomorrow.

The letters which have been drafted upon are to be addressed to the Secretary of War, the Quartermaster General, the Quartermaster General, the Surgeon General and the Chief of the Ordnance Department of the Army. They will result in the issue of inquiries for the purpose of bringing out all the facts that

employed as mail messages, to carry the mail from the postoffice to the mail train, from which it is taken by the postal clerk.

On the day the robbery occurred, Alexander Smith, Jr., carried the mail from the postoffice, he opened the package and therefrom a registered letter containing \$25,000, which he captured it in the package and later the police on the mail train, from which it was carried by the postal clerk, D. L. Gray, who noticed the condition of the package and returned letter.

After presenting the money, Alexander Smith, Jr., began searching for war, with the Spaniards, Americans, or other parties, as he purchased these tickets. He soon encountered war, in which he was not only of the war, but his father having obtained some information as to his having money, which he thought, until he acquired him he obtained the money and to obtain so implicated Charles Douglas, a neighbor of his.

Alexander's father performed his duty nobly, and instead of endeavoring to hide, or worse his son's value, he carried him before the United States Commissioner and surrendered him to the law.

On the examination it was developed that Charles Douglas was not implicated and had only shown in the matter to the extent of a matter and some money, hence he was discharged, while Alexander Smith was held for trial at Washington and gave bond for his appearance.

**MAY REIZE ESCAPEMENT FLIGHT.**

The Philippine Prison an Arrangement for, Liabilities to Seize as Prisoners.

Manila, Sept. 26.—When the United States military officer McCulloch captured the insurgent steamer Abasco, twenty miles south of Manila, the Abasco, it is believed, having landed seven thousand rifles, the insurgent soldiers followed the American vessel, and were the Americans captured and taken to the American consulate taking possession.



The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina.

OUR SICK SOLDIERS

is complicated and his speech was telling in its effect.

REVISION DECIDED ON

TELEGRAPHIC FLASHES.

"The Vampire that Hovers Over North Carolina,"  
Raleigh News and Observer, September 27, 1898.

Democrats wielded racial appeals as a wrecking ball, much as they had done during Reconstruction. Some white Populists buckled. They gave in to the deeply entrenched ways that race shaped political and social perception and began arguing that they, not Democrats, were the most ardent defenders of white supremacy. Even so, the political battle would not be won by words alone.

In the closing days of the 1898 campaign, leaders of the Democratic Party turned once more to violence. They organized local White Government Unions and encouraged the party faithful to don the paramilitary uniform known as the "red shirt," a symbol of the blood sacrifice of the Confederacy and the late-nineteenth-century equivalent of the hooded robes worn by Klansmen in an earlier era. Democrats engaged in open intimidation of voters at registration and polling places across the state. Former congressman Alfred M. Waddell called white men to war. "You are Anglo-Saxons," he exclaimed. "You are armed and prepared, and you will do your duty. Be ready at a moment's notice. Go to the polls tomorrow, and if you find the negro out voting, tell him to leave the polls, and if he refuses, kill him. Shoot him down in his tracks." The effect was terrifying. In Winston, a Republican newspaper reported that "there were crowds of men who gathered around the polls in each ward and . . . boldly drove a large percent of the colored Republican voters and a good many white voters away from the polls."<sup>40</sup>



Armed Red Shirts in Laurinburg and their uniform.  
Courtesy of the North Carolina State Archives and  
the North Carolina Museum of History.

Democrats' determination to defeat their challengers at any cost was revealed most starkly in the majority-Black coastal city of Wilmington. Revisions to the city charter made by the Fusion legislatures of 1895 and 1897 had undone Democratic gerrymandering and produced a Republican majority – including three Blacks – on the board of aldermen. Democrats were enraged by that

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<sup>40</sup> "The North Carolina Race Conflict," *Outlook* 60 (November 19, 1898), 708, and Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 53.

development and the fact that they would not be able to challenge local Republican rule at the polls until the next municipal election in 1899.<sup>41</sup>

On November 9, the day after the 1898 election, Democratic leaders drew up a declaration of independence that called for the restoration of white rule in Wilmington. They acted on belief "that the Constitution of the United States contemplated a government to be carried on by an enlightened people; [belief] that its framers did not anticipate the enfranchisement of an ignorant population of African origin, and [belief] that those men of the State of North Carolina, who joined in forming the Union, did not contemplate for their descendants a subjection to an inferior race." "The negro [has] antagonized our interest in every way, and especially by his ballot," the *Wilmington Morning Star* exclaimed. "We will no longer be ruled, and will never again be ruled, by men of African origin."<sup>42</sup>

The next day, armed white men under the command of Alfred Waddell staged the only municipal coup d'état in the nation's history. They marauded through Wilmington's Black district, set ablaze the print shop of the city's only Black newspaper, murdered as many as thirty Black citizens in the streets, and drove the sitting board of alderman from office in order to make room for a new, self-appointed city government with Waddell at its head.



A souvenir postcard produced by a local photographer documented destruction of Love and Charity Hall, which housed the *Daily Record*, Wilmington's Black newspaper. Courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library, Robert M. Fales Collection.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed account of events in Wilmington, see *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission, May 31, 2006, <<http://bit.ly/2HOWsgJ>>, September 5, 2019. The report was commissioned by the state legislature in 2000. In 2007, lawmakers expressed "'profound regret that violence, intimidation and force' were used to overthrow an elected government, force people from their homes and ruin lives." See "Senate Apologizes for Wilmington Race Riot," *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 2, 2007.

<sup>42</sup> *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 10, 1898; *Wilmington Morning Star*, November 10, 1898; and *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898.

Democrats won the 1898 election statewide by a narrow margin. They claimed only 52.8 percent of the vote, but that was enough to oust most Fusionists from the legislature. The victors moved immediately to "rid themselves . . . of the rule of Negroes and the lower classes of whites."<sup>43</sup>

### **C. The 1899 Act to Regulate Elections and Black Disenfranchisement**

In the 1899 legislative session, Democrats drafted an amendment to the state constitution that aimed to end biracial politics once and for all by stripping Black men of the most fundamental privilege of citizenship: the right to vote. The Fifteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution, adopted during Reconstruction, forbade the states from denying the ballot to citizens on the basis of race. North Carolina Democrats, like their counterparts elsewhere in the South, circumvented that prohibition by adopting a literacy test.

In order to vote, citizens first had to demonstrate to local election officials that they could "read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language." That gave Democratic registrars wide latitude to exclude Black men from the polls. Democrats also included a grandfather clause in the amendment that exempted from the literacy test adult males who had been eligible to vote or were lineal descendants of men who had been eligible to vote on or before January 1, 1867. That was a magic date, because it preceded the limited right to vote given to Black men under the Military Reconstruction Act, passed in March of that year. The literacy test was thus designed to achieve the very thing the federal Fifteenth Amendment expressly outlawed – voter exclusion based on race.<sup>44</sup>

Male citizens could also be denied access to the franchise if they failed to pay the capitation tax (poll tax) levied in accordance with Article V, Section 1, of the 1868 State Constitution.<sup>45</sup> This link between payment of the capitation tax and the right to vote was a new impediment put in place by the disenfranchisement amendment. The amendment required that electors pay the tax before the first day of May, prior to the election in which they intended to vote. At that time of year, before the fall harvest, Black sharecroppers were unlikely to have cash on hand for such a payment.

Democrats rewrote state election law to boost the odds that the amendment would win approval. In the 1899 Act to Regulate Elections, they repealed reforms made by the Fusion legislatures of 1895 and 1897, and they put in place new provisions that were crafted to deliver "a good Democratic majority."<sup>46</sup>

- With the aim of purging as many Fusion voters as possible, lawmakers ordered an "entirely new registration" in advance of the next election. In that process, registrars could, at their discretion, require an applicant to "prove his identity or age and residence by the testimony of at least two electors under oath." The law also gave "any by stander" the right to challenge a registrant's truthfulness and force a lengthy examination.<sup>47</sup>
- In a reversal of provisions made in the 1895 election law, information recorded in a registration book no longer stood as presumptive evidence of an individual's right to

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<sup>43</sup> Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 191, and Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 258.

<sup>44</sup> *Laws and Resolutions, 1900*, chapt. 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 190, and *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1899*, chapt. 16.

<sup>47</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1899*, chapt. 507, secs. 11 and 18.

vote. On polling day, "any elector [could] challenge the vote of any person" on suspicion of fraud. In such cases, election officials were to question the suspect voter and compel him to swear an oath of truthfulness. But even that might not be proof enough. The law stipulated that after an oath was sworn, "the registrar and judges may, nevertheless, refuse to permit such a person to vote."<sup>48</sup>

- The law loosened safeguards against partisanship in the management of elections. Lawmakers took the authority to appoint local election officials from the county clerks of superior court, who were directly accountable to voters, and gave it to a seven-member state board of elections that was appointed by the Democratic majority in the legislature. That board's power was expansive. For instance, it had the authority to remove county election officials from office "for any satisfactory cause."<sup>49</sup>
- The law also put an end to practices that accommodated illiterate voters. All ballots were now to be "printed upon white paper, without ornament, symbol, or device." And if a voter or election official placed a ballot in the wrong box (there were six), it was declared void and was discarded.<sup>50</sup>



White supremacy souvenir badge, 1898.  
Courtesy of the North Carolina Gallery, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., chapt. 507, secs. 11, 21, and 22.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., chapt. 507, secs. 4-5 and 8-9.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., chapt. 507, secs. 27 and 29.

With these new rules in place, Democrats approached the 1900 election confident of victory. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Charles B. Aycock made disenfranchisement the centerpiece of his campaign. On the stump, he offered the white electorate a new "era of good feeling" in exchange for racial loyalty. Aycock argued that the presence of Blacks in politics was the source of bitterness among whites, and that only their removal would heal the white body politic. "We must disenfranchise the negro," he explained to white voters. "Then we shall have . . . peace everywhere. . . . We shall forget the asperities of past years and . . . go forward into the twentieth century a united people."<sup>51</sup>

To whites who were unconvinced and Blacks who were determined to resist, Aycock issued veiled threats. "There are three ways in which we may rule," he told a white audience in eastern North Carolina. "We have ruled by force, we can rule by fraud, but we want to rule by law." To reinforce the point, bands of armed Red Shirts again paraded through towns and cities in the Piedmont and the east, cheered Aycock at campaign rallies, and loitered around polling places on Election Day. The beleaguered Populist and Republican opposition could not withstand that Democratic onslaught. With a turnout of 75 percent of the electors allowed to register under the revised election law of 1899, Aycock and disenfranchisement won by a 59 to 41 percent margin.<sup>52</sup>

Democrats cast that result as a victory of white over Black, but in truth what they feared most and worked hardest to defeat was the interracial coalition that emerged from the calamity of the Civil War and reappeared in the form of Fusion. In a moment of candor, the *Charlotte Daily Observer* admitted as much. It characterized the 1900 campaign as "the struggle of the white people to rid themselves of the danger of the rule of Negroes and the lower classes of whites." The fight in 1900 was not only to establish white supremacy but also to settle the question of which white men would rule supreme.<sup>53</sup>

When the legislature convened in 1901, Democrats secured their victory by passing a law to implement the white-supremacy amendment to the state constitution. The legislation stipulated that in order to register to vote, male citizens would be required to demonstrate their ability to read and write "*to the satisfaction*" (emphasis added) of a county registrar. In effect, that provision gave local election officials limitless authority to decide who would pass a literacy test and be granted – or denied – the right to vote.<sup>54</sup>

## VIII. Jim Crow

### A. Racial Segregation and Economic Exploitation

The Democrats' triumph in 1900 cleared the way for a new order characterized by one-party government, segregation, and cheap labor. With the removal of Black men from politics, North Carolina's Republican Party became little more than an expression of regional differences among whites that set the western mountain region, the party's surviving stronghold, against the central Piedmont and eastern Coastal Plain.

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<sup>51</sup> Connor and Poe, eds., *Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock*, 82 and 218-19.

<sup>52</sup> "Aycock at Snow Hill," *Raleigh Morning Post*, March 1, 1900; Prather, "Red Shirt Movement," 181–83; and Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 193.

<sup>53</sup> Untitled item, *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 6, 1900, and Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 328.

<sup>54</sup> *Public Laws, Session of 1901*, chapt. 89.

Leaders of the Democratic Party controlled the selection of candidates through a tightly managed state convention. That arrangement, combined with the fact that no Republican had a realistic chance of winning election to a statewide office, convinced most electors that there was little reason to cast a ballot. Only 50 percent of the newly constrained pool of eligible voters turned out for the 1904 gubernatorial election, and by 1912 the number had declined to less than 30 percent.<sup>55</sup>

Having regained control of the machinery of government, Democrats began implementing public policies that secured what one scholar has termed their "reactionary revolution." Black subjugation was at the head of their agenda. Over time, they developed an elaborate regime of law and custom that they called Jim Crow, a name taken from the Blackface characters in nineteenth-century minstrel shows. Most Americans – certainly most white Americans – think of Jim Crow as an expression of prejudice and discrimination. But it was much more than that: Jim Crow was a system of power and plunder that concentrated wealth and opportunity in the hands of the few and mobilized racial animosity in defense of that accumulation.<sup>56</sup>

Lawmakers passed North Carolina's first Jim Crow law in 1899, during the same session in which they crafted the disenfranchisement amendment to the state constitution. The law required separate seating for Blacks and whites on trains and steamboats. The aim of that and other such regulations – including the segregation of streetcars in 1907, legislation in 1921 that made miscegenation a felony, and a host of local ordinances that segregated drinking fountains, toilets, and cemeteries – was to mark Blacks as a people apart and make it psychologically difficult for whites to imagine interracial cooperation. Segregation also divided most forms of civic space – courthouses, neighborhoods, and public squares – that might otherwise have been sites for interaction across the color line.<sup>57</sup>

In Charlotte, soon to be North Carolina's largest city and the hub of its new textile economy, neighborhoods in 1870 had been surprisingly undifferentiated. As historian Thomas Hanchett has noted, on any given street "business owners and hired hands, manual laborers and white-collared clerks . . . Black people and white people all lived side by side." By 1910, that heterogeneity had been thoroughly "sorted" along lines of race and class. In communities large and small across the state, this process played out a thousand times over. White supremacy denied Blacks access to economic and political power and erected a nearly insurmountable wall between Blacks and poor whites who had risen in the mid 1890s to challenge Democrats' rule by asserting their shared grievances and claim to the franchise.<sup>58</sup>

Hardening racial segregation relegated the majority of Black North Carolinians to the countryside and created, in effect, a bound agricultural labor force. In the 1910s, Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, led a movement to perfect that arrangement by proposing "territorial segregation" in rural areas and an amendment to the state constitution that would have allowed white communities to prohibit the sale of land to Blacks. He modeled the idea on policies implemented in the new Union of South Africa that laid the foundation for the system of apartheid established in 1948.

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<sup>55</sup> Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 261, and Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 195.

<sup>56</sup> Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 261. The account that follows is adapted from Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 16-18, and Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 54-57.

<sup>57</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions, Session of 1899*, chap. 384, and Paschal, *Jim Crow in North Carolina*.

<sup>58</sup> Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City*, 187.

Poe believed that his reforms would lock Blacks into permanent status as tenants and sharecroppers and would make way for a "great rural civilization" to flourish among whites. He understood that the scheme might run afoul of the Fourteenth Amendment but brushed that concern aside. "If our people make up their minds that segregation is a good and necessary thing," Poe argued, "they will find a way to put it into effect – just as they did in the case of Negro disenfranchisement despite an iron-bound Amendment specifically designed to prevent it." Poe's proposal ultimately failed in the state legislature, but it had broad backing among small-scale white farmers. It also revealed how tightly Poe and North Carolina were connected to a global movement to assert white dominion over peoples of color.<sup>59</sup>

Blacks who lived in cities and small towns had opportunities that were only modestly better than those available in rural areas. Most Black women worked in white households as maids, cooks, and laundresses. In Durham and Winston, both tobacco manufacturing centers, and in tobacco market towns in the eastern part of the state, Black women and men labored in stemmeries where they processed the leaf before it was made into cigarettes and chewing plugs. The work was dirty and undesirable – the kind of labor that whites expected Blacks to perform.<sup>60</sup>

Jim Crow held most Black North Carolinians' earnings to near-subsistence levels. That, in turn, depressed the market value of all labor and dragged white wages downward. In textiles – North Carolina's leading industry – men, women, and children worked for some of the lowest wages in the country. Prior to the implementation of a national minimum wage in the 1930s, they earned on average 40 percent less than workers in comparable jobs in the North. Even so, textile manufacturers often boasted that they had built their mills to save poor whites from destitution. That, they said, was also their reason for restricting textile employment, with few exceptions, to whites only. The message to white laborers was clear: mill owners would make up for slim pay envelopes by safeguarding what W. E. B. Du Bois called the "psychological wages" of whiteness.<sup>61</sup>

Such insistence on maintaining the color line denied Black North Carolinians something they had prized since the time of Emancipation: quality education for their children. In the 1880s, the state spent roughly equal amounts per capita on white and Black students in the public schools, but by 1920 spending on white students outpaced that for Blacks by a margin of three-to-one. The state spent ten times as much on white school buildings as it did on Black schools, and Black teachers made only half of the \$252 a year paid to whites. The results were predictable: in 1920, 24.5 percent of Blacks over the age of ten were illiterate, as compared to 8.2 percent of whites. Racial disadvantage was also persistent.<sup>62</sup>

Added to all of this, Black North Carolinians were plagued by "sickness, misery, and death." In 1940, the annual mortality rate for Blacks was 11.6 per thousand, compared to 7.6 per

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<sup>59</sup> Herbin-Triant, "Southern Segregation South African-Style," 171 and 186.

<sup>60</sup> See Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens*, and Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*.

<sup>61</sup> Hall, Leloudis, Korstad, Murphy, Jones, and Daly, *Like a Family*, 80; Williamson, *Crucible of Race*, 430-32; and Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 700.

<sup>62</sup> Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 31, 86, and 268 n. 48.

thousand for whites. Blacks were one-and-a-half times more likely than whites to die from tuberculosis and malaria, and Black infant mortality exceeded that for whites by the same margin.<sup>63</sup>

### **B. World War I and the Great Migration**

A casual observer of the Jim Crow South could have been forgiven for concluding that white supremacy's victory was complete, its hold of the region unassailable. Josephus Daniels, one of the regime's architects, suggested as much shortly after the 1900 election. "When Governor Aycock was elected," Daniels explained to a friend, "I said to him that I was very glad that we had settled the Negro question for all times." Aycock replied, "Joe, you are badly mistaken. . . . Every generation will have the problem on their hands, and they will have to settle it for themselves." The governor was more prescient than he might have imagined. Even at the height of Jim Crow's power, Black Americans refused to surrender their claim on equal citizenship and a fair share of social resources and economic opportunities. Over half a century – through two world wars and a global economic crisis – they clawed their way back into politics. Progress was slow and small gains often met fierce white resistance, but by the late 1950s Blacks had built a new freedom movement and prepared the way for a second Reconstruction.<sup>64</sup>

World War I put the first chinks in Jim Crow's armor. When fighting broke out in Europe in 1914, it cut off the supply of European immigrant laborers on which the factories of the Midwest and Northeast relied. Industrial recruiters ventured southward to entice sharecroppers off the land. By 1919, nearly 440,000 Blacks had left the South in what came to be called the Great Migration. They made new homes in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit. Another 708,000 migrants followed during the 1920s. In the absence of poll taxes and literacy tests, these refugees gained access to the ballot box and influence in city politics. They also created large enclaves from which a vibrant urban Black culture emerged. Literature, art, and music gave voice to the "New Negro" – a figure dignified and defiant, determined to hold the nation accountable to its democratic promise.<sup>65</sup>

### **C. The Great Depression, a New Deal, and Good-Bye to the Party of Lincoln**

During the 1930s, newly enfranchised Black voters reshaped national politics by abandoning the party of Lincoln in favor of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Many were at first wary of Roosevelt, a Democrat whose party stood for white supremacy in the South. But Blacks were especially hard hit by the Great Depression, and Roosevelt's New Deal delivered much-needed relief. The largest federal jobs programs employed Blacks in proportion to their representation in the general population and, with mixed results, attempted to prohibit discrimination in job placement and wages. Black appointees in New Deal agencies also served President Roosevelt as a shadow cabinet, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt publicly supported the NAACP's civil rights agenda. America remained a Jim Crow nation, but at no time since Reconstruction had the federal

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<sup>63</sup> Carlton and Coclanis, *Confronting Southern Poverty*, 33, 42, 54-55, and 59; Larkins, *Negro Population of North Carolina*, 29; and Shin, "Black-White Differentials in Infant Mortality in the South, 1940-1970," 17. The infant mortality rate for Blacks was 76.6 per 1,000 live births, compared to 50.3 per 1,000 live births for whites.

<sup>64</sup> Josephus Daniels to John T. Graves, December 21, 1942, cited in Ward, *Defending White Democracy*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Estimates of the scale of the Great Migration vary. The figures cited here are from Gregory, "Second Great Migration," 21. On the New Negro, see Whalan, *The Great War and the Culture of the New Negro*.

government held out such hope for redressing racial injustice. In his 1936 bid for re-election, Roosevelt won 71 percent of the Black vote in a landslide victory over Republican challenger Alf Landon.<sup>66</sup>

The effects were felt in North Carolina. In 1932, newspaperman Louis E. Austin helped to organize a political conference in Durham that attracted more than five hundred Black business, civic, and religious leaders from across the state. Austin was editor of the city's *Carolina Times*, a paper widely regarded as an exemplar of "new Negro journalism." Like others at the conference, he believed that southern Blacks needed a new strategy for advancing civil rights. Since Emancipation, Blacks had cast their lot with the Republican Party, but Republican leaders largely abandoned them in the early twentieth century. In North Carolina, the party was controlled by men who rejected its biracial heritage, and at the national level, Republican president Herbert Hoover showed little concern for Blacks' disproportionate suffering in the Great Depression. The times seemed to call for a radical change of direction, one that would challenge white supremacy at its root by mounting a political assault from within the Democratic Party.<sup>67</sup>

That is what participants in the Durham conference had in mind when they made plans for a statewide voter registration drive. Their aim was "to become a factor in the party that has the power" by adding Black voters to the registration rolls as Democrats, not Republicans. Success came slowly, but by the mid-1930s upwards of forty thousand Black men and women had managed to pass the state's literacy test and affiliate themselves with the Democratic Party. In Durham, these new voters elected Louis Austin and Black theater owner Frederick K. Watkins as justices of the peace on the Democratic ticket. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the nation's leading Black newspapers, pronounced that win "the beginning of the 'New Deal' in the South."<sup>68</sup>

Incremental Black gains and the temerity of men like Austin angered the keepers of white rule. When Blacks registered as Democrats in Raleigh, Josephus Daniels used the *News and Observer* to warn that they were part of a plot "to destroy the great victory" won in 1900 under his leadership and that of Charles Aycock. "The Democratic Party in North Carolina is a white man's party," he exclaimed. "It came through blood and fire in allegiance to that principle." At his urging, election officials in Raleigh attempted to disqualify every Black registrant – Democrat and Republican alike – but Black citizens sued and won a court order to have the names of two hundred and ten restored to the voter rolls. They also taunted white Democrats. "Why," they wondered, "is it a crime for the Negro to seek to vote the triumphant ticket of the major party of the section in which he lives?"<sup>69</sup>

Josiah Bailey, U.S. Senator from North Carolina, shared Daniels' fear of Black claims on the rights of citizenship. In 1937, shortly after President Roosevelt's election to a second term, he threatened a Congressional revolt against the New Deal. Bailey recruited southern Democrats and a number of Republicans to endorse a Conservative Manifesto, which, had it been implemented, would have given local officials control over federal jobs programs for the unemployed. That was

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<sup>66</sup> Election data are from Ladd Jr., with Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System*, 59.

<sup>67</sup> "North Carolinians Hold State-wide Political Confab," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 12, 1932, and "Durham, Thriving Southern Metropolis of 17,000 Negro Inhabitants," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, April 16, 1932.

<sup>68</sup> "Carolina Whites Horrified as Negro Democrats Vote," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 6, 1932, and "Elect Magistrates on Democratic Ticket in North Carolina," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 24, 1934.

<sup>69</sup> "Dagger at the Heart," *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 25, 1932; "More Talk About Negro Situation," *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 1, 1932; and Gershenhorn, *Louis Austin*, 49.

key to maintaining the Black-white wage differential and Jim Crow's promise to ordinary whites that Blacks would always be beneath them. The manifesto affirmed the value of small government; called for reduced taxation of private and corporate wealth; and insisted on the primacy of "states' rights, home rule, [and] local self-government." On the Senate floor and in private exchanges, Bailey criticized President Roosevelt for pandering to the "Negro vote," caricatured the New Deal as "a gift enterprise [conducted] at the expense of those who work and earn and save," and warned that he and his allies were prepared to defend white supremacy, whatever the cost. "Keep your nose out of the South's business," he advised Roosevelt, or "be assured that a [new] white man's party [will] arise" to claim the region's loyalty.<sup>70</sup>

That threat was more than empty bluster. From the outset, southern Democrats had worked to blunt the New Deal. In North Carolina, Democratic officials backed tobacco manufacturers who resisted the National Recovery Administration's efforts to raise wages for Black workers. They also managed the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's price support programs in ways that allowed white landlords to dismiss thousands of Black tenants and keep government crop subsidies for themselves. At the national level, southern Democrats led the effort to exclude agricultural and domestic workers – the vast majority of whom were Black – from the old-age pensions established by the Social Security Act of 1935 and the minimum-wage protection afforded by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.<sup>71</sup>

University of North Carolina sociologist Guy Johnson recognized in all of this "a tendency to perpetuate . . . existing inequalities." Blacks had made important gains, but they still lacked the means "to command" an adequate wage and a "decent share of the services and benefits of government." The consequences were tragic – for Blacks, most obviously, and for poor whites in ways that Jim Crow obscured. Johnson urged politicians to confront these truths, surrender white rule, and substitute "fairness and justice" for a "policy of repression." Doing so would make possible "better homes, better health, better living, cultural development, and human adequacy for both races." White southerners had "all to gain and nothing to lose," Johnson declared. "Self-interest, simple justice, and common-sense demand that [they] give the Negro a new deal." That was not going to happen in North Carolina, at least not without a fight.<sup>72</sup>

#### **D. World War II and Civil Rights Unionism**

World War II lifted the nation out of economic depression and further eroded white southerners' capacity to hold the line on civil rights. Millions more Blacks left the land. Some moved along familiar paths to work in northern war industries; others found employment in southern cities or on the sprawling military bases that were scattered across the region. They expanded their influence in Democratic Party politics, swelled the national ranks of the NAACP from fifty thousand to four hundred and fifty thousand members, and through the militant unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) gained new bargaining power on the factory floor. The federal

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<sup>70</sup> Moore, "Senator Josiah W. Bailey and the 'Conservative Manifesto' of 1937"; Patterson, "Failure of Party Realignment in the South," 603; Bailey to Peter Gerry, October 19, 1937, Senatorial Series, General Correspondence, Bailey Papers; "Roosevelt 'Purge' Rapped by Bailey," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 11, 1938; and Dunn, *Roosevelt's Purge*, 237.

<sup>71</sup> Katznelson, *Fear Itself*, chapt. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Johnson, "Does the South Owe the Negro a New Deal?"

government, concerned that racial tensions not impede the war effort, acted to limit employment discrimination and to restrain white violence.<sup>73</sup>

All of this played into what civil rights activists came to call a Double V strategy that encouraged Black mobilization – in the military and on the home front – to defeat the twin evils of fascism and white supremacy. The potential for making change at home was apparent even before a formal declaration of war. In early 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed a march on Washington to pressure President Roosevelt to desegregate the military and guarantee equal employment opportunities in war industries. Noting the strength of grassroots support for the march, some observers predicted that more than one hundred thousand people would participate. In June, months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt handed the organizers a partial victory. He issued Executive Order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in federal job training programs and defense industry employment. With that, Randolph canceled the march.<sup>74</sup>

This positioning of the federal government as a civil rights ally gave courage to the nearly eight thousand Black women and men who labored in the R.J. Reynolds tobacco factories in Winston-Salem. In 1943, they began organizing with assistance from the CIO's Food, Tobacco, and Allied Workers union (FTA). Under ordinary circumstances, Reynolds would have easily crushed the effort, but the war years were anything but ordinary.

When workers staged a sit-down strike, the federal Mediation and Conciliation Service intervened to negotiate a temporary settlement. Months later, the National Labor Relations Board – a New Deal agency established in 1935 by the Wagner Act – set the ground rules for a fair election in which Black workers and a significant minority of whites voted to establish a union local. Despite that result, Reynolds managers refused to sign a contract until forced by the National War Labor Board to pay higher wages and improve working conditions. Stemmerly worker Ruby Jones said of that victory, "It was just like being reconstructed."<sup>75</sup>

Jones and others understood that winning in the workplace was but one step toward equal citizenship. Dethroning Jim Crow required that they also organize politically. "If you are going to defeat these people," union leader Robert Black explained, "not only do you do it across the negotiating table in the R.J. Reynolds Building, but you go to city hall, you elect people down there that's going to be favorable and sympathetic and represent the best interest of the working class." To that end, the union sponsored citizenship and literacy classes and launched a city-wide voter registration drive. Those efforts paid off in 1947, when Black voters elected Reverend Kenneth R. Williams to the Winston-Salem board of aldermen. He was the first Black politician in the South to defeat a white opponent at the state or local level since the Fusion era of the 1890s.<sup>76</sup>

The unionists in Winston-Salem and ten thousand members of a sister FTA local in eastern North Carolina's tobacco warehouses and stemmeries were in the vanguard of a statewide campaign for more inclusive politics. They provided local support for the Progressive Party, formed in 1947 by breakaway Democrats to back the presidential candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

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<sup>73</sup> On the growth of the NAACP and the CIO, see Dalfiume, "'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," 99-100, and Zieger, *The CIO*.

<sup>74</sup> Jones, *March on Washington*, chapt. 1.

<sup>75</sup> Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 202.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 251-52.

Wallace had served in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal administration as vice president, secretary of agriculture, and secretary of commerce. He established a reputation as a full-throated critic of Jim Crow and, during the early years of the Cold War, opposed hardline anticommunism as a threat to democratic values at home and abroad. In 1948, Wallace challenged Roosevelt's successor, Harry S. Truman, with demands for peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union and an immediate end to racial segregation.<sup>77</sup>

In North Carolina, the Progressive Party nominated a slate of candidates that represented an extraordinary commitment to equal citizenship. Of the nineteen nominees, five were white women, including journalist and civil rights activist Mary Watkins Price, who was the first woman to run for governor in the state. Black candidates included Reverend William T. Brown from Maxton, who opposed former governor J. Melville Broughton for a seat in the U.S. Senate; Robert E. Brown, also from Maxton, who sought election in the Eighth Congressional District; Robert Latham, an FTA organizer in Rocky Mount, who ran in the Second Congressional District; Durham civil rights lawyer Conrad O. Pearson, who stood for state attorney general; Gertrude Green, a tobacco worker from Kinston, and Randolph Blackwell, a student at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina in Greensboro (now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University), who sought election to the state house of representatives; and Leila B. Michael, a teacher and NAACP leader from Buncombe County, who vied for a place on her local board of education. These men and women ran on a platform that demanded repeal of North Carolina's anti-union labor laws and regressive sales tax, "civil rights for all people, improved schools, higher teacher pay, [and] increased aid to needy people." These priorities were not so different from those of Reconstruction-era Republicans and the Fusion politicians of the 1890s.<sup>78</sup>

When Wallace stumped the state for the Progressive ticket in August 1948, bands of white hecklers, sometimes numbering in the thousands and waving Confederate flags, followed his entourage from town to town and pelted them with eggs and tomatoes. Shouts of "nigger lover" filled the air and were echoed in more genteel terms by the state's newspapers. The editors of the *Charlotte Observer* suggested that Wallace and his compatriots had brought the trouble upon themselves by announcing in advance that the candidate "would speak to none but unsegregated audiences."<sup>79</sup>

Wallace gave his detractors no quarter. In a 1947 speech, he had declared that "Jim Crow in America has simply got to go." His reasoning echoed a long tradition of dissent within the South: "The cancerous disease of race hate, which bears so heavily upon Negro citizens . . . at the same time drags the masses of southern white citizens into the common quagmire of poverty and ignorance and political servitude . . . Jim Crow divides white and Negro for the profit of the few. It is a very profitable system indeed."

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<sup>77</sup> On Wallace's life and career, see Culver and Hyde, *American Dreamer*.

<sup>78</sup> "Wallace Party Names Picks for N.C. Posts," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, September 4, 1948, and Report of the Nominating Committee, Progressive Party of North Carolina, box 2, folder 13, Scales Papers. On Blackwell, see Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 27-28. For more on the Progressive Party and the Wallace campaign in North Carolina, see Uesugi, "Gender, Race, and the Cold War."

<sup>79</sup> Devine, *Henry Wallace's 1948 Presidential Campaign*, p. 245, and "Deplorable Disorders," *Charlotte Observer*, September 1, 1948.



Henry A. Wallace campaign poster. Courtesy of Georgia State University Library Digital Collections, M. H. Ross Papers.

The price exacted by Jim Crow was measured not just in dollars, but in lives as well. Wallace made that point with a "single grim fact": "a Negro child born this day has a life expectancy ten years less than that of a white child born a few miles away." "Those ten years," he explained, "are what we are fighting for. I say that those who stand in the way of the health, education, housing, and social security programs which would erase that gap commit murder. I say that those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals. I pledge you that I shall fight them with everything I have." Wallace understood the fury his words would provoke. "Every uttered truth," he observed, "produces a tremor in those who live by lies."<sup>80</sup>

Wallace's prospects, and those of the Progressive Party in North Carolina, were hamstrung from the start. He faced the problem that has plagued every third-party candidate in American politics: a concern among potential supporters that to cast a ballot for him was to waste a vote. His strong stand against racism and opposition to Cold War anticommunism also meant that he drew most of his support from the Left, including the Communist Party USA, which endorsed his candidacy. On Election Day, Wallace and his North Carolina running mates garnered only a fraction of the vote. But the issues they raised were far from settled. That became evident two years later in the Democratic primary election for the U.S. Senate.

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<sup>80</sup> Wallace, "Ten Extra Years," <<http://bit.ly/31hRDVR>>, November 29, 2020.

### **E. The Senate Campaign of 1950 and Reassertion of White Rule**

The story of the 1950 election began a year before, when Senator J. Melville Broughton died in office. Governor W. Kerr Scott appointed University of North Carolina president Frank Porter Graham to fill the post until the next general election. Graham's liberal views were well known. He was an outspoken supporter of labor unions; he had served as a member of the White House advisory council that helped establish Social Security in 1935; he chaired Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Economic Conditions in the South, which documented widespread poverty in the region; and in 1938 he was founding president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an interracial organization devoted "equal and exact justice to all" (a phrase borrowed from President Thomas Jefferson's 1801 inaugural address).<sup>81</sup>

In the 1950 Democratic primary, Graham faced a field of challengers that included Willis Smith, a respected Raleigh attorney and former president of the American Bar Association. On the first ballot, Graham defeated Smith and the other candidates by winning a plurality, but not a majority, of votes. As runner-up, Smith was entitled to call for a runoff, but he hesitated. He was unsure that he could raise the necessary money or that he had the stamina for another contest. Then, on June 5, just days before the deadline for Smith's decision, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down rulings that affirmed Black students' right to equal access to publicly funded graduate education and banned segregation on railroads. The court's actions galvanized Smith's supporters. On the afternoon of June 6, Jesse Helms, a young news director for WRAL Radio in Raleigh, made arrangements to air at fifteen-minute intervals a plea for Smith backers to rally at his home and urge him to demand a runoff. The crowd that gathered on Smith's lawn was persuasive. The next morning, Smith called for a second primary.<sup>82</sup>

The political battle that followed was the rawest since the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900. Smith's backers brought race front and center. They focused particularly on Frank Graham's service in 1946–47 on President Harry Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, which issued the first federal report on race relations and laid the groundwork for Truman's desegregation of the military a year later. The report, titled *To Secure These Rights*, a phrase taken from the Declaration of Independence, called unequivocally for "the elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life."<sup>83</sup>

The Smith campaign directed its harshest criticism at the committee's recommendation that Truman establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to monitor and eliminate racial discrimination in the workplace. Frank Graham – who preferred moral suasion over government intervention as an instrument of social change – had dissented from that part of the committee report, but Smith and his lieutenants paid no mind. In campaign press releases, they warned that Graham supported reforms that would allow Blacks to steal white jobs. Handbills distributed in rural communities and white working-class neighborhoods raised the alarm even more shrilly. "White People Wake Up Before It's Too Late," one exclaimed. "Frank Graham Favors Mingling of the Races."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Pleasants and Burns, *Frank Porter Graham and the 1950 Senate Race*, 5–30, and Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 77, 144–45, 151–59.

<sup>82</sup> Pleasants and Burns, *Frank Porter Graham and the 1950 Senate Race*, 196–201.

<sup>83</sup> President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights*, 166.

<sup>84</sup> Pleasants and Burns, *Frank Porter Graham*, 140 and 223.

# WHITE PEOPLE WAKE UP

BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

**YOU MAY NOT HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE**

**DO YOU WANT?**

- Negroes working beside you, your wife and daughters in your mills and factories?
- Negroes eating beside you in all public eating places?
- Negroes riding beside you, your wife and your daughters in buses, cabs and trains?
- Negroes sleeping in the same hotels and rooming houses?
- Negroes teaching and disciplining your children in school?
- Negroes sitting with you and your family at all public meetings?
- Negroes going to white schools and white children going to Negro schools?
- Negroes to occupy the same hospital rooms with you and your wife and daughters?
- Negroes as your foremen and overseers in the mills?
- Negroes using your toilet facilities?

Northern political labor leaders have recently ordered that all doors be opened to Negroes on union property. This will lead to whites and Negroes working and living together in the South as they do in the North. Do you want that?

**FRANK GRAHAM FAVORS MINGLING OF THE RACES**

HE ADMITS THAT HE FAVORS MIXING NEGROES AND WHITES — HE SAYS SO IN THE REPORT HE SIGNED. (For Proof of This, Read Page 167, Civil Rights Report.)

**DO YOU FAVOR THIS — WANT SOME MORE OF IT?**

**IF YOU DO, VOTE FOR FRANK GRAHAM**

**BUT IF YOU DON'T**

**VOTE FOR AND HELP ELECT**


**WILLIS SMITH for SENATOR**

HE WILL UPHOLD THE TRADITIONS OF THE SOUTH

KNOW THE TRUTH COMMITTEE

## Will You Go— BACK TO THIS?

With WILLIS SMITH



**15¢ an HOUR!**  
**12 HOURS a DAY!**  
**CHILDREN WORKING in the MILLS!**

The picture above is photograph of Spinning Room Workers of a North Carolina Mill. The picture was made more than years BEFORE the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal for Tattle Workers.

It's a picture none of you will remember... of working for 10c, 15c, and 20c an hour... working 12 hours a day, 66 to 72 hours a week... children of 10 and 12 going to work in the Mill 'cause there wasn't enough food to eat, not enough clothes to wear and keep warm... kids with rickets because there was no money for milk... ym, some of you remember...

But things are better now... BETTER because men like FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and FRANK GRAHAM fought for Federal Laws to give YOU a BETTER LIFE... Laws to give you HIGHER WAGES, SHORTER HOURS, BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, BETTER SCHOOLS for YOUR CHILDREN, BETTER HOUSES, and OLD-AGE PENSIONS...

But the Willis Smith Crowd says that those things for which ROOSEVELT and GRAHAM fought are Bad... The Smith Crowd says that those laws which have brought you a better life are the tools of the "Wall Street State" and those laws are the "Route to Socialism"... THEY want to WIPE OUT the NEW DEAL of ROOSEVELT and GRAHAM!

The Smith Crowd would like to take you back to the days of the picture above... 10c an HOUR for a 12-HOUR DAY and a 66-HOUR WORK WEEK is SMITH'S IDEA of "SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY!"

WHY? It's a matter of Simple Arithmetic:

WILLIS SMITH is a COTTON MILL OWNER. The LESS WAGES SMITH HAS to PAY his WORKERS, the MORE PROFIT MILL-OWNER SMITH MAKES!

**FRANK P. GRAHAM**

PROVEN FRIEND of the WORKING PEOPLE

Editor of "The Southern Statesman", Columbia, S.C.  
217 Columbia St., Columbia, S.C.  
20th November 1936

Smith and Graham campaign handbills. Courtesy of the Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Daniel Augustus Powell Papers.

These attacks were powerful in the simplicity of their message: Graham posed a threat to white privilege and the racial division of labor from which it was derived. Graham's campaign countered by warning white working people that Smith would roll back the hard-won economic gains of the New Deal, but on Election Day race trumped class. Smith won the second primary by more than nineteen thousand votes. He traveled to Washington to take his Senate seat in 1951 and carried Jesse Helms with him as a member of his staff. Twenty-two years later, Helms returned as a Republican Senator and leader of the conservative movement that came to be known as the New Right.

## IX. Black Advance and White Reaction in the Forgotten 1950s

### A. Challenging Jim Crow at the Ballot Box

In the aftermath of the election, Graham's supporters were distraught. "I weep for the people of North Carolina," one woman wrote, "because they [were] swayed by prejudices [and] lies." But Black newspaper editor Louis Austin found cause for hope, even as he mourned Graham's defeat. He reminded readers of the *Carolina Times* that more than two hundred and sixty thousand voters – the vast majority of them white – had cast their ballots for Graham, and in doing so had refused to bow to "race hatred." Despite obvious similarities, Graham's loss was not a calamity on the same scale as the defeat of Fusion half a century before. Appeals to justice and decency had loosened Jim Crow's grasp and created new room for Blacks to maneuver. Austin urged his readers

to seize that opportunity, to light a "torch of freedom" that would "send bright rays into the dark corners of [a] benighted State."<sup>85</sup>

Leaders and ordinary folk in Black communities across North Carolina took up that challenge. In 1951, a "rush" of thirteen Black candidates stood for election in eleven cities, from Rocky Mount in the east to Winston-Salem in the central Piedmont. Three of them won seats on their municipal councils.<sup>86</sup> Two years later, twenty-four Black candidates ran in nineteen cities, and six bested their white opponents.<sup>87</sup>

The victories in 1953 were, in many respects, predictable. With one exception, they occurred in Piedmont cities with substantial Black populations and active Black civic organizations. In Winston-Salem, unionized tobacco workers had spurred voter registration and created a political movement that continued to elect a Black candidate to the city's board of aldermen. Black business leaders in Durham had similar success. Under the auspices of their Committee on Negro Affairs, they had been registering voters and sponsoring candidates for the better part of two decades. In 1953, they broke through with the election of Rencher N. Harris, a real estate appraiser, to the city council. Harris also had the backing of a short-lived interracial alliance of progressive whites and unionized textile and tobacco workers.<sup>88</sup>

More surprising, and ultimately more threatening to white rule, was the fact that seven Black candidates had the courage to seek office in eastern North Carolina, where Jim Crow was most deeply entrenched, and that in Wilson, a small tobacco market town located in that section of the state, George K. Butterfield Sr. won election to the board of commissioners. Through the end of the decade, this spread of civil rights activism beyond the cities of the Piedmont tested white politicians' ability to deflect Black claims on equal citizenship.

The story of George Butterfield's political career in Wilson epitomized the contest between white men in power and their Black challengers in the east. Butterfield was a dentist and a veteran of World War I, born in Bermuda and educated at Meharry Dental College in Nashville, Tennessee. He moved to Wilson in 1928 and quickly established himself as a leader in the city's Black community. George K. Butterfield Jr., who currently represents North Carolina's First Congressional District, remembers that his father "was always a thorn in the side of the white establishment." In the 1940s, the elder Butterfield and his brother-in-law, Fred Davis Jr., directed a number of voter registration drives. They recruited brave volunteers and "sat up the night with them" to

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 247-48, and "Victorious in Defeat," *Carolina Times*, July 1, 1950.

<sup>86</sup> Dr. William Hampton won a seat on the Greensboro city council, Reverend William R. Crawford won a run-off and replaced Kenneth Williams on the Winston-Salem board of aldermen, and Dr. W. P. Devane was re-elected to the Fayetteville city council. Later in 1951, Hampton and Crawford were the first Black city officials to attend meetings of the North Carolina League of Municipalities. See "Rush of Negro Candidates for City Posts in N. Carolina," *Atlanta Daily World*, May 8, 1951; "Two Win City Council Seats in No. Carolina," *Atlanta Daily World*, May 17, 1951; and "First Negro to N.C. League of Municipalities," *Atlanta Daily World*, November 10, 1951.

<sup>87</sup> "Negro Candidates Seek Offices in Twenty North Carolina Cities," *Chicago Defender*, May 2, 1953. Despite the title, only nineteen cities are listed in this article. For clarification of the number of city council candidates in Concord, see "Candidates Win Three North Carolina Races," *Atlanta Daily World*, May 7, 1953, and "Primary Vote at Concord Slated Tuesday," *Charlotte Observer*, April 13, 1953. For the successful candidates, see "They Scored," *Chicago Defender*, May 23, 1953. William Crawford and William Hampton won re-election in Winston-Salem and Greensboro, respectively; Rencher N. Harris claimed a seat on the Durham city council; Hubert J. Robinson was elected to the Chapel Hill town council; Nathaniel Barber took a seat on the city council in Gastonia; and Dr. George K. Butterfield Sr. was elected to the city council in Wilson.

<sup>88</sup> Gershenhorn, *Louis Austin*, 114, and "They Scored," *Chicago Defender*, May 23, 1953.

memorize and "rehearse the Constitution." When those aspiring voters took the literacy test, "some would pass and some would not," because the outcome was "just the whim of the registrar." Progress was slow, but over time, the effort paid off. By 1953, more than five hundred of Wilson's Black citizens had qualified to vote.<sup>89</sup>

That figure was large enough to convince Butterfield to stand for election as a town commissioner representing Wilson's third ward. Although Blacks constituted a majority in the ward, whites outnumbered them among registered voters. Butterfield's supporters overcame that disadvantage by turning out at a much higher rate than their white neighbors. When ballots were counted, Butterfield and his opponent each received three hundred and eighty-two votes. As stipulated in Wilson's town charter, election officials decided the winner by drawing lots. A blind-folded child pulled Butterfield's name from a hat.<sup>90</sup>

Butterfield used his political office to press for improved municipal services in Wilson's Black neighborhoods, additional funds for Black schools, and the desegregation of recreational facilities, including the town's minor-league baseball stadium. After he won re-election in 1955, Wilson's white commissioners moved to be rid of him. Shortly before the 1957 election, they approved a surprise resolution to change from a ward system to an at-large form of municipal government in which a full slate of commissioners would be elected in a single, multi-candidate contest. Under that arrangement, a Black candidate would face not one but many white opponents.<sup>91</sup>

The state legislature quickly approved the change and added a provision to Wilson's charter that prohibited single-shot, or as it was sometimes called, bullet voting. That was the practice of marking a ballot for only one candidate in at-large, multi-candidate contests in which the top vote getters won election to a set number of open seats. In simple mathematical terms, single-shot voting offered Black voters – always a minority – their best chance at electing representatives from their communities. The new prohibition undercut that prospect by requiring that election officials discard single-shot ballots.<sup>92</sup>

These changes in Wilson's town government denied Butterfield a third term. In the 1957 election, he placed eighth in a field of sixteen candidates who vied for six seats on the town commission. Four years later, Reverend Talmadge A. Watkins, Butterfield's pastor and political ally, ran for a place on the town commission and, after losing, challenged the anti-single-shot rule in a lawsuit. North Carolina's Supreme Court ultimately decided the case, *Watkins v. City of Wilson*, in favor of the defendants. The justices wrote: "It is an established principle that to entitle a private individual to invoke the judicial power to determine the validity of executive or legislative action he must show that he has sustained, or is immediately in danger of sustaining, a direct injury as the result of that action and it is not sufficient that he has merely a general interest common to all members of the public." Watkins did not meet that standard, because "even if credited with all

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<sup>89</sup> McKinney, *Greater Freedom*, 21-22 and 54, and Butterfield interview, <<http://bit.ly/2RMrziw>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>90</sup> McKinney, *Greater Freedom*, 58-59, and Butterfield interview, <<http://bit.ly/2RMrziw>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>91</sup> McKinney, *Greater Freedom*, 91-96, and Butterfield interview, <<http://bit.ly/2RMrziw>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>92</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Extra Session of 1956, and Regular Session, 1957*, chapt. 13.

rejected ballots, he would not have enough votes to change the [election] result." In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the case on appeal.<sup>93</sup>

Watkin's defeat in court validated the work of white politicians who had been busy restructuring local governments across eastern North Carolina. Between 1955 and 1961, the state legislature approved a flurry of new laws that mandated at-large voting in a shifting mix of elections for county boards of commissioners and town councils in twenty-three eastern counties. In each of those places, lawmakers also prohibited single-shot voting. As a reporter for the *News and Observer* later noted, the purpose of these measures was "to slow the growth of Black political power."<sup>94</sup>

1955, 1957, 1959 & 1961 Anti-Single-Shot Counties & Municipalities

- 1955: Added to §163-175
- 1957: Outside of §163-175
- 1957: Added to §163-175
- 1959: Outside of §163-175
- 1959: Added to §163-175
- 1959 & 1961: Removed from §163-175



Anti-single shot counties and municipalities, 1955-1961. The western counties were places where Republicans exerted some influence in local government.

With no sense of irony, white politicians defended these measures as protection against the corrupting influence of "bloc" interests, particularly those defined by race. That was a well-worn rationale. For instance, a group of Willis Smith's supporters had charged in 1950 that "bloc voting by any group is a menace to democracy." In an advertisement published in the *News and Observer*, they turned to Charles Aycock – one of the original architects of white supremacy – as their authority on the matter. Looking back on his election as governor in 1900, Aycock had justified his party's use of political violence by pointing to heavily Black counties in the east, where, he claimed, "120,000 Negro votes cast as the vote of one man" threatened the "security of life, liberty, and property."<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> McKinney, *Greater Freedom*, 96 and 139-44; Butterfield interview, < <http://bit.ly/2RMziw> >, November 29, 2020; *Watkins v. City of Wilson*, 121 S.E.2d 861 (N.C. 1961); and *Watkins v. Wilson*, 370 U.S. 46 (1962).

<sup>94</sup> "Failure of Singleshoot Ban May Strengthen Black Vote," *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 17, 1972.

<sup>95</sup> *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 20, 1950.

(Political Advertisement)

# Bloc Voting By ANY Group Is A MENACE to DEMOCRACY

Governor Charles B. Aycock said in his Inaugural Address, January, 1901:

"When we came to power (1898), we desired merely the security of life, liberty and prosperity. We had seen all these menaced by 120,000 Negro votes cast as the vote of one man."

Here is what happened on May 27th, 1950—

BLOC VOTING BY NEGROES IN NORTH CAROLINA: (OFFICIAL RETURNS)			
	Precinct	GRAHAM	SMITH
RALEIGH	No. 10	493	9
	No. 16	518	18
DURHAM	Hillside	1514	7
	Pearson School	1187	8
GREENSBORO	No. 5	1231	12
CHARLOTTE	No. 2	512	11
		5455	65

THESE ARE RETURNS FROM ONLY SIX NEGRO PRECINCTS

## WILLIS SMITH Represents ALL The People

Gallard Committee for Willis Smith  
John S. Foster, Chairman

Willis Smith campaign advertisement, Raleigh  
*News and Observer*, June 20, 1950.

The hypocrisy of such historical claims infuriated *Carolina Times* editor Louis Austin. He noted that since the end of slavery, Blacks had found the "biggest 'bloc' of . . . all . . . arrayed against them." It included "leaders of the Ku Klux Klan," politicians who "continuously fanned the flames of race hatred," and the "mass of white voters" who elected them. Together, these enemies of democracy barred Blacks from political office and denied them both "equal education [and] equal employment opportunities." Such actions left Blacks no alternative but to vote their group interests, or as Austin put it, to "look principally to [their] own tents for whatever advancements" might be made.<sup>96</sup>

### B. Challenging Jim Crow in Court

The guardians of white rule were shrewd adversaries who displayed their resourcefulness not only at polling places but also in courts of law. That was perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the adjudication of a series of lawsuits brought by James R. Walker Jr., a young Black attorney from eastern North Carolina. Walker grew up in Hertford County, located in the historic Second Congressional District, where Black political strength had been concentrated in the decades after

<sup>96</sup> "The 'Negro Bloc' and the 'Single Shot,'" *Carolina Times*, May 22, 1965.

Emancipation. His parents, James and Ethel, were teachers who instilled in their son a determination to "fight social injustice." After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, the younger Walker set out to become a civil rights lawyer.<sup>97</sup>

In 1949, Walker applied for admission to the school of law at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill but was rejected on account of his race. With no other option, he enrolled at the North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University), where state lawmakers had established a separate and decidedly unequal law school to protect the white university from desegregation. But within a year, the U.S. Supreme Court changed the game. The court ruled in a Texas case, *Sweatt v. Painter*, that racially segregated programs of graduate and professional education were acceptable only if they exhibited "substantive equality." On the basis of that judgment, Walker and four other Black plaintiffs – Harvey Beech, James Lassiter, J. Kenneth Lee, and Floyd McKissick – sued in federal court and won admission to the law school in Chapel Hill. They began their studies during the summer of 1951. Lee and Walker took their degrees a year later and became the University of North Carolina's first Black graduates.<sup>98</sup>

In 1955, Black community leaders in Halifax County persuaded Walker to return to eastern North Carolina and join their struggle for political rights. When he opened his law office in Weldon, he was the only Black attorney in a six-county area where sharecropping still bound Black families to the land and racial violence was a fearsome fact of life. Walker was unafraid. "I was an Army man," he remembered. "Had been to the front. . . . I wasn't scared of nothing."<sup>99</sup>

Walker drew financial and professional support from a small community of Black lawyers in North Carolina's Piedmont cities. He also built a loose network of Black preachers, teachers, businessmen, and club women from twenty-five eastern counties. He called the group the Eastern Council on Community Affairs. Its members gathered news of voter infringement, mobilized to confront hostile white election officials, and helped Walker identify plaintiffs who were prepared to challenge Jim Crow in court.<sup>100</sup>

Walker began filing lawsuits in 1956. In one of his first cases, he sued on his own behalf to challenge the prohibition of single-shot voting in an at-large election for seats on the Halifax County Board of Education. Officials had discarded his ballot because he cast a single vote for the one Black candidate rather than comply with instructions to choose seven of eight contenders.

The case eventually made its way to the North Carolina Supreme Court, where Walker ran afoul of state lawmakers' efforts to stall school desegregation. In 1955, quick on the heels of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown* decision, they extended their influence over policy at the local level by making seats on county school boards appointed rather than elected positions. Under the new arrangement, political parties continued to hold primary elections, but the results were no longer binding. County boards of elections reported the winners to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who in turn sent their names to the legislature in the form of nominations. Lawmakers then appointed school board members as they saw fit. By time the high court heard Walker's appeal, lawmakers had already exercised their authority to appoint members of the Halifax County

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<sup>97</sup> Wertheimer, *Law and Society in the South*, 131-32.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., chapt. 7, and Nixon, "Integration of UNC-Chapel Hill – Law School First." The following account of Walker's career and legal challenges to Jim Crow election law draws broadly on Wertheimer (above) and Barksdale, "Indigenous Civil Rights Movement."

<sup>99</sup> Wertheimer, *Law and Society in the South*, 142 and 150.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 146 and 148.

Board of Education. In light of that fact, the court ruled that "questions raised by plaintiff are now moot" and dismissed Walker's case.<sup>101</sup>

While litigating his personal complaint in Halifax County, Walker filed another lawsuit on behalf of Louise Lassiter, a resident of nearby Northampton County who had been denied the right to register after failing to prove that she was literate. At the time, registrars enjoyed broad authority to administer literacy tests in whatever form they imagined. They often framed the tests as civics exams that reached well beyond a simple assessment of an applicant's ability to read and write. Observers documented a "bewildering variety" of questions. Can you "name the signers of the Declaration of Independence?" a registrar might ask. "What is habeas corpus?" "If the NAACP attacked the U.S. government, on which side would you fight?" "Explain how a person [can] be imprisoned for debt in North Carolina, who created the world, and what 'create' mean[s]." Louise Lassiter failed her test because she mispronounced words from the state constitution, including the term 'indictment.'<sup>102</sup>

Lassiter's case set off alarm bells in Raleigh, where state officials worried that she might prevail in federal court. Her complaint coincided with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first national legislation of its kind since Reconstruction. That law established the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to investigate allegations of voter suppression and authorized the Department of Justice to institute civil action against any person who interfered with the right of another "to vote or to vote as he may choose."<sup>103</sup>

Just days before Lassiter's case was scheduled to be heard in U.S. district court, legislators revised state election law to make the literacy test less arbitrary. They struck the requirement that literacy be proven "to the satisfaction" of registrars and created an appeal process for citizens who failed the test – though complaints would be heard only if filed "by 5:00 p.m. on the day following denial." These changes were enough to satisfy the federal court, which declined to proceed with Lassiter's case until she had petitioned for a local remedy.<sup>104</sup>

Soon after the court's decision, Lassiter made another attempt to register. But this time, at Walker's instruction, she refused examination on grounds that the literacy test violated her right to vote. That focused Lassiter's legal complaint on the constitutionality of the test itself rather than the method of its administration. When the case reached the North Carolina Supreme Court, lawyers for the Northampton County Board of Elections argued in circles. They denied that the literacy test was discriminatory on account of race and then defended it as a political necessity adopted to correct the "outrages perpetrated upon the people of this State during the Tragic Era of Reconstruction," when the ballot was "placed in the hands of illiterate people" – that is, former slaves – "supported by the armed might of the Federal Government." Convinced by such reasoning, the

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<sup>101</sup> Eure, *Public School Laws of North Carolina*, 13-14; *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Extra Session of 1956, and Regular Session, 1957*, chapt. 137; and *Walker v. Moss*, 97 S. E.2d 836 (N.C. 1957).

<sup>102</sup> North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina*, 28 and 33, and Wertheimer, *Law and Society*, 141 and 151.

<sup>103</sup> Public Law 85-315: An Act to Provide Means of Further Securing and Protecting the Civil Rights of Persons Within the Jurisdiction of the United States, 637, <<http://bit.ly/2UGEvGA>>, September 5, 2019, and Winquist, "Civil Rights: Legislation: The Civil Rights Act of 1957."

<sup>104</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Extra Session of 1956, and Regular Session, 1957*, chapt. 287, and *Lassiter v. Taylor*, 152 F. Supp. 295 (E.D.N.C. 1957).

court rejected Lassiter's constitutional claims. It found no evidence of "discrimination in favor, or against any [person] by reason of race, creed, or color."<sup>105</sup>

On appeal in 1959, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously affirmed that ruling. Writing for the court, Justice William O. Douglas acknowledged that when arbitrary authority was vested in registrars, a literacy requirement could "make racial discrimination easy." But he found no evidence of that intent in North Carolina's election law as amended in 1957. He instead read literacy tests as an expression of the state's desire "to raise the standards for people of all races who cast the ballot." Ignoring the effects of a century of school discrimination in the South and the core reasoning of the 1954 *Brown* decision, Douglas insisted that "literacy and illiteracy are neutral on race, creed, color, and sex, as reports around the world show."<sup>106</sup>

Black certainly had no natural inclination to illiteracy, but the connection between illiteracy and race as a social category and lived experience was undeniable. Had Justice Douglas examined conditions in Northampton County, that harsh reality would have been readily apparent. In 1950, Black adults in the county had completed, on average, 5 years of schooling. That compared to 5.6 years for Black adults and 8.6 years for white adults statewide. These figures meant that a considerable portion of voting-age Blacks, in Northampton County and across the state, had completed fewer than the three years of education that demographers assumed was required to develop basic literacy skills. Jim Crow's shadow remained long and deep.<sup>107</sup>

In 1960, Walker returned to court with a new client. Having failed to win a judgment that the literacy test was unconstitutional per se, he revisited the question of how it was administered. His client, Bertie County resident Nancy Bazemore, had been denied by a registrar who required that she write down passages from the state constitution as he read them aloud. Bazemore failed because of spelling errors. When the case reached the State Supreme Court, the justices ruled in Bazemore's favor and issued guidelines that sharply limited registrars' discretion in determining the form and content of the literacy test. They instructed those officials to evaluate "nothing more" than applicants' ability to "utter aloud" a section of the state constitution and to write it out "in a reasonably legible hand." Furthermore, the test was to be based on a printed copy of the constitution – not dictation – and there were to be no penalties for "the occasional misspelling and mispronouncing of more difficult words."<sup>108</sup>

The *Bazemore* decision represented what many observers came to view as the North Carolina way in managing Black demands for equal rights. It rejected naked discrimination and insisted on "fair and impartial" enforcement of the law, but also left room for sorting citizens into racial categories. Across North Carolina, most whites registered and voted without a literacy test. They "took it for granted" that they were entitled to do so because of the color of their skin. In Nancy Bazemore's home county, one registrar was forthright. When asked if any whites had failed the literacy test, he replied, "No. I mean I didn't have any to try it." Though the State Supreme

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<sup>105</sup> "Defendant Appellee's Brief," *Lassiter v. Northampton Board of Elections*, Supreme Court of North Carolina, fall term 1957, no. 172, Sixth District, quoted in Wertheimer, *Law and Society in the South*, 155, and *Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections*, 102 S.E.2d 853 (N.C. 1958).

<sup>106</sup> *Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections*, 360 U.S. 45 (1959).

<sup>107</sup> North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina*, 144, and Collins and Margo, "Historical Perspectives on Racial Differences in Schooling," <<http://bit.ly/2UMbN7e>>, September 5, 2019, 4.

<sup>108</sup> *Bazemore v. Bertie County Board of Elections*, 119 S.E.2d 637 (N.C. 1961).

Court did not address this issue directly, it validated the underlying assumption by ruling that there was no legal requirement that every registrant be examined. "It would be unrealistic to say that the test *must* be administered to all applicants," the justices wrote. "The statute only requires that the applicant *have* the ability" to read and write (emphasis in original). "If the registrar in good faith knows that [the] applicant has the requisite ability, no test is necessary."<sup>109</sup>

This reading of state election law suggested that registrars still possessed the authority to group citizens into two classes: whites who were assumed to be literate and Blacks who had to prove it. The law did not require that the literacy test be administered to all citizens on an equal basis, but only that it "be administered, where uncertainty of ability exists, to all alike." That was a notably pernicious doctrine in a white man's society long habituated to the idea that Blacks, by their very nature, lacked the intellectual and moral capacity to function as citizens.<sup>110</sup>

North Carolina's response to Black demands for political rights was adaptive, not reactionary. It stood apart from what became known as "massive resistance" elsewhere in the South. As one contemporary observed, it was a "subtle strategy" for preventing "the Black vote from being effective." White political leaders were willing to tolerate the registration of a limited number of Black voters and even the occasional election of a Black officeholder, but they conceded nothing on the foundational principles of Jim Crow: Black inferiority and second-class citizenship. This was their way of maintaining what Charles Aycock had called "good order" and of warding off federal intervention, an existential threat since the days of slavery.<sup>111</sup>

### C. Challenging Jim Crow at School

A willingness to concede change at the margins shaped not only the battle over the ballot box but also the racial contest at the schoolhouse door. In the early 1930s, Black educators, organized through the North Carolina Teachers Association (NCTA), collaborated with the NAACP in a campaign to equalize Black and white teachers' pay. They were emboldened by the New Deal's support for organized labor and the minimum wage standards set by the National Recovery Administration. In October 1933, more than 2500 teachers filled the streets in Raleigh to press their demands. Weeks later, their representatives issued a bold indictment of Jim Crow:

We are disenfranchised and told to acquire learning and fitness for citizenship. We undertake the preparation in our inadequate, wretchedly equipped schools. Our children drag through the mud while others ride in busses, we pass the courses required by the state and in most places when we present ourselves for registration, we are denied that right and lose our votes. Our teachers, disadvantaged by disenfranchisement, by lack of the means to prepare themselves, nevertheless do meet the high and exacting standards of the best white institutions of the country, and then armed with the state's highest certificate go into the employment of a commonwealth which reduces their wages to the level of janitors and hod carriers.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.; Wertheimer, *Law and Society*, 161; and North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Voting and Voter Registration in North Carolina, 1960," 22.

<sup>110</sup> *Bazemore v. Bertie County Board of Elections*, 119 S.E.2d 637 (N.C. 1961).

<sup>111</sup> Towe, "Barriers to Black Political Participation in North Carolina," 11-12.

The NCTA urged its members to register to vote and to "unite their forces at the polls." "We are informed that it is best for us if we stay out of politics," the Black educators declared, but "we have stayed out and this is what we have."<sup>112</sup>

That effort at political mobilization produced one of the South's earliest lawsuits to challenge the constitutionality of the literacy test. In 1934, two Iredell County teachers, T. E. Allison and Robert W. Dockery, appeared before a white registrar who instructed them to read and write passages from the state constitution. When they were done, he declared his judgment: "You do not satisfy me." Allison and Dockery subsequently sued the registrar and the county and state boards of election.<sup>113</sup>

The North Carolina Supreme Court heard their case on appeal in 1936 and ruled for the defendants. Associate Justice R. Heriot Clarkson – a Confederate veteran and leader of the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900 – wrote for the court. He affirmed the constitutionality of the literacy test and said of the plaintiffs, they "just do not like the law of their State." Clarkson closed with a history lesson: "It would not be amiss to say that [the] constitutional amendment providing for an educational test . . . brought light out of darkness as to education for all the people of the State. Religious, educational, and material uplift went forward by leaps and bounds. . . . The rich and poor, the white and colored, alike have an equal opportunity for an elementary and high school education."<sup>114</sup>

Given the difficulties of voter registration, the NCTA had limited ability to bring direct pressure to bear on state and local politicians, but its continued agitation of the salary equalization issue, the ongoing involvement of the NAACP, and a growing number of lawsuits filed elsewhere across the South convinced the state legislature in 1939 to allocate \$250,000 to raise Black teachers' pay. Still, the average Black teacher earned only three-quarters of what the average white teacher was paid.<sup>115</sup>

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit put southern lawmakers on notice in 1940, when it ruled in a Norfolk, Virginia case that racial disparities in teacher pay violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. A three-judge panel affirmed Black teachers' "civil right . . . to pursue their profession without being subjected to discriminatory legislation on account of race or color." America's entry into World War II then provided the final impetus to close the gap. In 1942, James W. Seabrook, president of both the NCTA and Fayetteville State Teachers College, appealed to white politicians' sense of fair play and their not-so-secret fears for Black loyalty in the war effort. He urged them to "give the Negro confidence that the principles of democracy for which he is being called upon to fight in the four corners of the earth will be applied to him here at home." Two years later, the General Assembly appropriated funds to equalize Black and white teachers' salaries.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 142-48.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>114</sup> *Allison v. Sharp*, 184 S.E. 27 (N.C. 1936). On Justice Clarkson, see *Prominent People of North Carolina*, 16-17. In 1896, Clarkson organized one of the state's first "White Supremacy" clubs. Governor Charles Aycock rewarded his political loyalty with an appointment as solicitor of the state's Twelfth Judicial District.

<sup>115</sup> Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 152.

<sup>116</sup> *Alston v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 112 F.2d 992 (4th Cir. 1940); Douglas, *Reading, Writing, and Race*, 20; and Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 153-55.

During the war years, Black educators' demand for equal pay expanded into a call for equal facilities. Children led the way. In October 1946, more than four hundred students, organized in a local NAACP Youth Council, filled the streets in Lumberton, a small town in southeastern North Carolina. They carried placards that cheered the triumph of democracy in World War II and set that achievement against the wretched condition of Black schools: "inadequate and unhealthy . . . overcrowded . . . and dilapidated." "D-Day," and "V for Victory," the signs exclaimed. "How Can I Learn When I'm Cold?" "It Rains on Me." "Down with Our Schools."<sup>117</sup>

Protests spread across eastern and central North Carolina, accompanied by lawsuits that challenged the constitutionality of unequal school funding. In 1950, plaintiffs in Durham won a breakthrough case in the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. Judge Johnson Jay Hayes ruled that city school officials had a legal obligation to provide "negro school children substantially equal facilities to those furnished white children." He found no "excuse or justification" for failing to meet that standard and ordered an end to discriminatory school spending.<sup>118</sup>

Anyone who read Judge Hayes's ruling closely would have spotted a single sentence that was even more prescient in its implications. "The burdens inherent in segregation," he wrote, "must be met by the state which maintains them." Had Hayes pronounced a death sentence for Jim Crow? In 1951, a group of fifty-five Black parents filed suit in Pamlico County to test that question. They demanded that their children be assigned to white schools unless adequate Black facilities were provided. As historian Sarah Thuesen noted, this was "the first lawsuit filed in the federal courts from North Carolina – and only the second in the South – to raise the possibility of integration." The plaintiffs dropped their complaint when county officials agreed to build a new Black high school, but they had made their point. As the editor of the *Kinston Free Press* noted, "If we want to keep segregation, we must bend over backward to see that facilities are equal."<sup>119</sup>

To that end, state leaders put a \$50 million school bond on the ballot in late 1953, as the U.S. Supreme Court prepared to hear final arguments in *Brown v. Board*. One observer noted that many white voters supported the measure in hope that it "might tend to influence" a judgment favorable to the white South. They could not have been more mistaken. On May 17, 1954, the Court ruled that "in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that . . . segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws." In the aftermath of that decision, state and local officials scrambled once more to invent means of defending the substance, if not the letter, of Jim Crow statutes.<sup>120</sup>

#### **D. *Brown v. Board* and the Pearsall Committees**

Two gubernatorial advisory committees, popularly known by the name of their chairman, wealthy eastern landowner and Democratic power-broker Thomas J. Pearsall, set the course for opposition to *Brown*. They worked from the principle "that members of each race prefer to associate with other members of their race *and that they will do so naturally unless they are prodded and inflamed and controlled by outside pressure*." (emphasis in the original).<sup>121</sup> To that end, the

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<sup>117</sup> Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 169-70.

<sup>118</sup> *Blue v. Durham Public School District*, 95 F. Supp. 441 (M.D.N.C. 1951).

<sup>119</sup> Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*, 191.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 200, and *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

<sup>121</sup> Leloudis and Korstad, *Fragile Democracy*, 63.

committees proposed "the building of a new school system on a new foundation – a foundation of no racial segregation by law, but assignment according to natural racial preferences and the administrative determination of what is best for the child."<sup>122</sup>

The first Pearsall committee recommended that the state cede authority over school assignments to local districts. That proposal informed the Pupil Assignment Act of 1955, passed in the same legislative session as the prohibition of single-shot voting. Lawmakers removed references to race from state school assignment policy and gave parents "freedom of choice" in selecting the schools their children would attend. But there was a catch. The law required that Black parents petition individually to have their children assigned to white schools. Doing so demanded great courage. Parents faced the prospect of retribution by angry employers and landlords, and they had to accept the risk that their children might stand alone to face white resistance. The law also gave local school boards broad discretionary authority in ruling on parents' requests. They could reject an application if they believed that it did not serve a child's "best interests," or that it would compromise "proper administration," "proper instruction," or "health and safety" in a target school.<sup>123</sup>

A year later, the second Pearsall committee proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would authorize the legislature to provide private school vouchers for "any child assigned against the wishes of his parents to a school in which the races are mixed." Local school boards would also be permitted to call for public referenda to close schools in case of "enforced mixing of the races." The committee presented the amendment as a balm for racial conflict stirred up by outsiders, most notably the NAACP and the federal courts. They looked forward to a day "when sanity returns," and to re-establishment of "the harmonious relations which the races have enjoyed in North Carolina for more than fifty years" – that is, from the time of white redemption and Black disenfranchisement. In September 1956, voters approved the amendment by a margin of more than four to one. Though no schools were ever closed and only one private school voucher was issued, the amendment effectively undermined any notion that desegregation might be achieved more quickly.<sup>124</sup>

These policies won North Carolina praise as a "moderate" southern state but produced one of the lowest desegregation rates in the region. At the beginning of the 1958-59 school year, only ten of the state's roughly 322,000 Black students were enrolled in formerly white schools. That result impressed officials in Little Rock, Arkansas, where in 1957 white resistance to desegregation had prompted President Dwight Eisenhower to use federal troops to restore order. They complimented their North Carolina colleagues: "You . . . have devised one of the cleverest techniques of perpetuating segregation that we have seen. . . . If we could be half as successful as you have been, we could keep this thing to a minimum for the next fifty years."<sup>125</sup>

The Little Rock admirer put his finger on a lesson that is as true today as it was in the 1950s. White supremacy, often violent and inflexible, can also be subtle and adaptive. A tobacco

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<sup>122</sup> *Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, April 5, 1956*, 7 and 9, <<http://bit.ly/2LTNQXw>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>123</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, 1955*, chapt. 366, 310.

<sup>124</sup> *Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, April 6, 1956*, 8-10; Wettach, "North Carolina School Legislation, 1956," 7; and Batchelor, *Race and Education in North Carolina*, 108-9. The U.S. District Court for the Western District of North Carolina struck down the voucher plan in 1966. See Batchelor, 110.

<sup>125</sup> Batchelor, *Race and Education in North Carolina*, 73, and Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 97 and 106.

worker from eastern North Carolina said it best: "My experience . . . is that if you beat the white man at one trick, he will try another."<sup>126</sup>

### E. Stalled Revolution

When most Americans think about the history of civil rights, they tend to view the past through a rearview mirror. They see a series of struggles that led inevitably to the demise of Jim Crow in the mid-1960s. But for an observer on the ground at the beginning of that decade, the future seemed far less certain. The U.S. Supreme Court had effectively embraced the North Carolina way. In *Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections*, the court affirmed the constitutionality of the literacy test, and in *Brown II*, its ruling on the enforcement of school desegregation, the court embraced the go-slow approach proposed in an amicus curiae brief filed by North Carolina's attorney general.

North Carolina State Assistant Attorney General I. Beverly Lake Sr. drafted the brief and presented it along with oral arguments in April 1955. He urged the court to "allow the greatest possible latitude to . . . District Judges in drafting final [desegregation] decrees." It stood to reason, he explained, that "only a court conversant with local conditions and granted wide discretion [could] tailor [a] decree to fit the local variations." Lake also offered a dire warning against any "attempt to compel the intermixture of the races." Such action would result in "violent opposition" and place the public schools in "grave danger of destruction." In its ruling in *Brown II*, the high Court heeded Lake's advice. The Justices left it to lower courts to determine the pace and process of desegregation, guided by "their proximity to local conditions" and understanding of the need for "practical flexibility in shaping remedies." That was the essence of *Brown II*'s vague directive that desegregation proceed "with all deliberate speed."<sup>127</sup>

Congress was even less inclined to effect sweeping change, thanks in significant measure to the outsized influence wielded by southern lawmakers. In the decades after Black disenfranchisement, national leaders ignored Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which requires a reduction in representation for states that deny voting rights on the basis of race. Political scientist Richard Valelly estimates that had Section 2 been enforced, the Jim Crow South would have lost as many as twenty-five seats in the U.S. House of Representatives between 1903 and 1953. But the disenfranchisers never paid that penalty; instead, they expanded their influence in national politics. "That itself," Valelly writes, "was a major if silent constitutional change, a tacit, extraconstitutional [revision] of the Fourteenth Amendment."<sup>128</sup>

The denial of Black voting rights and the systematic suppression of two-party politics in the South also limited dissent and ensured that Democratic incumbents in Congress would be re-elected term after term. Over time, southern politicians accrued seniority and gained control of key committees in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Their power was obvious in contests over civil rights issues, but much of it was otherwise out of view. As the chairmen of committees charged with administrative oversight, they permitted unchecked racial discrimination by government agencies, from the Federal Housing Administration's use of red lining to enforce

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<sup>126</sup> Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism*, 384.

<sup>127</sup> Brief of Harry McMullen, Attorney General of North Carolina, Amicus Curiae, 3 and 6, <<http://bit.ly/36PHJfd>>, November 29, 2020, and *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

<sup>128</sup> Valelly, *Two Reconstructions*, 146-47.

racial segregation in America's cities and suburbs to the Veterans Administration's biased allocation of resources under the G.I. Bill and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's denial of subsidized loans and other resources to Black farmers. Examples abound. In every instance, willful neglect helped to entrench Jim Crow not only in the life of the South, but in that of the nation as well.<sup>129</sup>

## **X. Civil Rights at Last**

### **A. Sit-Ins and Direct Action**

By the late 1950s, most white southerners understood that the world they had built over the last half century would not last forever, but they were determined to preserve it as long as they could. They had reason to be confident and optimistic. The *Brown* decision had not integrated public schools, Martin Luther King Jr.'s Montgomery movement had accomplished little more than the desegregation of city buses, and despite increases in voter registration, Black political power was still negligible. On top of that, most whites outside the South were content with the racial status quo.

Then a civil insurrection broke out. The uprising drew strength from Black moral anger and frustration with white recalcitrance, and it was given form and direction by years of preparation and social learning in Black communities across the South. Clear in hindsight, but less so at the time, the signal event took place on February 1, 1960, when four students at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina – Ezell Blair Jr., David Richmond, Franklin McCain, and Joseph McNeil – demanded service at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro. Sit-ins quickly spread across the state and throughout the South. Two months later, college students, Black and white, gathered at Shaw University in Raleigh – North Carolina's oldest Black institution of higher learning – to organize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).<sup>130</sup>

Inspired by North Carolina native and Shaw graduate Ella Baker, SNCC embraced a grass-roots strategy for mobilizing ordinary citizens as leaders in the struggle for civil rights. Volunteers from every corner of the nation fanned out across the South to register voters, to build alternative schools for Black children, and to press for the desegregation of public facilities. Other civil rights organizations – including King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the NAACP – adopted similar strategies of direct action. What these groups set in motion was a second Reconstruction in which Black people reached up not to receive but to seize their freedom.<sup>131</sup>

In the years between 1960 and 1965, Black protests forced issues of race and democracy to the center of national attention. As in the first Reconstruction, whites responded with state-sanctioned and extra-legal violence, which were not always distinguishable. The stories that filled columns of newsprint and the images that flooded television screens have become iconic: the fire-bombing and brutal beating of Freedom Riders; the assassination of Medgar Evers; the death of four little girls in the Klan bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham; the exhumation of the bodies of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, CORE organizers murdered by Klansmen and law officers in Neshoba County, Mississippi; and the police attack on protestors attempting to cross Selma's Edmund Pettis Bridge. These and other outrages

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid. See also Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, and Daniel, *Dispossession*.

<sup>130</sup> Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 98-141.

<sup>131</sup> Hogan, *Many Minds One Heart*.

ultimately swayed public opinion and shamed majorities in Congress to pass the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

## B. A Second Emancipation


Each state has its own history of dealing with the moral and civic crisis brought on by the mass mobilization for democratic rights and equal citizenship. Though it had the largest Klan organization in the South, North Carolina did not experience the widespread violence that beset the Deep South. In large part, that was because of a critical gubernatorial election in 1960, won by moderate Democrat Terry Sanford. Throughout his administration, Sanford, a protégé of Frank Graham, preached a message of opportunity for all and used the police power of the state to surveil and restrain the Klan.<sup>132</sup>

Sanford won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in a bitter primary contest with former Assistant Attorney General I. Beverly Lake Sr., a respected jurist who had taught law at Wake Forest College and was widely admired for his defense of Jim Crow. After his appearance before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown II*, Lake had proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would have made desegregation a moot issue by removing the Reconstruction-era mandate for publicly funded schools. In his campaign for governor, Lake assured supporters that "The PRINCIPLES for which we fight are ETERNAL!"<sup>133</sup>

IF YOU REALLY KNOW ...

# Dr. BEVERLY LAKE

YOU'LL VOTE FOR HIM ON MAY 28



**This Is The Man  
North Carolina  
Needs As Her  
Governor**

He Is "The Man Who Lets You Know  
Where HE Stands"

**AGRICULTURE BASIC TO ECONOMY**  
Dr. Lake supports the work of our Federal, State and Local agricultural leaders.  
"I shall seek the advice of farm organizations and the Department of Agriculture."  
"The problem of the small farmer is the most crucial issue facing North Carolina agriculture and we must work to help the small farmer because he is the backbone of our economy."

**I. BEVERLY LAKE**  
**BALANCED BUDGET NECESSARY—**  
Dr. Lake favors a balanced State budget; he is opposed to deficit State spending; and is strongly against raising our already burdensome taxes for desirable but non-essential improvements.  
Dr. Lake proposes a "Policy of spending for current operating expenses no more than can be produced by our tax laws not unduly burdensome".

**SCHOOL INTEGRATION OPPOSED—**  
Dr. Lake is opposed to the mixing of white and Negro children in the schools in North Carolina.  
"The mixing of our two great races in the classroom and then in the home is not inevitable and is not to be tolerated."

**COURT AND HIGHWAY CHANGES NEEDED—**  
Dr. Lake favors certain reforms in our court system directed toward a uniform, more efficient and less costly system of justice for our people.  
"Dr. Lake favors election of all judges, Prosecutors and Justices of Peace, by the people and is against proposals which would eliminate this plan."  
"I favor a highway commission of fifteen members, one appointed from each of the 14 engineering divisions."

Political Adv Paid for by Perquimans Lake For Governor Committee

"The PRINCIPLES  
for which we fight  
are ETERNAL!"  
I. Beverly Lake

"The mixing of our two great races in the classroom and then in the home is not inevitable and is not to be tolerated."

I. Beverly Lake campaign ad, *Perquimans Weekly*, May 27, 1960, and campaign card. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>132</sup> Covington, *Terry Sanford*, 342-43. Klan membership in North Carolina exceeded that of Alabama and Mississippi combined. See Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.*

<sup>133</sup> "N.C. Bar Association Award Carries Legacy of Explicit Racism," *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 28, 2016.

Sanford was a different breed of politician. He belonged to the generation who had fought in World War II and had seen horrifying reflections of American racism in German concentration camps and in the concepts of common blood and ethnic nationalism that shaped Japan's imperial project in Asia. Veterans like Sanford came home full of confidence in their ability to make the world a better place, and they were convinced that the South had to change – as a matter of what was just and right, and as an economic imperative if the region was to lift itself out of the misery that had long defined it as the most impoverished section of the nation.<sup>134</sup>

When Lake challenged his allegiance to Jim Crow, Sanford refused to be race baited. He pivoted to the "bright look of the future" and invited voters to join him in building for a "New Day" in North Carolina. That required improving public schools, not excising them from the state constitution. "We are going to continue to go forward," Sanford declared, "to give our children a better chance, to build a better state through better schools." That appeal was persuasive and reassuring. Sanford bested Lake and went on to win the general election.<sup>135</sup>

Soon after taking office, Sanford embarked on a tour of schools across the state. When he visited students – particularly at Black schools – he began to question his faith in education as a corrective for the damage wrought by Jim Crow. "I had a sickening feeling," he later recalled, "that I was talking about opportunities that I knew, and I feared [the children] knew, didn't exist, no matter how hard they might work in school." The "improvement of schools wasn't enough," he concluded. "Not nearly enough."<sup>136</sup>

By his own account, the governor was learning hard lessons – from school-aged children and from their older siblings who filled the streets with urgent demands for equal rights. He began to comprehend the connections between poverty and racial injustice that tobacco workers in Winston-Salem had exposed in the 1940s, that the biracial Fusion alliance had grasped during the 1890s, and that Black and white Republicans had identified as a central concern of Reconstruction. "We must move forward as one people or we will not move forward at all," Sanford told Black college students in Greensboro. "We cannot move forward as whites or Negroes . . . We can only move forward as North Carolinians."<sup>137</sup>

Sanford's words were a direct refutation of the foundational principle of Jim Crow, which Charles Aycock had explained in 1901 to an audience at the Negro State Fair in Raleigh. "It is absolutely necessary that each race should remain distinct," he said, "and have a society of its own. . . . The law which separates you from the white people of the State . . . always has been and always will be inexorable."<sup>138</sup>

In the winter of 1962-63, as the nation marked the centenary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Sanford shared a "bold dream for the future." He startled white educators at a meeting in Dallas, Texas when he declared, "We need our own . . . emancipation proclamation which will set us free to grow and build, set us free . . . from hate, from demagoguery." Back home, he urged members of the North Carolina Press Association to join him in a campaign to make good on the unfulfilled promise of freedom and equality. "We can do this," Sanford declared.

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<sup>134</sup> See Covington, *Terry Sanford*, chapt. 5.

<sup>135</sup> Drescher, *Triumph of Good Will*, 67, 171, and 175.

<sup>136</sup> Manuscript containing notes for an abandoned book on Terry Sanford's term as governor, subseries 3.1, box 174, Records and Papers of Terry Sanford.

<sup>137</sup> "Fraternity's Award Goes to Sanford," *Greensboro Daily News*, April 28, 1963.

<sup>138</sup> "A Message to the Negro," in Connor and Poe, eds., *Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock*, 249-50.

"We should do this. We will do it because we are concerned with the problems and the welfare of our neighbors. We will do it because our economy cannot afford to have so many people fully and partially unproductive. We will do it because it is honest and fair for us to give all men and women their best chance in life."<sup>139</sup>

As he spoke to the journalists, and through them the citizens of North Carolina, Sanford must have been mindful of another southern governor who had been in the headlines just days before. In his inaugural address, delivered from the steps of the state capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, George C. Wallace exclaimed, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."<sup>140</sup>

### C. Lifting the Economic Burden of Jim Crow

Six months later, Sanford called on his friends in the press once again, this time to publicize the launch the North Carolina Fund, a non-governmental organization that would use private resources – from the Ford Foundation and North Carolina's own Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundations – to attack the state's "poverty-segregation complex." That plan was audacious. Nearly 40 percent of North Carolinians lived below the poverty line, and in eastern counties where slavery and later sharecropping dominated the economy, Black poverty was so deep and pervasive that outsiders referred to the region as "North Carolina's 'little Mississippi.'" As the Fund took on this challenge, it became a model for the national war on poverty, which President Lyndon Johnson and Congress launched with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the establishment of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, and the expansion of multiple programs that sought to educate, feed, clothe, and house the poor. In subsequent years, the Fund was an important conduit for millions of dollars in federal aid that flowed into North Carolina.<sup>141</sup>

From the beginning, the Fund modeled a future built on equal citizenship. Its staff and board of directors were remarkable for the number of women and Blacks who served in leadership roles, and its headquarters was located in Durham's Black business district, an intentional sign of the organization's guiding principles. The Fund also adopted the direct-action techniques of the civil rights movement. Its community partners led boycotts of businesses that refused to hire Black workers, staged rent strikes to demand that landlords repair sub-standard housing, registered voters, and taught poor people how to pressure politicians and government officials for a fair share of social provision: more and better public housing; job training; paved streets, clean water, and sewer lines for neighborhoods that had been denied those services on account of race; and low-interest mortgages and community development grants from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and other federal agencies.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Address to the Commission on Secondary Schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Dallas, Texas, November 28, 1962, in Mitchell, ed., *Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Terry Sanford*, 302; "Observations for a Second Century," subseries 3.1, box 174, Records and Papers of Terry Sanford; and film of Sanford's address to the North Carolina Press Association, series 6.2, VT3531/1a, Terry Sanford Papers.

<sup>140</sup> On Wallace's gubernatorial inauguration, see Carter, *Politics of Rage*, 104-9.

<sup>141</sup> Untitled document on the Choanoke Area Development Association, series 4.11, folder 4825, North Carolina Fund Papers, and John Salter to Jim Dombrowski, April 28, 1964, folder 22, Gray (Salter) Papers. On conditions of poverty in North Carolina and the North Carolina Fund's relationship to the national war on poverty, see Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 57-59, and 115-19.

<sup>142</sup> For a detailed account of the North Carolina Fund's antipoverty work, see Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, chaps. 3-5.

Through these efforts, the Fund attempted to create an interracial movement of the poor, but it had only limited success. By time the organization closed its doors in 1968, national politics had begun to take a sharp conservative turn. For many whites, civil rights victories amplified Jim Crow dogma, which insisted that Blacks could advance only at white expense.

Fund staff often pointed to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina as evidence of that tragic worldview. For more than half a century, Jim Crow had all but quashed the possibility of interracial cooperation and one-party government had denied poor and working-class whites a say in politics. Similarly, fierce antiunionism, defended by lawmakers and employers as a means of protecting white jobs, left working-class whites without a collective voice. Throughout the 20th century, North Carolina was one of the least unionized states in the nation and ranked near the bottom for manufacturing wages. These circumstances, in ways that echoed the past, made it easy for firebrands to channel economic grievances into racial animosity.<sup>143</sup>

#### **D. Rise of a New Republican Party**

The North Carolina Fund – and more particularly, the challenge it posed to the economic and political structures of Jim Crow – became the social irritant around which a new conservative movement took shape. Republican Congressman James C. Gardner, who represented eastern North Carolina's Fourth District, pointed the way. His election in 1966 marked the beginning of a party realignment that over the next two decades profoundly altered the state's political landscape.

In the summer of 1967, Gardner launched a public assault on the North Carolina Fund. He charged that it had become "a political action machine" and called for an investigation of its "meddling in the affairs of local communities." Gardner also played on racial fears that dated back to the era of Reconstruction and the white supremacy politics of the late 1890s. In a press release, he shared reports from eastern North Carolina that Fund staff were promoting "'revolutionary . . . attitudes'" by speaking openly of the need for a "coalition . . . between poor whites and Negroes to give political power to the disadvantaged."<sup>144</sup>

A subsequent audit by federal authorities cleared the Fund of any wrongdoing, but Gardner had achieved his purpose. He positioned himself on the national stage as a leading critic of social welfare programs, and he made the war on poverty and its connections to Black political participation a wedge issue that could draw disaffected white Democrats into an insurgent Republican movement.

Republican Party elders in North Carolina recognized the promise of Gardner's leadership and the shrewdness of his strategy. They had named him party chairman a year before his congressional bid. Sim A. DeLapp, the party's general counsel and himself a former chairman, wrote to encourage Gardner. "From the standpoint of voter sentiment," he advised, "we are in the best shape that we have ever been [in] during my lifetime. People are permanently angry at the so-called Democratic Party. . . . They are mad because [Lyndon] Johnson has become the President of the negro race and of all the left wingers." I. Beverly Lake Sr., who was now a Justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court, expressed the depth of white anger. "The apostles of appeasement . . .

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<sup>143</sup> See Salter, "The Economically Deprived Southern White," box 2, folder 7, Gray (Salter) Papers. David Cunningham makes a similar argument in *Klansville, U.S.A.*

<sup>144</sup> Gardner press release, July 25, 1967, series 1.2.2, folder 318, North Carolina Fund Records. For more on Gardner's criticisms of the Fund, see Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 290-306.

must be removed from positions of public trust," he advised Gardner. "We must clean up the whole foul mess and fumigate the premises."<sup>145</sup>

In 1968, Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon tapped this racial animosity to flip the once solidly Democratic South. He secured an endorsement from Strom Thurmond, U.S. Senator from South Carolina, who had led the 1948 Dixiecrat revolt in defense of states' rights and had left the Democratic Party in 1964 to become a Republican. Nixon also cast his campaign in racially coded language. He offered himself as a spokesman for the "great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans, the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators" who played by the rules, worked hard, saved, and paid their taxes. This strategy won Nixon the keys to the White House and marked the beginning of the Republican Party's new reliance on the white South as a base of support.<sup>146</sup>

Four years later, Nixon made a clean sweep of the region by winning the states that third-party segregationist candidate George Wallace carried in 1968: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. This was the "white uprising" predicted by one of Congressman Gardner's constituents. Like her, most of the white voters who turned out for Nixon in North Carolina were still registered as Democrats, but they elected James E. Holshouser Jr. governor – the first Republican to win the office since Fusion candidate Daniel Russell in 1896 – and sent Jesse Helms to the U.S. Senate. Helms, who served for six terms, quickly rose to prominence as a national leader of what came to be called the New Right.<sup>147</sup>

### **E. Conservative Democrats Hold the Line on Black Voting Rights**

Conservatives in the state Democratic Party held on through the 1970s and fought a rear-guard battle against civil rights advocates who used the courts to challenge suppression of the Black vote. In late 1965, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina ruled that the system for apportioning seats in both houses of the state legislature on the basis of geography rather than population violated the principle of "one man, one vote." That standard, derived from the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause, holds that all votes cast in an election should carry roughly equal weight.<sup>148</sup>

The state constitution guaranteed each of North Carolina's one hundred counties a seat in the state House of Representatives. That privileged small rural counties, where whites were most firmly in control, and diluted Black votes in urban areas. The largest legislative district had nearly twenty times more residents than the smallest. That meant that a majority in the House "could be assembled from members who represented only 27.09 percent of the state's population." The state Senate was apportioned more evenly. The constitution required that Senate districts contain equal populations, though a separate provision that no county was to be divided created some imbalance. The largest Senate districts had nearly three times more residents than the smallest. The court

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<sup>145</sup> DeLapp to James Gardner, September 1, 1965, box 9, DeLapp Papers, and Lake to Gardner, August 5, 1967, box 23, Gardner Papers.

<sup>146</sup> Perlstein, *Nixonland*, 283-85, and Nixon, Nomination Acceptance Address, August 8, 1968, <<http://bit.ly/2HPCoel>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Quotation from Doris Overman to Gardner, undated, box 14, Gardner Papers.

<sup>148</sup> *Drum v. Seawell*, 249 F. Supp. 877 (M.D.N.C. 1965).

ordered that both chambers be redistricted immediately, and that the populations of the largest new districts not exceed those of the smallest by more than a factor of 1.3.<sup>149</sup>

Lawmakers convened in special session in 1966 to draw new district maps. They reduced population ratios as directed by the court but did so by creating a large number of multimember districts – fifteen of thirty-three in the Senate, which previously had thirty-six districts, eleven of which were multimember; and forty-one of forty-nine in the House, which previously had one hundred districts, twelve of which were multimember. Initially, seats in all of the multimember districts were to be filled through at-large elections. This was a familiar means of disadvantaging Black candidates. Lawmakers had used it effectively in the 1950s when they changed county and municipal governments from ward to at-large systems of representation.<sup>150</sup>

In 1967, lawmakers did two things that further walled off the General Assembly. First, they approved a constitutional amendment, ratified by voters in the next election, that required that counties be kept whole in the creation of state House as well as Senate districts. This effectively made multimember districts a permanent feature of legislative apportionment, since it was mathematically difficult to base house and senate seats on equal measures of population without resorting to such a solution.<sup>151</sup>

Second, lawmakers added a numbered-seat plan in twenty of the forty-one multimember House districts and three of the fifteen multimember districts in the Senate. Taken together, these districts covered nearly all of the heavily Black counties in the eastern section of the state. The apportionment law directed that in multimember districts each seat would be treated as a separate office. When citizens went to the polls, they would no longer vote for a set number of candidates out of a larger field of contenders – for instance, three out of five. Instead, their ballots would list separate races within the district, and they would vote for only one candidate in each race.<sup>152</sup> This enabled election officials to place individual minority candidates in direct, one-to-one competition with the strongest white candidates.

Proponents explained that the numbered-seat scheme was designed to "cure the problem of 'single-shot' voting," which was still legal in legislative elections. With conservative Democrats' critique of Black bloc voting clearly in mind, one lawmaker explained that in a numbered-seat election, "you are running against a man and not a group." Another added that numbered seats all but guaranteed "that no Negro could be elected to the General Assembly." The numbered-seat plan was, indeed, so effective that in 1971 the General Assembly had only two Black members: Henry E. Frye, a lawyer from Guilford County, who was elected to his first term in 1968 through a single-shot campaign, and Joy J. Johnson, a minister from Robeson County, who ran in one of the few eastern districts without numbered seats. Frye was the first Black lawmaker to serve in the General Assembly since 1898.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., and O'Connor, "Reapportionment and Redistricting," 32-33.

<sup>150</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Extra Session, 1966*, chaps. 1 and 5, and *Session Laws of the State of North Carolina, Regular Session, 1965*, 9–11.

<sup>151</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Regular Session, 1967*, chap. 640.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., chap. 106.

<sup>153</sup> "Seat Numbering Bill Produced Hot Debate," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 8, 1967; "Senate Endorses 'Numbered Seats,'" *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 30, 1967; "Numbered Seat Bill Advances," *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 22, 1967; "Numbered Seats Measure Given House Approval," *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 13,

Conservative Democrats attempted to expand the scope of the numbered-seat plan in 1971. They reapportioned the state House to have forty-five districts. Thirty-five were multimember, and of those, twenty-three had numbered seats. In the Senate, there were twenty-seven districts. Eighteen were multimember, and within that group, eleven districts had numbered seats. Had these changes been implemented, the numbered-seat plan would have covered all North Carolina counties with populations that were 30 percent or more Black. But the U.S. Department of Justice blocked the move. It did so under authority of section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which stipulated that in affected jurisdictions, changes to voting and representation had to be precleared by either the U.S. Attorney General or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to ensure that they would not discriminate against protected minorities. In 1972, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina affirmed the Justice Department's decision. Ruling in *Dunston v. Scott*, the court struck down both the numbered-seat plan and the anti-single-shot laws that regulated elections in certain counties and municipalities. A three-judge panel concluded that "selective and arbitrary application" of both provisions "in some districts and not in others, denies to the voters of North Carolina the equal protection of the laws and is unconstitutional."<sup>154</sup>

Though not a basis for their decision, the judges also suggested that the single-shot prohibition violated the U.S. Constitution by constraining voters' choice in use of the ballot. They wrote, "We are inclined to believe that the right to vote includes the right of the voter to refuse to vote for someone he does not know, may not agree with, or may believe to be a fool, and under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, we doubt that the state may constitutionally compel a voter to vote for a candidate of another race or political philosophy in order to get his vote counted."<sup>155</sup>

In subsequent elections, Black representation in the General Assembly grew from two members in 1970 to a high of six in both 1974 and 1976. The number then fell back to five in 1978 and to four in 1980. Numbered seats or not, Black candidates were still hard-pressed to win in multimember districts.<sup>156</sup>

## **XI. Judicial Intervention and Battles Over a More Inclusive Democracy**

### **A. *Gingles v. Edmisten* and Black Electoral Gains**

In 1981, four Black voters filed suit in *Gingles v. Edmisten* to challenge the legislative redistricting plan that the General Assembly had crafted after the 1980 Census and the 1968 constitutional provision that counties not be divided when apportioning state House and Senate seats. Lawmakers had not submitted the plan or the amendment for preclearance by the U.S. Department of Justice; when they did so after the plaintiffs' filing, both were denied approval.<sup>157</sup>

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1967; Towe, *Barriers to Black Political Participation*, 28; *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*; "The Negro Vote," *Greensboro Daily News*, November 11, 1968; and "Failure of Singleshot Ban May Strengthen Black Vote," *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 17, 1972.

<sup>154</sup> *Session Laws and Resolutions, State of North Carolina, Regular Session, 1971*, chaps. 483, 1177, 1234, and 1237; Towe, *Barriers to Black Political Participation*, 61–62; Manderson, "Review of the Patterns and Practices of Racial Discrimination," 31; Watson, "North Carolina Redistricting Process, 1965–1966," 8; and *Dunston v. Scott*, 336 F. Supp. 206 (E.D.N.C. 1972).

<sup>155</sup> *Dunston v. Scott*, 336 F. Supp. 206 (E.D.N.C. 1972).

<sup>156</sup> "North Carolina African-American Legislators, 1969–2019," <<http://bit.ly/38KWF0u>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>157</sup> Keech and Siström, "Implementation of the Voting Rights Act in North Carolina," 14.

Lawmakers reacted quickly by drafting a new plan that included five majority-Black House districts and one majority-Black Senate district. The creation of those districts aided the election of eight new Black members of the House, raising the total from three to eleven. As the court later noted, however, the legislature's change of heart was in some measure cynical. "The pendency of this very legislation," the court observed, "worked a one-time advantage for Black candidates in the form of unusual organized political support by white leaders concerned to forestall single-member districting." The U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina ruled for the plaintiffs in April 1984. Acting in an extra session, the General Assembly subsequently divided a number of multimember districts into new single-member districts that improved the prospects of Black candidates. In November balloting, two additional Black lawmakers were elected to the General Assembly, bringing the total to thirteen.<sup>158</sup>

By 1989, nineteen Black lawmakers served in the General Assembly, more than were elected during either Reconstruction or the Fusion era. Two years later, members elected state Representative Dan Blue Speaker of the House, at that time the highest state office held by a Black politician in North Carolina. Blacks also made substantial gains at the local level, largely as a result of legal challenges to at-large elections and multimember districts that followed the *Gingles* decision. At the end of the decade, more than four hundred Black elected officials served in county and municipal governments across the state.<sup>159</sup>

Growing Black political influence was also evident in 1991, when the General Assembly redrew North Carolina's congressional districts on the basis of the 1990 census. Under pressure from the U.S. Department of Justice and Black leaders in the Democratic Party, legislators created two districts with slim Black majorities. They explained that had they not done so, the state would have been vulnerable to legal challenge for violating the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The issue was dilution of the Black vote. In most parts of the state, the geographical scope of congressional districts submerged Black voters in sizable white majorities. Statewide, whites also had a long, well-documented history of refusing to support Black candidates. As a result, it was difficult for Black voters to make their voices heard in federal elections. To remedy this marginalization, lawmakers created a new First Congressional District in the heavily Black northeastern corner of the state and a new Twelfth District that snaked along a narrow, 160-mile path from Durham to Charlotte. In 1992, voters in these districts elected Eva Clayton and Mel Watt, the first Black North Carolinians to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives since George Henry White, who ended his second term in 1901.<sup>160</sup>

### **B. Jesse Helms and Racial Polarization**

By the mid-1980s, North Carolina once again had a tightly contested two-party political system. A visitor from a similar time a century before would have been confounded by the way that party labels had flipped. Democrats now resembled the party of Lincoln, and Republicans looked like Democrats of old. But the visitor would easily have recognized the competing social visions the parties offered voters. One party stressed the importance of balancing individual rights

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14, and *Gingles v. Edmisten*, 590 F. Supp. 345 (1984).

<sup>159</sup> Earls, Wynes, and Quattrucci, "Voting Rights in North Carolina," 581; "Two Blacks Join N.C.'s U.S. House Delegation," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 4, 1992; and Keech and Sistrom, "Implementation of the Voting Rights Act in North Carolina," 14-17.

<sup>160</sup> Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, 243-76.

against social responsibility, contended that government had an indispensable role to play in promoting the general welfare, and viewed the prerogatives of citizenship as the birthright of every American. The other party was wary of government infringement on personal choice and thought of equal citizenship as a privilege to be earned rather than an entitlement. In a society that for most of its history had stood on a foundation of slavery and Jim Crow, contests over these competing ideals were centered, more often than not, on the question of racial equality. Conservatives – whatever their party label – took a narrow view on that issue, partly out of racial animus but also because they understood that Black enfranchisement led to progressive social policies.

This was at no time more obvious than in 1984 and 1990, when U.S. Senator Jesse Helms faced two Democratic challengers: Governor James B. (Jim) Hunt Jr. in the first contest, and, in the second, former Charlotte mayor Harvey B. Gantt.

After his first-term election in 1972, Helms had quickly established himself as a leading spokesman of the new Republican Party that was ascendant in North Carolina and across the nation. He did so by holding true to what I. Beverly Lake Sr. had described as the "eternal principles" of white southern conservatism. Helms championed individualism and free enterprise; he opposed labor unions and attributed inequality to the values and behaviors of people who lived on society's margins; and he characterized social welfare programs as instruments of theft that rewarded the takers rather than the makers of wealth. "A lot of human beings have been born bums," Helms famously declared at the height of the civil rights movement and war on poverty. "Most of them – until fairly recently – were kept from behaving like bums because work was necessary for all who wished to eat. The more we remove penalties for being a bum, the more bumism is going to blossom."<sup>161</sup>

Helms had a talent for capturing the anger of white Americans who felt aggrieved by their fellow citizens' demands for rights and respect. He was also an innovative campaigner. His North Carolina Congressional Club, founded in 1978, was a fund-raising juggernaut that pioneered targeted political advertising of the sort that began with mass mailing in Helms's era and today is conducted via the internet and social media. Added to all of that, Helms was unwavering in his convictions. Supporters and adversaries alike knew him as "Senator No." He was, in the words of one sympathetic biographer, "an uncompromising ideologue."<sup>162</sup>

Jim Hunt, Helms's opponent in 1984, was cut from different cloth. Born in 1937, he belonged to a new generation of Democrats whose politics had been shaped by the progressive currents of the post–World War II era. Hunt followed in the footsteps of his parents, who had been devout New Dealers and supporters of Frank Graham. In 1960, while studying at North Carolina State University, he managed Terry Sanford's gubernatorial campaign on campuses statewide. As Sanford's protégé, he also learned to appreciate the ways that Jim Crow blighted North Carolina with illiteracy, hunger, sickness, and want. During two terms as governor – from 1977 to 1985 – Hunt put those lessons to work. He established a reputation as one of the South's most progressive leaders by persuading lawmakers to appropriate \$281 million in new spending on public education. He also recruited high-wage industries to shift North Carolina away from its traditional cheap-

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<sup>161</sup> Viewpoint, December 5, 1966, Jesse Helms Viewpoint editorial transcripts.

<sup>162</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 9 and 144–46.

labor economy, appointed former Chapel Hill mayor Howard Lee as the first Black cabinet secretary in state history, and named pioneering Black lawmaker Henry Frye to the North Carolina Supreme Court.<sup>163</sup>

As Hunt began his campaign to unseat Senator Helms in the 1984 election, he had reason to expect victory. Polls conducted in early 1983 showed him leading Helms by more than twenty percentage points. Hunt enjoyed particularly enthusiastic support among low-income whites earning less than \$15,000 a year. They preferred him over Helms by a margin of 64 to 21 percent. That was a testament to the popularity of Hunt's policies on education and economic development.<sup>164</sup>

Events later in the year warned how quickly that lead could be undone. In early October, Helms led a four-day filibuster against legislation that eventually created a national Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. He revived a line of attack on King that he had honed during the 1960s as a nightly editorialist on Raleigh's WRAL-TV. King, he charged, was a communist revolutionary, not a peacemaker, and his actions and ideals were "not compatible with the concepts of this country." When President Ronald Reagan signed the King holiday bill into law a month later, many in the press reported a humiliating defeat for Helms. But the senator knew his audience back home. Even negative headlines helped him solidify his image as an uncompromising defender of conservative values. The effectiveness of that ploy showed in the polls. At the beginning of the race, Hunt had led Helms by 30 percentage points in counties where Blacks made up less than 10 percent of the population and whites were inclined to worry more about economic opportunities than civil rights. In the months after the filibuster, that deficit turned into a ten-point lead for Helms.<sup>165</sup>

As one senior adviser acknowledged, the Helms campaign knew that they "couldn't beat Jim Hunt on issues," so they came out guns blazing on race. The campaign ran thousands of newspaper and radio ads that linked Hunt to the threat of a "bloc vote" being organized by Black Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and other civil rights leaders. One print ad showed Hunt and Jackson sitting together in the governor's residence and warned, "Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. wants the State Board of Elections to boost minority voter registration in North Carolina. . . . Ask yourself: Is this a proper use of taxpayer funds?"<sup>166</sup>

As a means of courting evangelical Christian voters, Helms and his allies focused similar attacks on the emerging gay rights movement. The *Landmark*, a right-wing paper supported largely by advertising income from the Helms campaign, charged that Hunt was a closeted homosexual and had accepted contributions from "faggots, perverts, [and] sexual deviates." In a move reminiscent of the 1950 contest between Frank Graham and Willis Smith, Helms distanced himself from the specifics of those charges but reminded voters at every turn that his enemies were "the atheists, the homosexuals, the militant women's groups, the union bosses, the bloc voters, and so on." This enemies list endeared Helms to enough North Carolinians to best Hunt with 52 percent of the vote.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Pearce, *Jim Hunt*, 11–41, 145–46.

<sup>164</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 268, and Kellam, "Helms, Hunt, and Whiteness," 53.

<sup>165</sup> Kellam, "Helms, Hunt, and Whiteness," 53, and Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 262–69.

<sup>166</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 274 and 284, and Goldsmith, "Thomas Farr, Jesse Helms, and the Return of the Segregationists.," <<http://bit.ly/36QLq4c>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>167</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 290–91 and 304; "Pro-Helms Newspaper Publishes Rumor That Hunt Had a Gay Lover," *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 6, 1984; and "Article Stirs New Charges in Carolina Senate Race," *New York Times*, July 7, 1984.

Six years later, race became an issue by default when Harvey Gantt won the Democratic senatorial nomination. His very presence on the ticket testified to the gains that Blacks had made in access to the ballot box and political influence. Gantt was born in 1943 in the South Carolina Lowcountry, where cotton and rice barons had built their fortunes from the labor of his enslaved forebears. His parents moved the family to Charleston when he was still an infant. There his father found a job in the city's shipyard, thanks to Roosevelt's executive order opening war industries to Black workers. Gantt grew up in public housing and was educated in the city's segregated public schools. He traced his fascination with politics to his father's membership in the NAACP and to dinner table conversations about civil rights. As a high school student, Gantt joined his local NAACP Youth Council, and in April 1960, shortly after sit-in demonstrations began in North Carolina, he led similar protests in downtown Charleston.<sup>168</sup>

When Gantt thought about college, an obvious option was to attend a historically Black institution, such as Howard University or the Tuskegee Institute. But he believed that America's future was going to be "all about" integration, so he headed off to Iowa State University, where he expected to get "an integrated education." Iowa State turned out to be as white as Howard was Black. Disappointed, Gantt returned home to create the future he longed for. He tried three times to gain admission to Clemson Agricultural College (now Clemson University) but was denied. With support from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Gantt sued, and in 1963 he won a federal court order that he be admitted as the school's first Black student. He graduated with a degree in architecture and then earned an M.A. in city planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Gantt made his way to Charlotte in 1971, opened an architectural firm, and quickly became involved in politics. He served on the city council from 1974 to 1983 and won election as mayor for two terms, from 1983 to 1987. When he challenged Helms in 1990, Gantt was the first Black Democrat in the nation's history to run for the U.S. Senate.<sup>169</sup>

Helms's campaign against Gantt echoed his attacks on Hunt. When Gantt raised issues of education, health, and the environment, Helms pointed to Gantt's financial ties to "militant homosexuals." One newspaper ad asked, why are "homosexuals buying this election?" The answer: "Because Harvey Gantt will support their demands for mandatory gay rights." At a campaign rally, Helms echoed the "White People Wake Up" warning from Willis Smith's campaign against Frank Graham. "Think about it," he said. "Homosexuals and lesbians, disgusting people marching in our streets demanding all sorts of things, including the right to marry each other. How do you like them apples?"<sup>170</sup>

Still, that only got Helms so far. In mid-October, some polls had him trailing Gantt by as many as 8 percentage points. It was time to play what one of Helms's advisers called "the race card." In the run-up to Election Day, the Helms campaign aired a television ad that played on white anxiety over Black access to desegregated workplaces. The ad showed a white man's hands crumpling a rejection letter. He wore a wedding band and presumably had a family to support. And he was dressed in a flannel shirt, not a button-down and tie. He obviously worked with those hands. The voice-over lamented, "You needed that job and you were the best qualified. But they had to give it to a minority because of a racial quota. Is that really fair? Harvey Gantt says it is. Harvey Gantt supports . . . [a] racial quota law that makes the color of your skin more important than your

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<sup>168</sup> Gantt interview, <<https://unc.live/31hWV3N>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Gantt v. Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina*, 320 F.2d 611 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1963).

<sup>170</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 375.

qualifications. You'll vote on this issue next Tuesday. For racial quotas, Harvey Gantt. Against racial quotas, Jesse Helms." The reference to quotas arose from debate over the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1990. Conservatives charged that it included such strict antidiscrimination rules that employers would feel compelled to adopt minority hiring goals in order to preempt potential lawsuits. President George H. W. Bush vetoed the law on October 22, days before the Helms ad ran on television. There was in all of this striking irony for anyone who cared to notice it. The ad attacked the very thing that Helms and his supporters sought to protect – economic privilege based on skin color.<sup>171</sup>

At the same time, the state Republican Party attempted to suppress Black voter turnout by mailing postcards to one hundred and twenty-five thousand voters in heavily Black precincts, warning recipients incorrectly that they would not be allowed to cast a ballot if they had moved within thirty days, and that if they attempted to vote, they would be subject to prosecution and imprisonment. Helms subsequently won the election with 65 percent of the white vote and 53 percent of the vote overall. When Gantt challenged him again in 1996, the results were the same.<sup>172</sup>

These battles over Helms's seat in the U.S. Senate made it clear that the political realignment that had begun in the mid-1960s was all but complete. White conservatives now identified as Republicans, and a coalition of minority voters and liberal whites constituted the Democratic Party's base. Contests between the two camps were often decided by slim margins. That was evidence of how closely divided North Carolinians were in the ways that they imagined the state's future. It also revealed the profound difference that racially prejudicial appeals could make in the outcome of elections and the character of governance.

### **C. Progressive Democrats and Expansion of the Franchise**

Despite his loss to Jesse Helms in 1984, Jim Hunt remained popular with North Carolina voters. They knew him as a reformer and modernizer who had improved the public schools and recruited new jobs that offset the loss of employment in the state's traditional manufacturing sector – textiles, tobacco, and furniture. In 1992, Hunt presented himself for an encore in the governor's office. On the campaign trail, Hunt spoke in optimistic terms. He told voters that he wanted "to change North Carolina," to "build a state that would be America's model." Hunt bested his Republican opponent, Lieutenant Governor Jim Gardner, by 10 percentage points. In 1996, he went on to win a fourth term by an even larger margin.<sup>173</sup>

Over the course of eight years, Hunt and fellow Democrats in the General Assembly built on the accomplishments of his first administration. They established Smart Start, a program that pumped \$240 million into local communities to provide preschool education and improved health care to young children; raised teacher salaries by a third and increased state spending on public education from 76 to 86 percent of the national average; launched Health Choice, a state program for uninsured children who were ineligible for Medicaid or other forms of federal assistance; and created a new Department of Juvenile Justice to address the underlying causes of youth crime.

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<sup>171</sup> Goldsmith, "Thomas Farr, Jesse Helms, and the Return of the Segregationists"; Helms, Hands ad, <<http://bit.ly/2Q5zJnr>>, September 5, 2019; and "President Vetoes Bill on Job Rights, Showdown Is Set," *New York Times*, October 23, 1990.

<sup>172</sup> Link, *Righteous Warrior*, 380; Earls, Wynes, and Quatrucci, "Voting Rights in North Carolina," 589; and Christensen, *Paradox of Tar Heel Politics*, 278.

<sup>173</sup> Pearce, *Jim Hunt*, 210, quotations at 217 and 220.

Hunt also continued to champion inclusive governance. When he left office in 2001, 22 percent of his appointees to state agencies and commissions were minorities, a figure that matched the state's demography.<sup>174</sup>

Between 1992 and 2009, Democratic lawmakers worked to sustain these achievements by expanding minority citizens' access to the franchise. Many of their reforms echoed the Fusion election law of 1895. Key legislation created an option for early voting; allowed voters who went to the wrong precinct on Election Day to cast a provisional ballot; permitted same-day registration during early voting; and created a system for preregistering sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, so that their names would be placed on the voter rolls automatically when they turned eighteen. The net effect of these reforms was a steady increase in voter participation. In 1996, North Carolina ranked forty-third among the states for voter turnout; it rose to thirty-seventh place by 2000 and to eleventh place in 2012.<sup>175</sup>

Most of the increase was driven by higher rates of Black political participation. Between 2000 and 2012, Black voter registration surged by 51.1 percent, as compared to 15.8 percent among whites. Black turnout followed apace. Between 2000 and 2008, it jumped from 41.9 to 71.5 percent. In the 2008 and 2012 elections, Blacks registered and voted at higher rates than whites for the first time in North Carolina's history. That level of participation was critically important in the 2008 presidential contest, when Barack Obama won North Carolina with a slim margin of 14,171 votes out of 4,271,125 ballots cast. He was the first Democrat running for President to carry the state since Jimmy Carter in 1976.<sup>176</sup>

#### **D. Emergence of a New Multiracial Majority**

The history of North Carolina and the South has been marked so profoundly by race that it is tempting to read the politics of the early twenty-first century solely in terms of Black and white. But there is, in fact, a new multiracial majority emerging. It bears resemblance to the biracial alliances of the Reconstruction and Fusion eras but has been shaped by the arrival of a new, rapidly expanding population of Hispanic citizens and immigrants.

Close observers of North Carolina politics noted that Hispanic voters were also "indispensable" to Obama's victory. The state's Hispanic population grew more than tenfold, from just over 75,000 to roughly 800,000, between 1990 and 2010. By 2018, that number exceeded 996,000, just shy of 10 percent of the state's total population. That expansion was driven by the economic boom of the 1990s and early 2000s, when immigrants poured into North Carolina to work jobs in pork and poultry processing, construction, building maintenance, and hospitality. By 2010, Hispanics represented 8.5 percent of the state's total population and 1.3 percent of registered voters. In a tight election, even that small number could change the outcome. North Carolina's Hispanic voters,

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 145-46 and 263-66. In 1977, Hunt appointed Howard Lee, former mayor of Chapel Hill, to serve as Secretary of the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. Seven years later, he named Henry E. Frye to the State Supreme Court, and in 1999 elevated Frye to chief justice.

<sup>175</sup> Berman, *Give Us the Ballot*, 290-91.

<sup>176</sup> For increases in Black voter registration and turnout, see *North Carolina State Conference v. McCrory*, No. 16-1468 (4th Cir. 2016), 13, and Berman, *Give Us the Ballot*, 291.

most of whom favored Democrats, cast 20,468 ballots in 2008, a figure larger than Obama's winning margin.<sup>177</sup>

Hispanic voters' influence in state politics is likely to increase dramatically in the coming decade. Today the population stands at 997,000, roughly 10 percent of the state total, and the annual growth rate, at 24.6 percent, is a third higher than in the United States overall. Moreover, nearly 40 percent of North Carolina's current Hispanic residents are children or young teenagers who – unlike many of their parents' generation – were born in this country. Under the terms of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, ratified during Reconstruction, and the Twenty-Sixth, ratified in 1971, they will be entitled to vote when they reach the age of eighteen. Taken together, these figures point to the potential for a new multiracial alliance of Hispanic, Black, and progressive white voters.<sup>178</sup>

## XII. Retrenchment

### A. Polarized Politics of Race and Ethnicity

By the early 2000s, North Carolina voters had become as racially polarized as they were at the end of the nineteenth century. Whites, by a wide margin, associated with the party that favored a restricted franchise, limited government, tax cuts, and reduced spending on education and social services. For their part, the majority of Blacks and Hispanics gave their allegiance to the party that advocated for enlarged access to the franchise, education, and healthcare; equal job opportunities; and a broad social safety net that offers protection from poverty and misfortune. National polling data on registered voters' party affiliation, collected by Gallup in 2012, tell the story:

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other	Undesignated
Republicans	89%	2%	6%	1%	1%	1%
Democrats	60%	22%	13%	2%	1%	2%

Republican and Democratic Party demographics. Newport, "Democrats Racially Diverse; Republicans Mostly White." Gallup, 2012.

In tight elections, this polarization heightened the importance of two related factors: newly enfranchised voters' access to the ballot box and the effectiveness of racial strategies for limiting turnout.<sup>179</sup>

How had this happened? As historian Carol Anderson argues, the 2008 election was the tipping point. At the national level, Barack Obama attracted a larger share of the white vote than Democrat John Kerry in 2004. He also won substantial majorities among Hispanic, Asian, youth, and women voters, along with 95 percent of Blacks. This loose coalition had gone to the polls to

<sup>177</sup> Ross, "Number of Latino Registered Voters Doubles in North Carolina," <<http://bit.ly/2I3lGID>>, September 5, 2019; "North Carolina's Hispanic Community: 2019 Snapshot," <<http://bit.ly/2SY8Rpd>>, November 29, 2020; and "Latinos in the 2016 Election: North Carolina," <<https://pewrsr.ch/2HOyFNV>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>178</sup> "North Carolina's Hispanic Community: 2019 Snapshot," <<http://bit.ly/2SY8Rpd>>, November 29, 2020, and Tippet, "Potential Voters Are Fastest-Growing Segment of N.C. Hispanic Population," <<http://bit.ly/2QRRpQh>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>179</sup> Newport, "Democrats Racially Diverse; Republicans Mostly White," <<http://bit.ly/2HOkDvH>>, September 5, 2019.

voice support for an expansive vision of government that Republicans had opposed since the days of the New Deal. They rallied to Obama's hopeful slogan, "Yes We Can," and his belief that Washington could improve people's lives with achievable reforms, such as raising the minimum wage, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, protecting the rights of labor, investing in public education, and guaranteeing universal access to affordable health care. Looking back on the election, Republican U.S. Senator Lindsey Graham identified the problem: his party was "not generating enough angry white guys to stay in business for the long term."<sup>180</sup>

An economy in crisis offered the makings of a solution. When Obama took the oath of office in January 2009, a near collapse of the banking system was threatening to plunge America and the rest of the world into a second Great Depression. North Carolina was one of the states hit hardest. Within a year, the unemployment rate soared to 10.9 percent. That caused pain in every corner of the labor market, but the situation in manufacturing and construction became particularly grim. Between 2007 and 2012, those sectors experienced job losses of 18 and 32 percent, respectively. The banking crisis had begun with the implosion of the market for subprime mortgages. As more people lost their jobs, they fell behind on payments that under the best of circumstances had strained their budgets. Between 2006 and 2014, nine million American families lost their homes; in 2008 alone, the number in North Carolina was 53,995.<sup>181</sup>

Voters grew angry, particularly at politicians they felt had let the crisis happen and now sought to fix it with bailouts for financial institutions and corporations that were ostensibly "too big to fail." That fury fueled the Tea Party revolt that erupted in 2009. The movement was overwhelmingly white, and its supporters' grievances echoed principles that had defined a century of conservative thought and politics. Tea Partiers rallied against big government; denounced the 2010 Affordable Care Act as a socialist violation of individual liberty; criticized social welfare programs as a waste of taxpayers' money; and launched a xenophobic attack on immigrants who they claimed were stealing American jobs, dealing in illicit drugs, and perpetrating violent crime. The Tea Party sprang from the grassroots, but soon many of its rallies were financed and orchestrated by Americans for Prosperity, a conservative political action group backed by billionaire brothers Charles G. and David A. Koch and a national network of wealthy donors and like-minded organizations.<sup>182</sup>

Tea Partiers channeled much of their anger through racial invective. They hailed President Obama as "primate in chief"; they donned T-shirts that demanded, "Put the White Back in White House"; and at rallies in Washington, D.C., they carried placards that exclaimed, "We came unarmed [this time]." In North Carolina, a member of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education argued against increases in school spending on grounds that costs had been inflated by what he called "Obama Bucks" – a pejorative term initially applied to food stamps but soon attached to a wide variety of federal social welfare programs. Three years later, when Charlotte hosted the Democratic National Convention, V. R. Phipps, a self-styled "patriot" from eastern North Carolina, captured headlines when he parked his truck and a trailer near delegates' downtown hotels. The trailer contained effigies of the president and state political figures, each strung up lynching-style

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<sup>180</sup> C. Anderson, *White Rage*, 138–39; 2008 Democratic Party Platform, <<http://bit.ly/2ti7IhI>>, November 29, 2020; and "As Republican Convention Emphasizes Diversity, Racial Incidents Intrude," *Washington Post*, August 29, 2012.

<sup>181</sup> Gitterman, Coclanis, and Quintero, "Recession and Recovery in North Carolina," 7, <<https://unc.live/2HSb8vw>>, September 5, 2019; Samuels, "Never-Ending Foreclosures," <<http://bit.ly/35X96mZ>>, November 29, 2020; and "N.C. Foreclosures Jumped 9% in 2008," *Triad Business Journal*, January 5, 2009.

<sup>182</sup> Mayer, "Covert Operations," <<http://bit.ly/30m6w8Z>>, November 29, 2020.

in a hangman's noose. Phipps later took his display on tour in the Midwest and up and down the East Coast.<sup>183</sup>

Republican leaders embraced white voters' anger and presented themselves as the party that would defy the Black president and his supporters. Shortly before the 2010 midterm elections, in which Republicans won control of the U.S. House of Representatives, Mitch McConnell, the Republican majority leader in the Senate, pledged to voters, "The single most important thing we want to achieve is for President Obama to be a one-term president. . . . You need to go out and help us finish the job." Writing a year later, Ron Unz, publisher of the *American Conservative*, an influential online political forum, described that racial logic in approving terms: "As whites become a smaller and smaller portion of the local population in more and more regions, they will naturally become ripe for political polarization based on appeals to their interests as whites. And if Republicans focus their campaigning on racially charged issues such as immigration and affirmative action, they will promote this polarization, gradually transforming the two national political parties into crude proxies for direct racial interests, effectively becoming the 'white party' and the 'non-white party.'" Unz predicted that since white voters constituted a majority of the national electorate, "the 'white party' – the Republicans – will end up controlling almost all political power and could enact whatever policies they desired, on both racial and non-racial issues."<sup>184</sup>

Unz's assessment read like a script for the future of North Carolina politics. Voter discontent offered Republicans an opportunity to extend their success in presidential and senatorial elections downward into campaigns for seats in the state legislature.

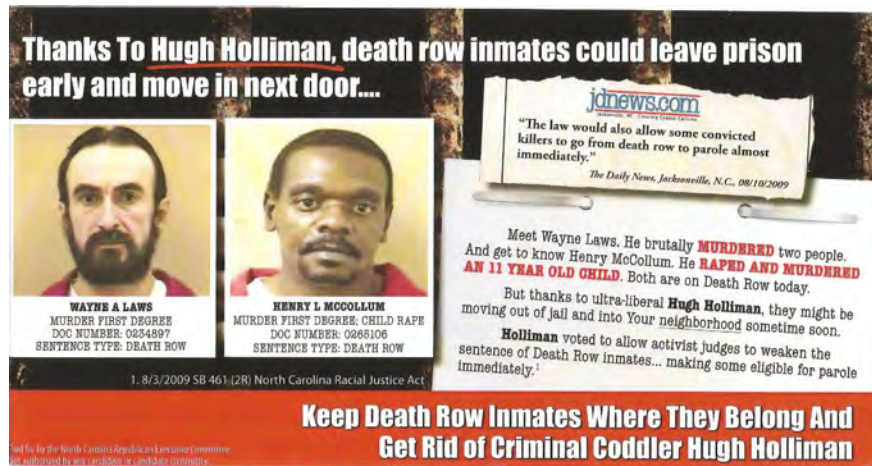
Racial appeals figured prominently in the 2010 election. Take, for example, the effort to unseat John J. Snow Jr., a state senator from western North Carolina, and L. Hugh Holliman, Democratic majority leader in the state House of Representatives. Both had voted for the 2009 Racial Justice Act, which Democrats passed after decades of effort to reform or abolish capital punishment. The law gave inmates the right to challenge imposition of the death penalty by using statistical evidence to prove that race was a factor in their sentencing. In the closing weeks of the campaign, the executive committee of the state Republican Party produced a mass mailing that attacked the law and its backers. An oversized postcard featured a photograph of Henry L. McCollum, who had been convicted of raping and killing an eleven-year-old girl. It played to the same ugly stereotypes of Black men's bestial sexuality that had been front-and-center in the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900, warning that "thanks to ultra-liberal lawmakers" like Holliman and Snow, McCollum might "be moving out of jail and into Your *neighborhood* (emphasis in the original) sometime soon." The not-so-subtle message was that recipients who cared

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<sup>183</sup> Blake, "What Black America Won't Miss about Obama," <<https://cnn.it/2tXfX2E>>, November 29, 2020; "Racial Resentment Adds to GOP Enthusiasm," <<https://on.msnbc.com/378OX1r>>, November 29, 2020; Okun, *Emperor Has No Clothes*, 151; Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, meeting minutes, September 8, 2009, <<http://bit.ly/2LQCjYX>>, September 5, 2019; "GOP Mailing Depicts Obama on Food Stamps, Not Dollar Bill," <<https://n.pr/34GHRHT>>, September 5, 2019; and "'Hanging Obama' Truck Makes Way into Charlotte," <<http://bit.ly/32sZJu4>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>184</sup> "GOP's No-Compromise Pledge," <<https://politi.co/2IyrixL>>, November 29, 2020, and Unz, "Immigration, the Republicans, and the End of White America," <<http://bit.ly/32sEyYY>>, September 5, 2019.

for their families' safety would vote to "get rid of criminal coddler[s]" and keep predators like McCollum "where they belong."<sup>185</sup>



Republicans used this postcard and a similar mailing to target Democrats Hugh Holliman and John Snow for their support of the 2009 Racial Justice Act. Courtesy of WRAL.com.

There was a double layer of tragedy in this racial appeal. Holliman, a staunch defender of the death penalty, had lost a sixteen-year-old daughter to murder decades earlier. He and many of the public found the postcard so offensive that they demanded an apology from Tom Fetzner, state chairman of the Republican Party. Fetzner obliged but also took the opportunity to criticize Holliman's vote for the racial justice law. Then, in 2014, McCollum was exonerated and released from prison. The *New York Times* reported that the case against him, "always weak, fell apart after DNA evidence implicated another man" who "lived only a block from where the victim's body was found" and "had admitted to committing a similar rape and murder around the same time."<sup>186</sup>

Conservative activists disparaged North Carolina's growing Hispanic population in comparable ways. In 2009, Jeff Mixon, legislative director in the Raleigh office of Americans for Prosperity, attacked Hispanic immigrants as deadbeats and thugs. He described North Carolina as a "magnet for illegals" who came to America to "take advantage [of a] vast array of benefits . . . from food stamps and free medical care to in-state tuition at our community colleges." He also played on historically familiar prejudices that associate dark skin with criminality. "Poor illegal aliens" deserved no sympathy, he argued, because they provided cover for "wolves among the sheep" – members of Mexican "narco gangs" who threatened to "ruin our communities."<sup>187</sup>

A year later, the executive committee of the North Carolina Republican Party played on such anti-immigrant sentiments in a mailer it distributed to support candidate Thomas O. Murray, who was running against sitting Democrat John Christopher Heagarty for the District 41

<sup>185</sup> Roth, *Great Suppression*, 96–98, and "GOP Featured McCollum in 2010 Attack Ad," <<http://bit.ly/37Sa1WG>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>186</sup> "GOP Featured McCollum in 2010 Attack Ad," <<http://bit.ly/37Sa1WG>>, September 5, 2019; Mayer, "State for Sale," <<http://bit.ly/37VMm96>>, November 29, 2020; "Flier Opens an Old Wound," *Winston-Salem Journal*, October 21, 2010; and "DNA Evidence Clears Two Men in 1983 Murder," *New York Times*, September 2, 2014.

<sup>187</sup> Mixon, "Just Look at the Results," <<http://bit.ly/32tZmj1>>, September 5, 2019; "Narco Gangs in North Carolina," <<http://bit.ly/2HNmPnq>>, September 5, 2019; and "Who Benefits from Illegal Immigration?" <<http://bit.ly/2I3fLTV>>, September 5, 2019.

House seat in the General Assembly. With a sombrero atop his head and his skin darkened by clever photo editing, "Señor" Heagarty exclaims, "Mucho taxo" – a reference to policies that Republicans charged were driving away jobs.<sup>188</sup>



Republicans produced this postcard to insinuate that Democrat Chris Heagarty's stance on tax issues was connected to the interests of Hispanic immigrants. Courtesy of *IndyWeek*.

On Election Day, Snow, Holliman, Heagarty, and fifteen of the other Democrats lost their seats, giving Republicans a majority in both houses of the state legislature. Republican lawmakers subsequently consolidated their hold on power. The timing of Republican gains in North Carolina was fortuitous. The nation's decennial census was complete, and lawmakers would now take up the job of redistricting the state.

### B. 2011 Redistricting

In 2011, Republican lawmakers redrew state legislative districts in a way that exposed the centrality of race in their strategy for extending and securing their partisan advantage. Managers of the process claimed – falsely – that in order to comply with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the General Assembly was required to create majority-minority legislative districts in equal proportion to North Carolina's Black population. They instructed an outside consultant, Republican Party strategist Thomas Hofeller, to create such districts wherever geographically possible, and to complete that task before drawing other district lines. The plan that Hofeller designed, and the General Assembly ultimately approved, included thirty-six districts – twenty-four in the House and twelve in the Senate – in which Blacks constituted more than fifty percent of the voting age adults. These districts accounted for twenty-one percent of seats in the General Assembly, a figure that matched the percentage of Blacks in the state's population.<sup>189</sup>

Republican leaders presented the redistricting plan as evidence of their commitment to civil rights, but that was a sleight of hand. The new majority-minority districts were bizarrely shaped; they sprawled across county lines, divided municipalities, and split precincts – all for the purpose

<sup>188</sup> "Anti-Heagarty Ads", <<http://bit.ly/2tmNfZ3>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>189</sup> *Covington v. the State of North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016), 2, 4-6; *Covington v. North Carolina* (M.D.N.C.) 1:15-cv-00399, 3.

of packing Black voters together as tightly as possible. These configurations dismissed "traditional race-neutral districting principles" established by the U.S. Supreme Court, including "compactness contiguity, and respect for . . . communities defined by actual shared interests." The effect was to separate many Black voters from the interracial alliances that the Democratic Party had been building since the mid 1980s. In the 2012 election, Black candidates gained seven seats in the General Assembly, but nineteen of their white allies suffered defeat.<sup>190</sup> This gave Republicans a super majority in both chambers of the legislature, which, along with the election of Republican governor Patrick L. (Pat) McCrory, sharply diminished Black North Carolinians' ability to influence public policies that mattered to their communities.<sup>191</sup>

### **B. *Shelby County v. Holder* and House Bill 589**

The severity of that setback quickly became apparent when the new Republican-controlled legislature convened. For more than a year, party leaders had been gathering information that might help them roll back Democratic reforms that had expanded access to the ballot box. As early as January 2012, a member of the Republican legislative staff had asked the State Board of Elections, "Is there any way to get a breakdown of the 2008 voter turnout, by race (white and Black) and type of vote (early and Election Day)?" A year later, a Republican lawmaker wondered, "Is there no category for 'Hispanic' voter?" Another questioned University of North Carolina officials "about the number of Student ID cards that [were] created and the percentage of those who [were] African American," and in April 2013, an aide to the Speaker of the House requested "a breakdown, by race, of those registered voters [who] do not have a driver's license number."<sup>192</sup>

Two months later, the U.S. Supreme Court gave white conservatives an opening to make wholesale changes to state elections law. In *Shelby County v. Holder*, a 5-4 majority of justices struck down Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which had required that the U.S. Department of Justice preclear changes in voting procedures in portions of North Carolina and other affected jurisdictions to ensure that they would not disadvantage protected minorities. Within hours of the ruling, Republican leaders in North Carolina announced that they planned to introduce an omnibus bill that would dramatically modify the ways that citizens registered to vote and cast their ballots.<sup>193</sup>

What eventually emerged was House Bill 589, legislation that targeted the electoral clout of the alliance of Black, Hispanic, and progressive white voters within the Democratic Party. Like

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<sup>190</sup> *North Carolina General Assembly, 149th Session 2011-2012: House of Representatives*, <https://www.ncleg.gov/DocumentSites/HouseDocuments/2011-2012%20Session/2011%20Demographics.pdf>; *North Carolina General Assembly, 150th Session 2013-2014: House of Representatives*, <https://www.ncleg.gov/DocumentSites/HouseDocuments/2013-2014%20Session/2013%20Demographics.pdf>; *North Carolina General Assembly 2011 Senate Demographics*, <https://www.ncleg.gov/DocumentSites/SenateDocuments/2011-2012%20Session/2011%20Demographics.pdf>; *North Carolina General Assembly 2013 Senate Demographics*, <https://www.ncleg.gov/DocumentSites/SenateDocuments/2013-2014%20Session/2013%20Senate%20Demographics.pdf>.

<sup>191</sup> "North Carolina Election Results 2012: McCrory Wins Governor's Race; Hudson Tops Kissell for House Seat; Romney Gets Narrow Victory," *Washington Post*, November 7, 2012, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/decision2012/north-carolina-election-results-2012-mccrory-wins-governors-race-hudson-tops-kissell-for-house-seat-romney-gets-narrow-victory/2012/11/07/201e8c1c-23a8-11e2-ac85-e669876c6a24\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/decision2012/north-carolina-election-results-2012-mccrory-wins-governors-race-hudson-tops-kissell-for-house-seat-romney-gets-narrow-victory/2012/11/07/201e8c1c-23a8-11e2-ac85-e669876c6a24_story.html).

<sup>192</sup> "Inside the Republican Creation of the Norther Carolina Voting Bill Dubbed the 'Monster' Law," *Washington Post*, September 2, 2016.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

the Act to Regulate Elections that opponents of Fusion crafted in 1899, House Bill 589 made no explicit reference to race or ethnicity; nevertheless, it threatened to limit political participation by non-white minorities. The law included a number of provisions that would have made voting harder for Black and Hispanic electors.

- House Bill 589 required that in-person voters provide one of eight approved forms of photo identification in order to cast a ballot. Blacks constituted 22 percent of North Carolina's population, but according to an analysis of State Board of Elections data by political science and election scholars Michael Herron and Daniel Smith, they represented more than a third of the registered voters who at the time did not possess the two most common forms of photo identification: a valid driver's license or a state-issued nonoperator's ID card.<sup>194</sup>
- The law also eliminated the first week of early voting, same-day registration, and straight-ticket voting. Statistics from the 2008 election in North Carolina suggested that these changes would have a disproportionately negative effect on Black voter participation. In the run-up to Election Day, 71 percent of Black voters cast their ballots early, including 23 percent who did so within the first week of the early voting period. That compared, respectively, to 51 and 14 percent of whites. Thirty-five percent of same-day voter registrants were Black, a figure 50 percent higher than what might have been predicted on the basis of population statistics, and Democrats voted straight-ticket by a two-to-one ratio over Republicans.<sup>195</sup>
- House Bill 589 targeted young future voters in similar fashion. It ended a program that permitted sixteen and seventeen-year-olds to pre-register at their high schools and other public sites. That opportunity had been particularly popular among Black teenagers. Blacks constituted 27 percent of the pool of pre-registered youth, once again a figure that was significantly higher than Black representation in the general population.<sup>196</sup>

Many observers at the time noted this potentially disproportionate effect on Black electors, but most missed something equally important. The elimination of pre-registration for sixteen and seventeen-year-olds was remarkably forward looking: it stood to diminish the impact of rapid growth in the number of Hispanic voters – growth that observers identified as the "future of Progressive strength in America."<sup>197</sup>

A report from the University of North Carolina's Population Center explained the details. In 2012, as illustrated in the graph below, most of the state's Hispanic residents were non-citizens and only one if four was eligible to vote, but just over the horizon, Republicans faced a large population of young Hispanics who had been born in the United States, who would soon cast a ballot, and data showed were inclined to support Democrats. Of the

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<sup>194</sup> Herron and Smith, "Race, *Shelby County*, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina," 497.

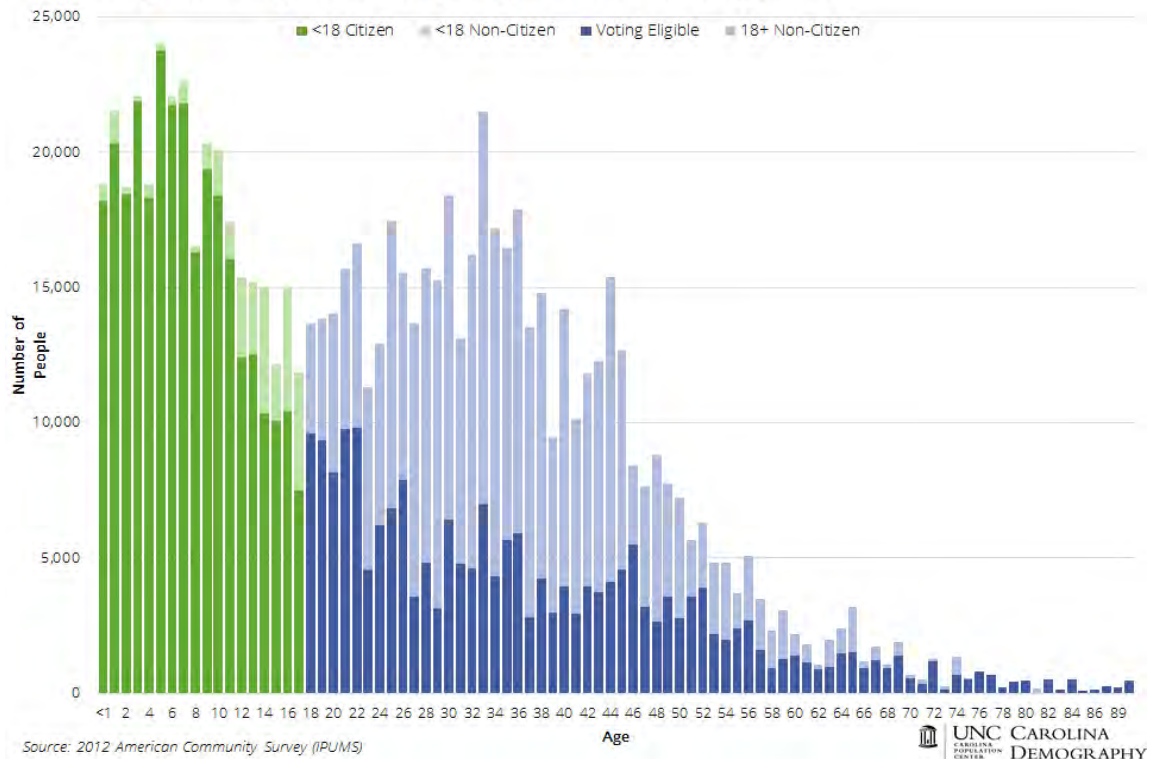
<sup>195</sup> and Heberling and Greene, "Conditional Party Teams," 117.

<sup>196</sup> Herron and Smith, "Race, *Shelby County*, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina," 505.

<sup>197</sup> Broockman and Roeder, "Hispanics Are the Future of Progressive Strength in America, New Organizing Institute, <<http://bit.ly/2HPJ3Fn>>, September 5, 2019; "Republicans Have a Major Demographic Problem, and It's Only Going to Get Worse," *Washington Post*, April 22, 2014; "The South is Solidly Republican Right Now; It Might Not Be that Way in 10 Years," *Washington Post*, April 29, 2014; and "Immigration is Changing the Political Landscape in Key States," <<http://ampr.gs/32wwPsW>>, September 5, 2019.

Hispanics who had or would turn eighteen between 2012 and 2015, 72 percent were citizens. That figure rose to 84 percent of those who would turn eighteen between 2015 and 2019, and to 98 percent of those who would do so between 2020 and 2030. For Republicans politically, there was little to be gained and much to be risked by pre-registering these future voters.<sup>198</sup>

### NC Hispanic Population by Age & Citizenship, 2012



Blue bars represent voting-age Hispanics, with dark shading for citizens and light shading for non-citizens. Green bars represent Hispanics under age eighteen, again with dark shading for citizens and light shading for non-citizens. Courtesy of Carolina Demography, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

- Finally, House Bill 589 changed the rules for challenging voters' eligibility to cast a ballot and, by doing so, heightened the potential for intimidation. Three revisions were important in this regard. First, residents throughout the state were now allowed to inspect and challenge registration records in any of North Carolina's one hundred counties. In the past, challengers were permitted to act only in the counties in which they resided. Second, residents of a county were permitted to challenge voters' eligibility to cast a ballot at polling sites countywide, not just in the precincts where they themselves were registered. Third, the chair of each political party in a county were permitted to appoint ten at-large observers to monitor voting at any polling place they believed warranted close supervision. These poll watchers would be appointed in addition to the election judges assigned to specific voting sites.

<sup>198</sup> Tippet, "North Carolina Hispanics and the Electorate," <<http://bit.ly/2UDvIVC>>, September 5, 2019.

Worry that these provisions would encourage frivolous challenges and voter intimidation was based on more than speculation. During the 2012 election, a loose confederation of conservative activists mobilized by True the Vote, state-level Voter Integrity Projects, and the Madison Project launched a campaign they called Code Red USA. Their aim was to marshal a "cavalry" of volunteer poll watchers to police alleged voter fraud in battleground states, including North Carolina. In one incident, self-appointed watchdogs in Wake County petitioned to have more than five hundred voters, most of them people of color, removed from the registration rolls.

Though the attempt failed, it echoed in disturbing ways a similar episode during Reconstruction, when a group of whites in the same county challenged one hundred and fifty Black voters on grounds that they had registered fraudulently. As a researcher from the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law observed, the 1872 challenge was "one of the first organized attempts by private citizens . . . to systematically undermine Black political participation in North Carolina – a practice that would continue throughout the Jim Crow era." The mechanism to allow and facilitate this practice was reintroduced by the enactment of House Bill 589.<sup>199</sup>

When pressed on these issues, Republican lawmakers insisted that their intent was not to infringe on voting rights. Thom Tillis, Speaker of the House, encouraged the public to think of House Bill 589 instead as a means of "restoring confidence in government."<sup>200</sup>

### **C. Rolling Back Reform, Restricting Social Provision**

The new Republican-led North Carolina Legislature wanted to roll back reforms that previous Democratic-led legislatures had fought so hard for, reforms that brought equity back into electoral politics. *Shelby County* and the nullification of the Federal Government's preclearance regime gave the new legislature the impetus to put forth discriminatory laws such as HB 589 and its successor SB 824, but also set up a decade of fights over the suppression of Black voters in various ways and has ultimately led to this lawsuit over the new 2021 district maps.

The Republicans' sweeping revision of state election law was a key element in a broader legislative agenda designed to roll back decades of reform that had made state government more responsive to the economic and social needs of minority populations who had been politically and economically marginalized throughout much of the state's history.

One of Republicans' top priorities was to repeal the 2009 Racial Justice Act. Democrats defended the law by pointing to a simple set of numbers: between 1977 and 2010, North Carolina courts had sent three hundred and ninety-two people to death row, 49 percent of whom were Black – a figure more than double Blacks' representation in the general population. Opponents were not impressed. Thomas Goolsby, a Republican in the state Senate, insisted that the Racial Justice Act was unnecessary because inmates on death row already had "multiple avenues of appeal." Governor Pat McCrory seconded that claim, arguing that the law did nothing more than create a new "judicial loophole to avoid the death penalty and not a path to justice." Timothy K.

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<sup>199</sup> "Looking, Very Closely, for Voter Fraud," *New York Times*, September 17, 2012; "The Madison Project Launches the Code Red USA Project"; and Riley, "Lesson from North Carolina on Challengers," <<http://bit.ly/32uhGbN>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>200</sup> Berman, *Give Us the Ballot*, 290.

(Tim) Moore, who later became the state's Speaker of the House, heaped ridicule atop McCrory's scorn. "The Racial Justice Act tries to put a carte blanche solution on the problem," he said. "A white supremacist who murdered an African American could argue he was a victim of racism if Blacks were on the jury." There was, of course, no evidence that Blacks had systematically persecuted white supremacists in the past, or that prosecutors were eager to empanel Black jurors. In fact, district attorneys in North Carolina struck eligible Black jurors at roughly 2.5 times the rate they excluded

all others. In early June 2013, lawmakers voted largely along party lines to rescind the Racial Justice Act, and Governor McCrory quickly signed the repeal into law.<sup>201</sup>

North Carolina's minority schoolchildren also ran afoul of Republican lawmakers, who mounted a stepwise campaign to weaken public education and expand private alternatives. The starting point was an issue that had been front and center in the 2012 election: a projected \$3 billion shortfall in the state budget. There were obvious ways to address that problem – raise taxes, cut spending, or do some of both. The Republican majority in the General Assembly chose austerity, and because expenditures on education accounted for nearly 40 percent of North Carolina's annual budget, public schools were in the bullseye. For fiscal year 2014, the total appropriation for K-12 education, when adjusted for inflation, fell \$563 million short of school spending in fiscal year 2008. Included in that figure were deep cuts in funding for pre-K programs, transportation, textbooks, and construction. The reductions hit teachers particularly hard. Their pay effectively stagnated as compensation in North Carolina fell from twenty-second to forty-seventh place in the nation. Soon teachers were fleeing the state's public schools; some dropped out of the profession, and others were lured away by better pay in neighboring states.<sup>202</sup>

Spending cuts and teacher attrition created a public perception of crisis, which was amplified by changes in the way that state officials had begun to report school performance. In 2012, the General Assembly created a simplified system that distilled a variety of measurements into letter grades that ranged from A to F. A year later, seven hundred and seven public schools received a grade of D or F. Parents and educators were shocked, in part because officials failed to tell them that nearly all of the underperforming schools were also high-poverty, majority-minority schools, where children needed more, not less, funding for supplemental instruction, pre-K and after-school programs, lower student-teacher ratios, and reduced class size.<sup>203</sup>

Republican lawmakers ignored those needs and instead used the low grades to argue for increased public support for charter schools and implementation of a new freedom-of-choice

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<sup>201</sup> Kotch and Mosteller, "Racial Justice Act," 2035 and 2088; "North Carolina Repeals Law Allowing Racial Bias Claim in Death Penalty Challenges," *New York Times*, June 5, 2013; Grosso and O'Brien, "Stubborn Legacy," 1533; Florsheim, "Four Inmates Might Return to Death Row," <<http://bit.ly/37qiEss>>, September 5, 2019; and "McCrory Signs Repeal of Racial Justice Act," *Winston-Salem Journal*, June 20, 2013.

<sup>202</sup> "North Carolina's Step-by-Step War on Public Education," *Washington Post*, August 7, 2015; Johnson and Ellinwood, *Smart Money*, <<http://bit.ly/37tcQo>>, November 29, 2020; 2013–2015 North Carolina Budget Short-Changes Students, Teachers, and Public Education, <<http://bit.ly/2RTBUrA>>, November 29, 2020; Gerhardt, "Pay Our Teachers or Lose Your Job," <<http://bit.ly/2ROO19t>>, November 29, 2020; Wagner, "North Carolina Once Again Toward the Bottom in National Rankings on Teacher Pay," <<http://bit.ly/2TZHA67>>, November 29, 2020; and Brenneman, "Teacher Attrition Continues to Plague North Carolina," <<http://bit.ly/2uuLBVu>>, November 29, 2020.

<sup>203</sup> 2013–14 School Performance Grades (A–F) for North Carolina Public Schools. On the grading scheme, see *Unraveling*, <<http://bit.ly/2TYTpcG>>, November 29, 2020.

voucher program for private and religious academies. These policy decisions threatened to accelerate school re-segregation, which had been gathering speed since 2000, when the U.S. Supreme Court overturned its earlier decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. The Swann ruling, issued in 1971, had made busing a preferred means of desegregation and, in Charlotte, led to the creation of one of the nation's most integrated school systems. But behind that success lay deep racial anxiety, which led a group of white parents to initiate the court challenge to *Swann* in 1997 and, more broadly, informed the creation of North Carolina's charter school program a year later. A Duke University study of charter schools in the period between 1998 and 2012 offered insight into these developments and their role in re-segregation. The Duke researchers found that white parents preferred schools that were no more than 20 percent Black. Beyond that tipping point, they began to look for alternatives. The results showed in the demography of North Carolina schools. In 2012, only about 30 percent of students in the traditional public education system attended highly segregated schools that were more than 80 percent or less than 20 percent Black. In charter schools, the figures were reversed; more than two-thirds of students were enrolled in schools that were overwhelmingly white or Black. The Duke team concluded from these numbers that "North Carolina's charter schools have become a way for white parents to secede from the public school system, as they once did to escape racial integration orders."<sup>204</sup>

North Carolina's voucher program also undermined confidence in public schools and encouraged re-segregation. The program used public school funds to offer Opportunity Scholarships to low-income families that earned less than 133 percent of the federal poverty line. The State Department of Public Instruction marketed the vouchers, valued at up to \$4,200 a year, as assistance for parents who wished to remove their students from high-poverty, under resourced schools – that is, underperforming schools created by state policies. Today, 93 percent of voucher recipients attend religious schools, which, on average, do not serve them particularly well. North Carolina accountability standards for voucher-eligible schools are among the most lenient in the nation. Those schools are not required to seek accreditation, employ licensed teachers, comply with state curriculum standards, or administer end-of-year evaluations of student learning. Given that lax oversight, it is not surprising that in the small number of voucher-eligible schools that do report results from standardized reading and math tests, 54 percent of students score below national averages. Enrollment data for voucher-eligible schools is not readily available, but information from disparate sources suggests that they are an increasingly attractive choice for white families who are looking for an alternative to integrated public schools. Between the 2014-15 and 2016-17 academic years, the share of vouchers claimed by Black students fell from 49 to 35 percent, while the share used by whites increased from 27 to 41 percent. One fact provides at least a partial explanation of that shift: in large religious schools with more than eighty voucher students, average enrollment was 89 percent white.<sup>205</sup>

Restoring "blindfolded" justice that dismissed four centuries of racial inequity in American jurisprudence and defaulting on North Carolina's constitutional obligation to provide all children equal opportunities in school – this was the agenda that Republicans enacted after their sweep of

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<sup>204</sup> Ladd, Clotfelter, and Holbein, "Growing Segmentation," 11, 35, <<https://ampr.gs/32wwPsW>>, September 5, 2019, and "White Parents in North Carolina Are Using Charter Schools to Secede from the Education System," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2015.

<sup>205</sup> *School Vouchers*, 1–2, 7, 11–13, and 21n2, <<http://bit.ly/2Sbg03j>>, November 29, 2020; Opportunity Scholarship Program, 2019–20 School Year, <<http://bit.ly/2GoFFzZ>>, November 29, 2020; and Private School Minority Statistics in North Carolina, <<http://bit.ly/3aJN8I4>>, November 29, 2020.

the General Assembly and governor's office in 2012. On election night in 2016, as he celebrated Donald J. Trump's presidential victory, Tim Moore, the state Speaker of the House, looked back on his party's handiwork and declared, "We've had a great four years since we took the majority." But even in that moment, Moore and other party leaders surely knew that candidates with different priorities might prevail in future elections and sweep away Republicans' accomplishments. How, then, to make the conservative revolution permanent? One answer – the answer that Charles Aycock and white-rule Democrats had imposed in 1900 – was to disenfranchise dissenting voters. That was the threat posed by House Bill 589, which a federal court would later describe as "the most restrictive voting law North Carolina has seen since the era of Jim Crow."<sup>206</sup>

#### **D. House Bill 589 in the Federal Courts**

In 2016, the North Carolina NAACP, League of Women Voters, and U.S. Department of Justice lost their challenge to House Bill 589 in the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. But on appeal, the Fourth Circuit ruled for the plaintiffs and reversed the district court's decision. A three-judge panel found compelling evidence of discriminatory intent in the Republican election law. Among other considerations, the court pointed to "the inextricable link between race and politics in North Carolina," Republican lawmakers' consideration and use of race-specific data on voting practices, and the bill's timing. In addition to following closely on the heels of the *Shelby County* decision, House Bill 589 was also situated at a critical juncture in North Carolina politics. The appellate court judges noted that "after years of preclearance and expansion of voting access, by 2013 African American registration and turnout rates had finally reached near-parity with white registration and turnout rates. African Americans were poised to act as a major electoral force." Republican lawmakers "took away that opportunity because [Blacks] were about to exercise it," and they did so, the judges added, "with almost surgical precision."<sup>207</sup>

From this and other evidence, the Fourth Circuit panel concluded "that, because of race, the legislature enacted one of the largest restrictions of the franchise in modern North Carolina." They did not directly cite North Carolina's 1900 disenfranchisement amendment to the state constitution, but that was the obvious historical reference point. No other change to election law had been so sweeping in its effect. The judges remanded the House Bill 589 case to the district court, with instructions to enjoin the voter ID requirement and changes made to early voting, same-day registration, out-of-precinct voting, and teen preregistration.<sup>208</sup>

Republican leaders quickly regrouped after the Fourth Circuit ruling. They began to prepare an appeal to the Supreme Court and, in the interim, attempted to salvage some of the advantage that House Bill 589 would have given them in the upcoming 2016 general election. In mid-August, Republican governor Pat McCrory petitioned Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. to reinstate the law's photo ID requirement, which had been implemented months earlier in the spring primaries. Roberts declined. At the same time, Dallas Woodhouse, executive director of the state

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<sup>206</sup> "North Carolina's 'Racial Justice Act,'" Civitas Institute, November 16, 2010, <<http://bit.ly/38K467o>>, November 29, 2029; "Berger and Moore Celebrate Majority Victory in State Legislature," *Raleigh News and Observer*, (updated online, <<http://bit.ly/2tIJPjJ>>, November 29, 2020); *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204, 229 (4th Cir. 2016).

<sup>207</sup> *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204, 214, 215 (4th Cir. 2016); see also *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 182 F. Supp. 3d 320 (M.D.N.C. 2016); *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 997 F. Supp. 2d 322 (M.D.N.C. 2014).

<sup>208</sup> *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204, 239–241 (4th Cir. 2016).

Republican Party, encouraged county election boards to press ahead with what he called "party line changes" to early voting. The boards no longer had legal authority to shorten the early-voting period, but they could achieve much the same effect by reducing the number of early-voting sites and cutting the hours they would be open.<sup>209</sup>

Seventeen county boards, mostly in the east, did just that. Had Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act still been in place, the changes would have required preclearance from the U.S. Department of Justice, but that was no longer a hurdle. In the affected counties, Black voter turnout sagged significantly through much of the early voting period and caught up to 2012 levels only after a Herculean get-out-the-vote effort. Tellingly, state Republican Party officials reported that news in explicitly racial terms. The "North Carolina Obama coalition" was "crumbling," they reported in a news release. "As a share of Early Voters, African Americans are down 6.0%, (2012: 28.9%, 2016: 22.9%) and Caucasians are up 4.2%, (2012: 65.8%, 2016: 70.0%)."<sup>210</sup>

On appeal in 2017, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the Fourth Circuit's ruling on House Bill 589.<sup>211</sup>

### **E. Redistricting in Federal and State Courts**

As House Bill 589 wound its way through the federal courts, plaintiffs raised related objections to the redistricting plan enacted by Republican lawmakers in 2011. In *Covington v. North Carolina*, twenty-eight plaintiffs contested the configuration of the same number of new, majority-minority districts in the General Assembly. They charged that those districts had been created "through the predominant and unjustified use of race." State defendants answered the complaint by insisting that "race was not the primary factor used in the redistricting, and that even if it was, their use of race was necessary to serve a compelling state interest – namely, compliance with Section 2 and Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act."<sup>212</sup>

In August 2016, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina rejected that defense. The court ruled against the Section 2 claim, noting that Republican lawmakers presented no evidence that they had created majority-minority districts to remedy situations in which "vote dilution" – as in at-large elections, or as a consequence of white bloc voting – restricted minority citizens' "opportunity . . . to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice." In fact, the court observed, Black legislators had a strong record of electoral success in "non-majority-Black" districts. It noted that "in three election cycles preceding the 2011 redistricting, African-American candidates for the North Carolina House won thirty-nine general elections in districts without a majority [Black voting age population] . . . and African-American candidates for the North Carolina Senate won twenty-four such elections." The court took a similarly jaundiced view of Republican lawmakers' Section 5 claim. It pointed out that "eleven of the

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<sup>209</sup> "McCrory Asks Supreme Court to Restore Voter ID Law," *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 16, 2016, and "N.C. Republican Party Seeks 'Party Line Changes' to Limit Early Voting Hours," *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 18, 2016.

<sup>210</sup> Newkirk, "What Early Voting in North Carolina Actually Reveals," <<http://bit.ly/2ULBchm>>, September 5, 2019, and North Carolina Republican Party, "NCGOP Sees Encouraging Early Voting," <<http://bit.ly/2HS9B8J>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>211</sup> *North Carolina v. North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP*, 137 S. Ct. 1399 (2017).

<sup>212</sup> *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117, 124, 126, 174 (M.D.N.C. 2016).

[twenty-eight] challenged districts [did] not include any county, in whole or in part, that was covered by Section 5 in 2011, and therefore those districts could not have been drawn to remedy a Section 5 violation."<sup>213</sup>

The court concluded that Republican lawmakers could point to "no strong basis in evidence" that they had acted to correct voting practices or procedures that limited racial minorities' "effective exercise of the electoral franchise."<sup>214</sup> In fact, the 2011 redistricting plan appeared to have been designed to do just the opposite. In Guilford County, for example, the Republican map split forty-six precincts in order to cram 88.39 percent of Greensboro's Black voting-age residents into three majority-minority state House districts. Similarly, Senate district 28 split Greensboro and neighboring High Point along racial lines, and by doing so captured 82.45 percent of the Black voting age population in Greensboro, along with 60 percent of that population in High Point.<sup>215</sup>

Based on these observations, the court ruled that the 2011 redistricting plan "constitute[d] racial gerrymandering in violation of the [Fourteenth Amendment's] Equal Protection Clause." North Carolina "citizens have the right to vote in districts that accord with the Constitution," the court declared. "We therefore order that new maps be drawn that comply with the Constitution and the Voting Rights Act."<sup>216</sup> In 2017, the General Assembly adopted a new redistricting plan that included 116 revised districts. *Covington* plaintiffs objected that twelve of the new districts failed to remedy original instances of racial gerrymandering, or were otherwise unconstitutional. The district court found that nine of those complaints had merit and appointed a Special Master to make additional revisions. On appeal in 2018, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld four of the Special Master's revised maps.<sup>217</sup>

As the *Covington* case came to closure in the federal courts, Common Cause and twenty-three individual plaintiffs sued in state court to block the 2017 redistricting plan. They charged that despite revisions intended to correct racial gerrymandering, redrawn legislative districts still advantaged Republicans over the Democratic challengers that most Black and progressive white voters preferred. In their court filing, the plaintiffs explained how this was done:

To maximize the number of Republican seats in the General Assembly, the 2017 Plan meticulously 'pack[ed] and crack[ed]' Democratic voters. Packing and cracking are the two primary means by which mapmakers carry out a partisan gerrymander. 'Packing' involves concentrating one party's backers in a few districts that they will win by overwhelming margins to minimize the party's votes elsewhere. 'Cracking' involves dividing a party's supporters among multiple districts so that they fall comfortably short of a majority in each district.<sup>218</sup>

The configuration of legislative districts in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County offered a striking example of these practices in action. The 2017 plan broke Mecklenburg County into twelve House

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 47–48 and 164.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>217</sup> Order, *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016) (No. 1:15-cv-399); Memo. Op. and Order, *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117 (M.D.N.C.) (No. 1:15-cv-399); *North Carolina v. Covington*, 137 S. Ct. 1624 (2017); *North Carolina v. Covington*, 138 S. Ct. 2548, 2550, 2555 (2018).

<sup>218</sup> Amended Compl., 33, *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, 18 CVS 014001 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019).

districts. Democratic voters were packed into eight of the districts, seven of which included no Republican-leaning precincts. Conversely, Charlotte's Republican voters were packed into three districts in southern Mecklenburg County, and the last remaining district, in north Mecklenburg, was drawn to give Republicans an advantage by dodging adjacent Democratic-leaning precincts. Senate districts followed a similar pattern. All of Charlotte's Republican-leaning precincts were packed into two districts that overlapped the southern House districts, and Democrat-leaning precincts were concentrated in three districts that included heavily minority, inner city neighborhoods.<sup>219</sup> Given the sharp racial polarization in political party membership, this configuration worked to disadvantage minority citizens, the overwhelming majority of whom affiliate as Democrats.

The effectiveness of packing and cracking was apparent in the 2018 statewide election results. In contests for "both the state House and state Senate . . . Democratic candidates won a majority of the statewide vote." Even so, Republicans secured "a substantial majority of seats in each chamber": 29 of 50 in the Senate and 65 of 120 in the House.<sup>220</sup> "The [electoral] maps," Common Cause and its allies complained, "are impervious to the will of the voters." So was policy making. "In today's state legislatures—and particularly in North Carolina," the Common Cause plaintiffs observed, "Republican representatives are simply not responsive to the views and interests of Democratic voters. Regardless of whether gerrymandering has caused this increased partisanship, such extreme partisanship magnifies the effects of partisan gerrymandering. When Democratic voters lose the ability to elect representatives of their party as a result of partisan gerrymandering, those voters lose not only electoral power, but also the ability to influence legislative outcomes – because Republican representatives pay no heed to these voters' views and interests once in office."<sup>221</sup>

In September 2019, a three-judge panel of the Wake County Superior Court affirmed these claims. They ruled that the 2017 redistricting plan violated the North Carolina state constitution on three counts. "First, the court wrote that partisan gerrymandering 'strikes at the heart' of the Free Elections Clause, a provision of the North Carolina Constitution stating that 'all elections shall be free.' Second, the court held that partisan gerrymandering violated the North Carolina Equal Protection Clause, which [state] courts have interpreted to include the fundamental 'right to vote on equal terms.' . . . Finally, the court declared that under the North Carolina Constitution, partisan gerrymandering unconstitutionally burdens the free speech and assembly rights of those who vote for the disfavored party by diluting their votes and their ability to effectively organize."<sup>222</sup> Based

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<sup>219</sup> *Common Cause v. Lewis*, N. C. General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, 18 CVS 014001, Complaint, November 13, 2018, 1, 28, 109-17, 186-91.

<sup>220</sup> Amended Compl. 1, *Common Cause v. Lewis*, N. 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, 18 CVS 014001 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019); Millhisser, "Cracks in the GOP's Gerrymandering Firewall," <<http://bit.ly/35Tq1qL>>, November 29, 2020. See also North Carolina General Assembly 2019 Senate Demographics, <<https://cutt.ly/IUsQoPw>>.

<sup>221</sup> Amended Compl. 64, *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, 18 CVS 014001 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019); *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Common Cause North Carolina blog, December 17, 2019, <<https://cutt.ly/qUenOvR>>.

<sup>222</sup> Recent Case: *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Harvard Law Review Blog, October 15, 2019, <<https://cutt.ly/cUem59X>>.

on these findings, the court ordered that legislative maps be redrawn once more. The General Assembly complied, without legal objection, in October 2019.<sup>223</sup>

Taken together, these judicial rulings underscore the fact that in North Carolina politics, extreme partisan gerrymandering is a highly effective means of discriminating against racial minorities. It works to restrict minority voting power, and, by doing so, weakens the influence of interracial and multiethnic coalitions, particularly within the Democratic Party. The ultimate effect is to entrench white conservatives' control of the General Assembly and public policy.

### **F. Constitutional Amendment – A New Old Strategy**

Republican leaders – including party chairman Robin Hayes, Senate President Pro Tempore Phil Berger, and Speaker of the House Tim Moore – answered these defeats with public declarations that they would "continue to fight." Having failed to secure a comprehensive revision of election law with House Bill 589, they narrowed their focus to voter ID and shifted the battle to the state constitution, where similar struggles over voting rights, race, and democracy had been waged in 1868 and again in 1900. In 2018, Republican lawmakers drafted a constitutional amendment that would require photographic identification of all electors "offering to vote in person." They placed it on the ballot for ratification in the upcoming November election.<sup>224</sup>

That was a shrewd tactical move. As Gerry Cohen, retired special counsel to the General Assembly, observed, Republicans viewed the amendment as a means of "immuniz[ing] voter ID, specifically photo voter ID, from [court challenges on] state constitutional grounds." A future legislature dominated by Democrats would also find it far more difficult to reverse a constitutional amendment than to repeal an election law like House Bill 589. These were live concerns for Republicans who faced a Democratic majority on the North Carolina Supreme Court and, if opinion polls in advance of Election Day had any predictive power, were at risk of losing their supermajority in the state House of Representatives.<sup>225</sup>

Over the course of the campaign, Republicans argued for the voter ID amendment as a reasonable, necessary, and common-sense reform. It was reasonable, they said, because the state had made adequate provision for its citizens to acquire a photo ID. The amendment was necessary,

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<sup>223</sup> *Common Cause v. Lewis*, N. C. General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, 18 CVS 014001, Judgment, September 3, 2019; *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Common Cause North Carolina blog, December 17, 2019, <<https://cutt.ly/qUenOvR>>.

<sup>224</sup> "Supreme Court Won't Rescue N.C. Voter ID Law; GOP Leaders Say They Will Try Again with New Law," *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 15, 2017; Act to Amend the North Carolina Constitution to Require Photo Identification to Vote in Person, S.L. 2018-128, H.B. 1092, <<http://bit.ly/2LRAE5p>>, September 5, 2019; and "Voter ID to Go on N.C. Ballots," <<http://bit.ly/2LVTh8c>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>225</sup> Cohen interview, <<http://bit.ly/34VsJXc>>, September 5, 2019; Act to Amend the North Carolina Constitution to Require Photo Identification to Vote in Person, S.L. 2018-128, House Bill 1092, <<http://bit.ly/2LRAE5p>>, September 5, 2019; and "Voter ID to Go on N.C. Ballots," <<http://bit.ly/2LVTh8c>>, September 5, 2019. In June 2018, National Research Inc. conducted a poll for the conservative Civitas Institute, headquartered in Raleigh. When asked which party they would support if the "election for [the] North Carolina State Legislature were held today," 42 percent of respondents favored Democrats and only 34 percent supported Republicans. That was a dramatic change from February and May, when Democrats and Republicans were locked in a tie. The poll, labeled Generic Ballot, General Assembly, was made public on the Longleaf Politics web site, <<http://bit.ly/34Gp8CB>>, September 5, 2019. The online link is no longer active.

proponents claimed, because widespread voter fraud threatened the integrity of elections. And requiring a photo ID to vote made sense because similar proof of identity was required to "board an airplane, see an R-rated movie, cash a check, or use a credit card."<sup>226</sup>



Voter ID campaign card, Republican John Bell,  
*Raleigh News and Observer*, November 1, 2018.

These arguments for the amendment did not stand up to close scrutiny. On the point of reasonableness, the fact remained that Blacks made up 23 percent of registered voters but accounted for 34 percent of voters without photo ID. And widespread voter fraud was simply a myth. In April 2017, the State Board of Elections released an audit of the previous year's general election in which it reported that questionable ballots accounted for just over 0.01 percent of the 4.8 million total votes cast. Of the five hundred and eight cases of fraudulent voting that the board identified, only one involved the kind of in-person deception that a photo ID requirement was designed to expose and prevent. In that instance, a voter impersonated her recently deceased mother, whom she described to election officials as "a tremendous Donald Trump fan." Of the remaining ineligible ballots, four hundred and forty-one were cast by people with felony records whose right to vote had not been restored; forty-one were cast by non-citizens; twenty-four were cast by people who double voted; and one was cast by mail.<sup>227</sup>

The notion of common sense was equally misleading. Theaters have no legal obligation to check moviegoers' photo IDs; the Transportation Safety Administration routinely allows passengers to board planes without a photo ID, so long as they can present other forms of identification; the American Express merchant guide imposes no photo ID requirement on authorized credit card

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<sup>226</sup> "Voter ID: A Form of Suppression or Necessary Protection?" <<http://bit.ly/2IR8wOL>>, November 29, 2020; "Support Voter ID Today," <<http://bit.ly/33mJf8x>>, November 29, 2020; "Voter ID Is Back in North Carolina, and the Justifications Are as Lame as Ever," *Charlotte Observer*, June 7, 2018; and "North Carolina Voter ID Amendment Debate Features Misleading Claims," <<http://bit.ly/32A2tpJ>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>227</sup> "County-by-County Data Reveal Dramatic Impact of Proposed Election Changes on Voters," <<https://bit.ly/3nj4fpK>>, November 29, 2020; and *Postelection Audit Report: General Election 2016*, 2, appendix 4.2, and appendix 5, <<http://bit.ly/2LQ3TFP>>, November 29, 2020. See also Citizens Without Proof, 3, <<http://bit.ly/34QpHtJ>>, September 5, 2019; Atkeson et. al., "New Barriers to Participation," <<http://bit.ly/2LSocT6>>, September 5, 2019.

customers; and Visa and Mastercard require a photo ID only for face-to-face cash disbursements, not purchases.<sup>228</sup>

These points of fact notwithstanding, voters approved the constitutional amendment in November 2018 by a margin of 55.49 to 44.51 percent. Republicans carried the day, in part because they had effectively undermined faith in the electoral process by convincing voters that fraud was widespread but remained invisible because there were no laws to expose it. Dallas Woodhouse put it this way: "Millions of North Carolinians believe that there is voter fraud. Now, somebody can disagree with them, but they believe it. So, adding confidence into the system is a very important thing."<sup>229</sup>

Republican leaders had also broken with the General Assembly's well-established practice of appointing study commissions to evaluate the impact of constitutional changes and of drafting legislation to make the details of implementation public and transparent. The bill that authorized the photo ID amendment stipulated that it would be presented as a single declarative sentence on which voters were to decide 'yes' or 'no.' Under pressure from critics, the North Carolina Constitutional Amendments Publication Commission, provided a lengthier explanation:

This amendment requires you to show photographic identification to a poll-worker before you can vote in person. It does not apply to absentee voting.

The Legislature would make laws providing the details of acceptable and unacceptable forms of photographic identification after passage of the proposed amendment. The Legislature would be authorized to establish exceptions to the requirement to present photographic identification before voting. However, it is not required to make any exceptions.

There are no further details at this time on how voters could acquire valid photographic identification for the purposes of voting. There is no official estimate of how much this proposal would cost if it is approved.

Even though it still lacked specifics, and did not change what voters saw on the ballot itself, this description weakened voter support for photo ID. Shortly before the election, an Elon University poll found that "based upon that language," voter approval dropped from 63 to 59 percent. Had the General Assembly followed past practice and offered a draft of enabling legislation, support might have eroded further.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> "Voter ID Is Back in North Carolina, and the Justifications Are as Lamé as Ever," *Charlotte Observer*, June 7, 2018; "North Carolina Voter ID Amendment Debate Features Misleading Claims," <<http://bit.ly/32A2tpJ>>, September 5, 2019; American Express Merchant Reference Guide – U.S., <<https://amex.co/2HKPqtq>>, September 5, 2019; Visa Core Rules and Visa Product and Services Rules, <<https://vi.sa/2HKJGzJ336>>, September 5, 2019; and Mastercard Transaction Processing Rules, 75, <<http://bit.ly/32w1iaI>>, September 5, 2019.

<sup>229</sup> "North Carolina Voter ID Amendment (2018)," <<http://bit.ly/32tAI1Z>>, September 5, 2019. Woodhouse's comments are transcribed from a video recording of a press conference he held on July 29, 2016. See "N.C. Voter ID Law Overturned," *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 9, 2018, (updated online, <<http://bit.ly/32oS3cm>>), September 5, 2019.

<sup>230</sup> Schofield, "Former Legislative Counsel Gerry Cohen on N.C.'s Six Proposed Constitutional Amendments," <<http://bit.ly/34NR8Ea>>, September 5, 2019; North Carolina Constitutional Amendments Publication Commission, Official Explanation of the Proposed Constitutional Amendment to Require Photographic Identification to Vote, S.L. 2018-128, <<http://bit.ly/34PG5KX>>, September 5, 2019; and "N.C. Voters Know Little About Proposed Constitutional Amendments," <<http://bit.ly/34VCCnM>>, September 5, 2019.

Shortly after Thanksgiving, Republican leaders convened a special session of the General Assembly to pass Senate Bill 824, legislation crafted to implement the photo ID amendment. They were in a hurry, because in the 2018 general election they had lost their super-majority in the state House of Representatives and would soon be unable to counter Democratic Governor Roy Cooper's opposition. When Cooper vetoed the bill, the lame duck legislature quickly overrode him and made it into law.<sup>231</sup>

In December 2018, plaintiffs in *Holmes v. Moore* challenged Senate Bill 824 in state Superior Court. They noted that the new law had been shepherded through the legislature by the same Republican leaders who crafted House Bill 589 five years earlier. Thus, there was no surprise that Senate Bill 824 "retain[ed] many of the harmful provisions" from the voter photo ID section of the prior legislation, and, by doing so, "reproduced the . . . racially discriminatory intent" identified by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. More specifically, the plaintiffs contended that Senate Bill 824 violated the North Carolina Constitution's equal protection and free elections clauses, its property qualification clause, and its protection of free speech and the right of assembly and petition.<sup>232</sup>

A three-judge panel ruled, two to one, for the plaintiffs in September 2021. Senate Bill 824, they wrote, "was enacted in part for a discriminatory purpose and would not have been enacted in its current form but for its tendency to discriminate against African American voters." The legislation therefore violated Article 1, section 19, of the North Carolina State Constitution, which affords all citizens "equal protection of the laws" and specifies that no person "shall . . . be subjected to discrimination by the State because of race, color, religion, or national origin." In reaching this conclusion, authors of the majority opinion pointed to a "totality of circumstances" that included North Carolina's "history of voting and election laws." That history, they observed, "shows a recurring pattern in which the expansion of voting rights and ballot access to African Americans is followed by periods of backlash and retrenchment that roll back those gains for African American voters." In the judges' view, this "historical context" supported plaintiffs' claims the Republican legislature "intended to discriminate against African American voters."<sup>233</sup>

### G. Redistricting Redux

Over the course of a decade, Republican legislators have largely failed in their efforts to use the power of the law to restrict minority political participation and influence in shaping public policy. But the fight is hardly over. As noted above, *Shelby v. Holder* gave conservatives new freedom to rewrite election law, and by nullifying the federal preclearance regime, has significantly disadvantaged voting rights advocates, who must now contest discriminatory practices after the fact and on a case-by-case basis. In that respect, the voting rights landscape in North Carolina today bears a troubling resemblance to that of the 1950s.

Republicans retained control of the General Assembly in the 2020 election, and in the subsequent legislative session used the decennial redistricting process to make another run at partisan gerrymandering. In early November of this year, they released maps of new Congressional and

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<sup>231</sup> "House Enacts Voter ID with Veto Override," <<http://bit.ly/2HNXXf0>>, November 29, 2020, and Civitas Statement on Overriding Governor Cooper's Voter ID Veto, <<https://bit.ly/33Fc5RH>>, November 20, 2020.

<sup>232</sup> *Holmes v. Moore*, N. C. General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, 18 CVS 15292, Verified Complaint, December 19, 2018, 3, 20- 15292, Verified Complaint, December 19, 2018, 3-5.

<sup>233</sup> *Holmes v. Moore*, N. C. General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, 18 CVS 15292, Judgment and Order, September 17, 2021, 76, 78; *Constitution of the State of North Carolina, 1868*.

legislative districts that, in the view of critics and partisans alike, will give Republicans a wide advantage over Democratic challengers. Pundits predict that in the 2022 election, Republicans are likely to win ten or eleven of North Carolina's congressional seats and may re-establish a veto-proof super majority in the state legislature.<sup>234</sup>

In court challenges to the new district maps, plaintiffs charge that Republican lawmakers have once again manipulated the redistricting process in order suppress minority political participation and deny political influence to Black and Hispanic voters, who constitute fifty percent of the Democratic electorate. Republican leaders answer that charge by insisting that they "did not look at race" while drawing new district maps.<sup>235</sup>

That claim to colorblindness is cynical and pernicious. It asks us to believe that history has ended; that in a society deeply scarred by slavery and Jim Crow, race no longer matters; and that politicians vying for public office in the racially polarized America of the twenty-first century lack an intimate knowledge of where people live and how they vote.

As historian Morgan Kousser has observed, redistricting will always be informed by race – "formally or informally, precisely or approximately" – because racial divisions "are the single most salient social and political facts in contemporary America, as they have been in much of the nation's past. Redistricting cannot be race-unconscious until the country ceases to be, and pretending that society or politics has become colorblind can only allow discrimination to go unchecked." That is particularly true in North Carolina, where conservatives have long relied on racial discrimination to secure partisan advantage. As the state Superior Court judges noted in *Holmes v. Moore*, "this history of restricting African American voting rights . . . is not ancient; it is a twenty-first-century phenomenon."<sup>236</sup>

### **XIII. Conclusion**

Today's contests over access to the ballot box and representation in government are the latest chapters in North Carolina's long and cyclical history of suppressing minority political participation. Over the last century and a half, white conservatives have employed a variety of measures to limit the rights of racial and ethnic minorities. In the process, they have imposed a heavy burden of injustice. Historically, when minority rights have been constrained, North Carolina's government has been decidedly unresponsive to minority concerns and interests related to social and economic policy. This lack of accountability has perpetuated stark racial disparities in education, employment, health, and general well-being. These circumstances undermine the principles enshrined in North Carolina's constitution by newly emancipated slaves and their white al-

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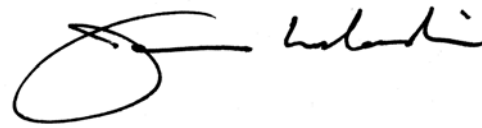
<sup>234</sup> "North Carolina Passes New Maps Giving GOP and Edge in Congress, State Legislature," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), November 4, 2021.

<sup>235</sup> "N.C. Redistricting Suits Challenges Lack of Race Data for Maps," WFAE 90.7, October 30, 2021, <<https://cutt.ly/YUyjoDF>>; "Map by Map, GOP Chips Away at Black Democrats' Power," *New York Times*, December 18, 2021.

<sup>236</sup> J. Morgan Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 270; *Holmes v. Moore*, N. C. General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, 18 CVS 15292, Judgment and Order, September 17, 2021, 77.

lies of good conscience. "All political power is vested in, and derived from the people," that document still proclaims, and "all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."<sup>237</sup>

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Leloudis", written over a horizontal line.

James L. Leloudis II

December 23, 2021

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<sup>237</sup> Constitution of North Carolina, Article I, Section 2.

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"Voter ID: A Form of Suppression or Necessary Protection?" Civitas Institute, June 28, 2018.

- <<http://bit.ly/2IR8wOL>>, November 29, 2020.
- "Voter ID to Go on N.C. Ballots." Tribune Papers, July 12, 2018. <<http://bit.ly/2LVTh8c>>, September 5, 2019.
- Wagner, Lindsay. "North Carolina Once Again Toward the Bottom in National Rankings on Teacher Pay." N.C. Policy Watch, March 18, 2015. <<http://bit.ly/2TZHA67>>, November 29, 2020.
- Wallace, Henry A. "Ten Extra Years." *Sphinx* 34 (February 1948), 13–14, 34–37. <<http://bit.ly/31hRDVR>>, November 29, 2020.
- Wan, William, "Inside the Republican Creation of the North Carolina Voting Bill Dubbed the 'Monster' Law", Washington Post, September 2, 2016, *available at* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts\\_law/inside-the-republican-creation-of-the-north-carolina-voting-bill-dubbed-the-monster-law/2016/09/01/79162398-6adf-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/inside-the-republican-creation-of-the-north-carolina-voting-bill-dubbed-the-monster-law/2016/09/01/79162398-6adf-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc_story.html).
- "When Debt Takes the Wheel." North Carolina Equal Access to Justice Commission. <<https://bit.ly/2HY8E21>>, November 29, 2020.
- Widestrom, Amy M. "Impoverished Democracy." American Political Science Association, August 31– September 4, 2006. <<http://bit.ly/2HODy9J>>, September 5, 2019.

## Appendix

### Curriculum Vitae

James L. Leloudis II

#### ADDRESSES

121 Cardiff Place (919) 967-8015  
Chapel Hill, NC 27516

Honors Carolina (919) 966-5110  
CB# 3510, Graham Memorial

University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3510 E-mail: leloudis@unc.edu

#### EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May 15, 1989

M.A., Northwestern University, June 16, 1979

B.A., with highest honors, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May 14, 1977

#### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT

Professor, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

#### ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS (in reverse chronological order)

Co-Chair, University Commission on History, Race, and a Way Forward, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, January 2020 to present.

Peter T. Grauer Associate Dean for Honors Carolina and founding Director, The James M. Johnston Center for Undergraduate Excellence, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Appointed July 1, 1999-June 30, 2004; re-appointed July 1, 2004-June 30, 2009, appointment revised and extended July 1, 2007-June 30, 2012; reappointed July 1, 2012-June 30, 2017; appointment revised and extended July 1, 2014-June 30, 2019; reappointed July 1, 2019-June 30, 2024.

Interim Director, Center for the Study of the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, July 1, 1998-June 30, 1999.

Associate Chair, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, July 1, 1996-June 30, 1998.

#### SCHOLARSHIP

##### Books

Co-author, *Fragile Democracy: The Struggle Over Race and Voting Rights in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

Co-author, *To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in 1960s America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

*Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Co-author, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987 and 2000; New York: W.W. Norton, 1989).

#### Historical Exhibits

"Fragile Democracy: The Struggle Over Race and Voting Rights in North Carolina," <https://adobe.ly/3c8WJsL>.

"Silent Sam: The Confederate Monument at the University of North Carolina," <https://silent-sam.online> and <https://adobe.ly/3dT3XRe>.

"The Carolina Hall Story," a permanent exhibit on race, politics, and historical memory at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, installed in Carolina Hall, November, 2016.

"Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World," Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age, American Historical Association, 2001 (no longer available online).

#### Articles

Co-author, "Citizen Soldiers: The North Carolina Volunteers and the South's War on Poverty," in Elna C. Green, ed., *The New Deal and Beyond: Social Welfare in the South since 1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), pp. 138-62.

"A Classroom Revolution: Graded School Pedagogy and the Making of the New South," in Czeslaw Majorek and Erwin V. Johanningsmeier, eds., *Educational Reform in International Perspective: Past, Present, and Future* (Krakow: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2000), pp. 245-60.

Co-author, "Citizen Soldiers: The North Carolina Volunteers and the War On Poverty," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 62 (No. 4, Autumn 1999): 178-96.

"Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880-1920," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 5 (Fall 1993): 203-229.

"Oral History and Piedmont Mill Villages, 1880-1940," *International Journal of Oral History* 7 (November 1986): 163-80.

"Cotton Mill People: Work, Community, and Protest in the Textile South, 1880-1940," (with Jacquelyn Hall and Robert Korstad) *American Historical Review* 91 (April 1986): 245-86.

"School Reform in the New South: The Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina, 1902-1919," *Journal of American History* 69 (March 1983): 886-909.

"Subversion of the Feminine Ideal: The *Southern Lady's Companion* and White Male Morality in the Antebellum South, 1847-1854," in Rosemary S. Keller, Louise L. Queen, and Hilah F. Thomas, eds., *Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives on the Wesleyan Tradition*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1982), pp. 60-75.

#### Legal Consulting

Plaintiffs' expert witness, *Holmes v. Moore*. Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison LLP, New York, N.Y., and Southern Coalition for Social Justice, representing Jabari Holmes, Fred Culp, Daniel E. Smith, Brendon Jayden Peay, and Paul Kearney Sr. 2020 and ongoing.

Plaintiff's expert witness. *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. Cooper*, 1:18-cv-01034, U.S. District Court, Middle District of North Carolina. Arnold and Porter LLP, Washington, D.C., and Forward Justice. 2019 and ongoing.

Plaintiffs' expert witness, *Hall v. Jones County Board of Commissioners*, 4:17-cv-00018, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina. Cleary Gottlieb Steen and Hamilton LLP, New York, N.Y., representing John Hall, Elaine Robinson-Strayhorn, Lindora Toudle, and Thomas Jenkins. 2018.

Plaintiff's expert witness. *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 182 F. Supp. 3d 320 (M.D.N.C. 2016), and *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, No. 16-1468 (4th Cir. 2016). Kirkland and Ellis LLP, Washington, D.C., and North Carolina State Chapter of the NAACP.

#### TEACHING

##### Courses

U.S. Since 1865   North Carolina Since 1865   The New South (1865-present)

History of Poverty   Slavery and the University   Oral History Methodology

##### Recent Doctoral Advisees

R. Joshua Sipe, "Evolving Jim Crow: An Analysis of the Consolidation Movement on the Virginia Peninsula, 1940-1958," M.A. thesis, 2019.

Elizabeth Lundeen, "Brick and Mortar: Historically Black Colleges and the Struggle for Equality, 1930-1960," Ph.D. dissertation, 2018.

Evan Faulkenbury, "Poll Power: The Voter Education Project and the Financing of the Civil Rights Movement, 1961-1992," Ph.D. dissertation, 2016. Published as *Poll Power: The Voter Education Project and the Movement for the Ballot in the American South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

Willie J. Griffin, "Courier of Crisis, Messenger of Hope: Trezzvant W. Anderson and the Black Freedom Struggle for Economic Justice," Ph.D. dissertation, 2016. Forthcoming, Vanderbilt University Press, 2021.

Brandon K. Winford, "'The Battle for Freedom Begins Every Morning': John Hervey Wheeler, Civil Rights, and New South Prosperity," Ph.D. dissertation, 2014. Published as *John Hervey Wheeler: Black Banking and the Economic Struggle for Civil*

*Rights* (University Press of Kentucky, 2020). Winner of the Lillian Smith Award, 2020.

#### PROFESSIONAL AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Faculty Service Award, General Alumni Association, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2019.

Engaged Scholarship Award, Office of the Provost, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011.

Senior Fellow, Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University, “Moral Challenges of Poverty and Inequality,” 2010-2011.

North Caroliniana Society Book Award, 2010. Awarded for *To Right These Wrongs*.

Academic Leadership Fellow, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003. Included participation in the Leadership Development Program, Center for Creative Leadership, San Diego, California.

Commencement Speaker, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, December 2003 (selected by Senior Class officers and marshals).

Chapman Family Fellowship, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997.

Fellow of the Academy of Distinguished Teaching Scholars, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, inducted in 1996.

Mayflower Cup, awarded by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for the year's best work in non-fiction, 1996. Awarded for *Schooling the New South*.

Ruth and Phillip Hettleman Award for Outstanding Scholarly or Artistic Accomplishment by Young Faculty, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995.

Fellow of the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992.

Students' Undergraduate Teaching Award, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991.

Claude A. Eggertsen History of Education Dissertation Award, 1989, presented by the Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, for the best dissertation on the history of education.

Albert J. Beveridge Award, 1988, presented by the American Historical Association for *Like a Family*.

Merle Curti Social History Award, 1988, presented by the Organization of American Historians for *Like a Family*.

Philip Taft Labor History Award, 1988, presented by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University for *Like a Family*.

Honorable mention, John Hope Franklin Award, 1988, presented by the American Studies Association for *Like a Family*.

Honorable mention, Research on Women in Education Award, 1984, presented by Women Educators, American Educational Research Association, for "School Reform in the New South."

Louis Pelzer Memorial Award, 1982, presented by the Organization of American Historians for "School Reform in the New South."

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1487 – Video of Aug. 10, 2021 Joint  
Committee Meeting (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1488 – Video of Oct. 25, 2021 Joint  
Committee Public Hearing (Wake, Caldwell, New Hanover)  
(submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1489 – Video of Oct. 6, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1490 – Video of Oct. 6, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1491 – Video of Oct. 7, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1492 – Video of Oct. 7, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1493 – Video of Oct. 8, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1494 – Video of Oct. 8, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1495 – Video of Oct. 11, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1496 – Video of Oct. 11, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1497 – Video of Oct. 12, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1498 – Video of Oct. 12, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1499 – Video of Oct. 13, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1500 – Video of Oct. 13, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1501 – Video of Oct. 14, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1502 – Video of Oct. 14, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1503 – Video of Oct. 15, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1504 – Video of Oct. 15, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1505 – Video of Oct. 18, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1506 – Video of Oct. 18, 2021 Senate  
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**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1507 – Video of Oct. 19, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1508 – Video of Oct. 19, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1509 – Video of Oct. 20, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

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Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1511 – Video of Oct. 21, 2021 House  
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**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1512 – Video of Oct. 21, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1513 – Video of Oct. 22, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

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Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1515 – Video of Oct. 25, 2021 Senate  
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**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1516 – Video of Oct. 26, 2021 House  
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**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1517 – Video of Oct. 26, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1518 – Video of Oct. 27, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1519 – Video of Oct. 27, 2021 Senate  
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**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1520 – Video of Oct. 28, 2021 House  
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Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1524 – Video of Oct. 30, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1525 – Video of Nov. 1, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1526 – Video of Nov. 1, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1527 – Video of Nov. 2, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1528 – Video of Nov. 2, 2021 Senate  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1529 – Video of Nov. 3, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1530 – Video of Nov. 4, 2021 House  
Map Drawing Session (submitted in native format)**

<https://differentiator.com/in-the-news/what-to-expect-in-legislative-redistricting/>

## FIRST LOOK AND ANALYSIS: STATE HOUSE AND SENATE COUNTY GROUPINGS

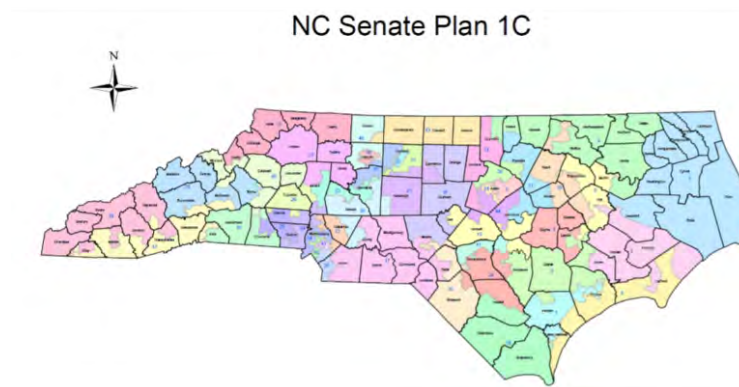
Yesterday the Census Bureau released the population data North Carolina needed to begin the redistricting process for everything from Congressional to town council districts across the state.

While we may revisit other aspects of redistricting in future analysis, this post will focus on the State House and State Senate districts and, specifically, how the court-mandated *Stephenson Criteria* will cause North Carolina's counties to be grouped when state legislators begin redrawing legislative districts this fall.

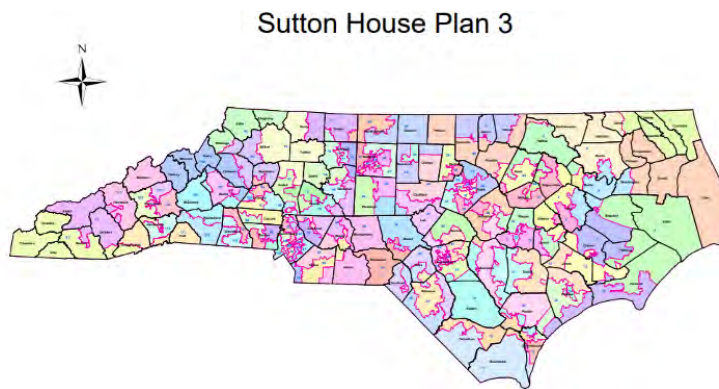
Developing a solid grasp of the county “grouping” requirement is the most valuable insight you need to understand North Carolina's legislative redistricting process. Two important notes: first, Democrats generally refer to a county “grouping” or “group” as “clustering” or a “cluster” (more on why in a future post). Second, the grouping requirement does not apply to drawing Congressional Districts in North Carolina.

First, some background on what the *Stephenson Criteria* are and how they became the governing principle in legislative redistricting in North Carolina:

In 2001, the Democratic majorities in the General Assembly began drawing the State House and State Senate districts intent on maintaining their majorities. The House and Senate plans went to great lengths to construct districts that favored the party drawing the maps. For example: the 2001 State Senate map – known as N.C. Senate Plan 1C – divided 51 of North Carolina's 100 counties:



The 2001 State House map – Sutton House Plan 3 – split 68 counties, over two-thirds of the state's 100 counties.



PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1531**

Dividing counties to form General Assembly districts is a relatively new phenomenon in North Carolina. Before 1982, state legislators kept counties whole when drawing General Assembly districts because, dating back to the original 1776 version, North Carolina's Constitution prohibited dividing counties. This

– Ex. 6725 –

requirement is generally known as the “Whole County Provision” and can be found in Article II, Sections 3 and 5:

Section 3: “No county shall be divided in the formation of a senate district;”

Section 5: “No county shall be divided in the formation of a representative district;”

After the General Assembly adopted the 2001 State House and Senate redistricting plans that split a majority of the state’s counties, a man named Ashley Stephenson from Washington, North Carolina filed a lawsuit asking state courts to enforce the constitutional provision requiring legislative maps to keep counties whole.

Stephenson’s litigation ultimately prevailed, and the North Carolina Supreme Court imposed a series of criteria that govern how legislators draw General Assembly districts in North Carolina.

The most important was a requirement that the General Assembly comply with the North Carolina Constitution’s Whole County Provision when drawing legislative districts.

Let’s focus on the key pieces of the *Stephenson Criteria* that dictate how the state’s counties are grouped to form the foundation of State House and Senate district maps:

1. Determine the perfect population for each legislative district by dividing the state’s total census population by the number of districts. This decade, the ideal population is 86,995 for a State House district and 208,788 for a State Senate district.
2. Each district is allowed a population deviation of +/- 5% from the ideal population.
3. County groupings are permitted to contain more than one legislative district, so map drawers must determine the allowable population variance for multi-district county groupings. This chart uses the allowed 5% variance to calculate the permissible population ranges of county groupings with more than one member.

House			Districts	Senate		
5% under	Ideal Population	5% over		5% under	Ideal Population	5% over
82,645	86,995	91,345	1	198,348	208,788	219,227
165,290	173,990	182,689	2	396,697	417,576	438,454
247,935	260,985	274,034	3	595,045	626,363	657,681
330,581	347,980	365,379	4	793,393	835,151	876,909
413,226	434,975	456,723	5	991,742	1,043,939	1,096,136
495,871	521,969	548,068	6	1,190,090	1,252,727	1,315,363
578,516	608,964	639,413	7	1,388,439	1,461,514	1,534,590
661,161	695,959	730,757	8			
743,806	782,954	822,102	9			
826,452	869,949	913,446	10		North Carolina 2020 Census Population 10,439,388	
909,097	956,944	1,004,791	11			
991,742	1,043,939	1,096,136	12			
1,074,387	1,130,934	1,187,480	13			
1,157,032	1,217,929	1,278,825	14			

4. When constructing the county groupings, counties that are grouped together must be contiguous and the contiguity cannot be a shared single point.

- The *Stephenson Criteria* use a simple methodology for determining the optimal, highest-scoring map that complies with the state Constitution’s whole county requirement. The constitutional map is the map containing:
  - The most 1-county groupings
  - If tied on 1-county groupings, the most 2-county groupings
  - If tied on 1 and 2-county groupings, the most 3-county groupings
  - If tied on 1, 2 and 3-county groupings, the most 4-county groupings
  - And so on.....

— Ex. 6726 —

We have independently verified an algorithm a team of Duke data scientists created to determine the county grouping arrangement that best complies with Stephenson criteria.

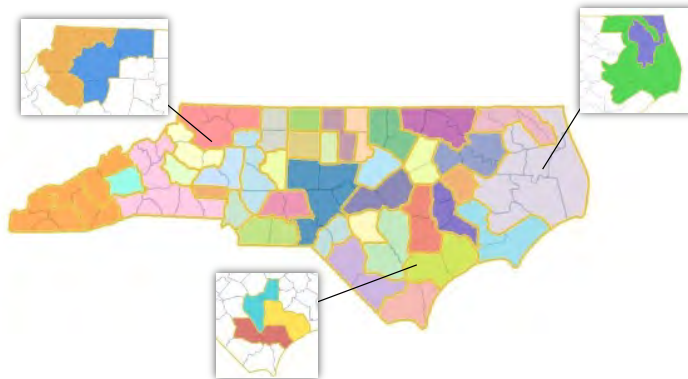
One of the quantitative analytics experts our firm works with processed the recently-released census data through the algorithm to determine the new County grouping maps for the State House and State Senate.

In both the House and Senate redistricting plans, there are portions of the maps where legislators will have choices about how to configure the counties. Those options are inset in the maps below. Because the General Assembly's redistricting committees adopted compactness as one of the criteria for assessing plans, we have chosen to evaluate the most compact district configuration. It is important to note legislators could opt for a different configuration if they determine it better complies with the totality of their redistricting criteria.

Interestingly, we project the different options in both the State House and Senate maps to produce virtually the same political outcomes, though if the House and Senate chose the less compact option in both maps for Northeastern North Carolina it would give Republicans a chance to pick up an additional seat.

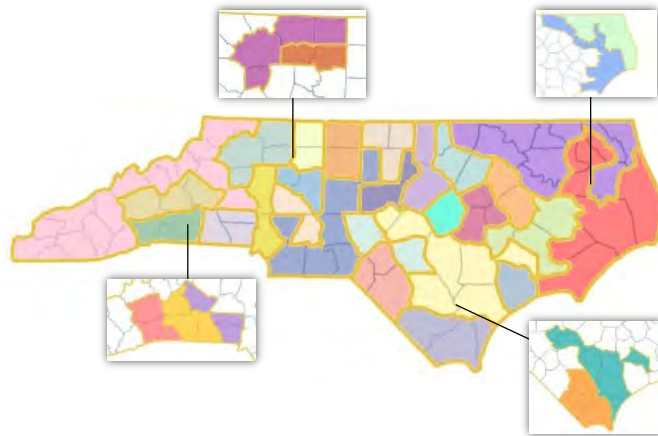
Below are the optimal grouping options for the General Assembly redistricting plans. There are more detailed notes in these linked House and Senate charts. The charts include data on the political performance of the county groupings, double-bunkings, the projected number of seats that are likely to favor each party and the number of toss up seats. We generally consider a district to be competitive if the winning party won less than 55% of the vote.

The bottom line in the State House is these groupings could not have come together much better for Republicans. The Republicans almost certainly will retain a majority in the House and have a very good chance at winning a supermajority. Democrats' only realistic pathway to a majority is an extreme gerrymander of the large urban counties like Mecklenburg, Wake and Guilford that shuts out Republicans entirely. While these counties favor Democrats, Republicans win around 35% of the countywide vote and a fair map should make about one-third of the districts competitive for the GOP.



*State House County Groupings*

The optimal grouping maps for the State Senate redistricting plan worked out much better for Democrats than the House plan. Republicans are still favored to maintain a majority in the Senate and have a narrow pathway to a supermajority in a favorable election environment. But Democrats have opportunities for a majority too, if they can implement a gerrymander that maximizes their advantage in urban counties and slightly improve their performance in suburban districts.



*State Senate County Groupings*

← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-\\_J](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-_J) ...

Search SIGN IN

MapInfo for Redistricting (Licensed to North Carolina General Assembly) SBR-Snap

File Edit Map Dataview Selection Tools Redistricting GA Extras Window Help

MapInfo Manager

- Districts
- State
- Water Area
- Census Block
- County Subdivision
- Railroad
- Road
- Google Map
- Census Block Group
- Census Tract
- County
- Intersecting Districts
- Linking District
- County
- City/Town

SBR-Snap - Block-VTD-County (Template)

Selection Layer: Census Block

Display Manager

Display Manager - Pending Changes Dialog

District	2020	2020	% Deviation
1	198,394	198,394	0.00%
2	198,394	198,394	0.00%
3	198,394	198,394	0.00%
4	198,394	198,394	0.00%
5	198,394	198,394	0.00%
6	198,394	198,394	0.00%
7	198,394	198,394	0.00%
8	198,394	198,394	0.00%
9	198,394	198,394	0.00%
10	198,394	198,394	0.00%
11	198,394	198,394	0.00%
12	198,394	198,394	0.00%
13	198,394	198,394	0.00%
14	198,394	198,394	0.00%
15	198,394	198,394	0.00%
16	198,394	198,394	0.00%
17	198,394	198,394	0.00%
18	198,394	198,394	0.00%
19	198,394	198,394	0.00%
20	198,394	198,394	0.00%
21	198,394	198,394	0.00%
22	198,394	198,394	0.00%
23	198,394	198,394	0.00%
24	198,394	198,394	0.00%
25	198,394	198,394	0.00%
26	198,394	198,394	0.00%
27	198,394	198,394	0.00%
28	198,394	198,394	0.00%
29	198,394	198,394	0.00%
30	198,394	198,394	0.00%
31	198,394	198,394	0.00%
32	198,394	198,394	0.00%
33	198,394	198,394	0.00%
34	198,394	198,394	0.00%
35	198,394	198,394	0.00%

7:02:27 / 8:34:23

2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
1532

YouTube video player interface showing a map drawing station. The video title is "2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)". The map displays various colored regions (red, green, yellow) and numerical data points. A table on the right lists data for "PL2021A\_TOT" and "PL2021A\_TOT2".

Map Drawing Station 04 (544) displays various colored regions (red, green, yellow) and numerical data points. A table on the right lists data for "PL2021A\_TOT" and "PL2021A\_TOT2".

DISTRICT	PL2021A_TOT	Deviation	% Deviation
26	260,140	-7,930	-3.0%
31	260,140	-10,429	-4.0%
8	260,140	7,211	2.8%

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1533

2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)





YouTube video player interface showing a map of North Carolina districts. The video title is "2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)". The map displays various districts, with a table on the right showing data for each district.

Map Title: SST-11map - Block-VTD-County (Template)

Table Data (District, POAA\_TOT, Deviation, % Deviation, Memb):

District	POAA_TOT	Deviation	% Deviation	Memb
5	204576	-4,212	-2.02%	
6	212582	3,794	1.82%	
7	200436	-8,352	-4%	
8	204809	-5,979	-2.91%	
9	216568	7,760	3.53%	
10	215999	7,211	3.35%	
11	206121	-2,667	-1.28%	
12	198354	-10,434	-5%	
13	198306	-10,282	-4.92%	
14	198354	-10,434	-5%	
15	65,333	-10,403	-4.98%	
16	198391	-10,397	-4.99%	
17	198412	-10,376	-4.97%	
18	200791	-7,997	-3.83%	
19	200327	-8,961	-4.05%	
20	198776	-10,012	-4.8%	
21	217904	9,196	4.4%	
22	216471	7,683	3.68%	
23	210529	1,741	0.83%	
24	202786	-6,002	-2.87%	
25	216895	8,107	3.88%	
26	201957	-6,991	-3.3%	
27	216058	7,270	3.48%	
28	214440	5,652	2.71%	
29	216220	7,432	3.56%	
30	212299	3,511	1.68%	
31	214811	6,023	2.88%	
32	211942	2,854	1.37%	
33	209379	591	0.28%	
34	218996	10,108	4.84%	
35	218399	9,630	4.6%	
36	210986	2,198	1.05%	
37	212852	4,064	1.95%	
38	219466	9,678	4.64%	
39	218411	9,623	4.61%	
40	216693	7,905	3.79%	
41	216686	7,898	3.78%	
42	219007	10,279	4.92%	
43	209549	561	0.27%	
44	203043	-5,745	-2.75%	
45	211229	2,441	1.17%	
46	219135	10,347	4.96%	

Map Drawing Station 04 (544)


2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)



James Cook University - Cairns

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☰ YouTube Search 🔍 🎤 📺 ⋮ [SIGN IN](#)



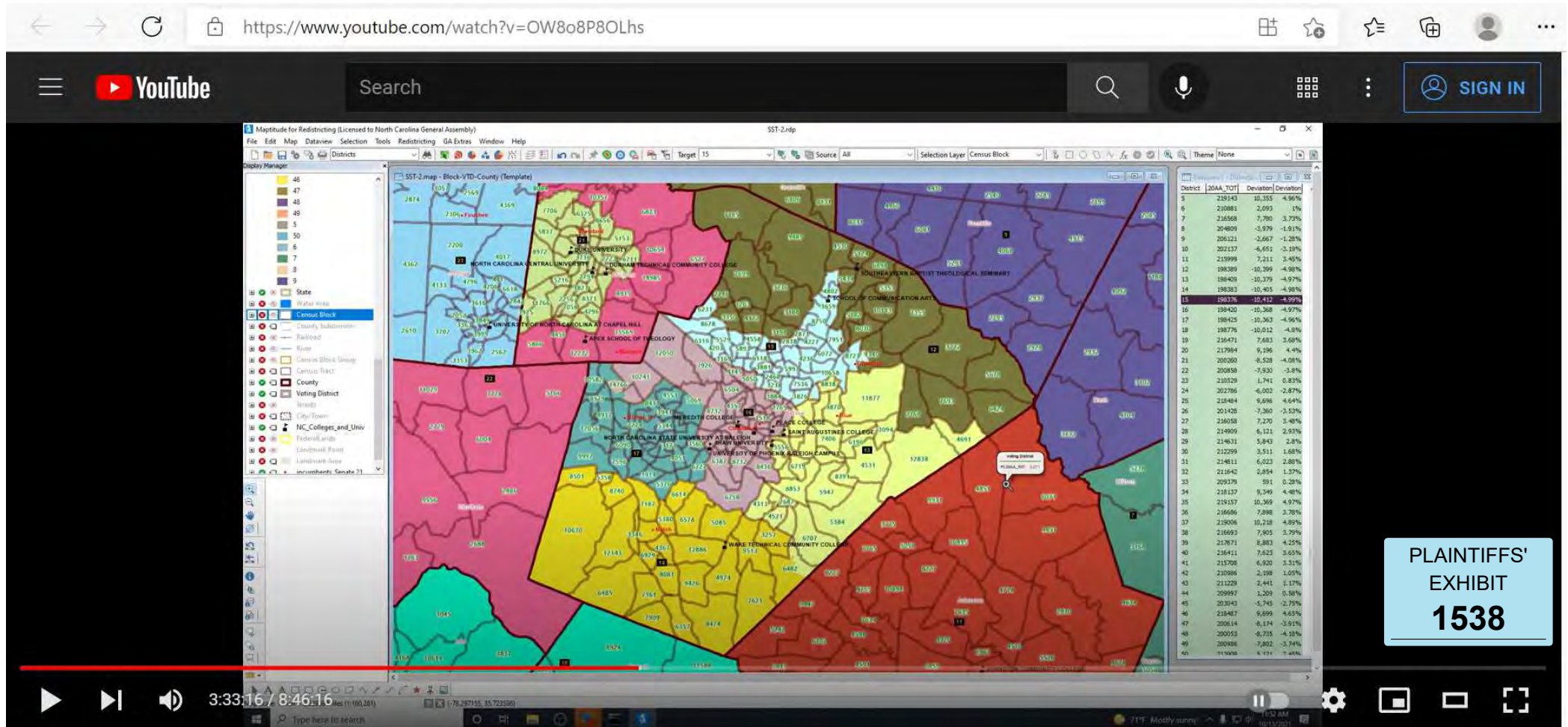
PLEASE OBSERVE  
SOCIAL  
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PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1537**

2021-10-27 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)

Undergraduate Fall 2021




2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)



How to Make A Blog With

← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q) 📅 ☆ ⭐ 📌 👤 ...

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**PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1539**


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2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)

2021 Undergraduate Undergraduate Fall 2021 Commencement Ceremony -...

← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q) 📅 ☆ ⭐ 📌 👤 ...


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**PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1540**

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2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)

 432 hz | Music to Harmonize the Home and Attract Money |...

← → ↺ 🔒 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMXPG3PuxPs

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PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1541

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### 2021-10-08 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)

33 views • Oct 10, 2021


👍 0 🗨 DISLIKE ➦ SHARE ➦+ SAVE ⋮



Undergraduate Fall 2021 Commencement Ceremony - ...

← → ↺ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZkD7shJmnA> 田 ☆ ☆ 田 人 ...

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PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1542

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2021-10-11 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)



This Morning's Top Headlines –

← → ↺ 🔒 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1\\_Re6\\_J1g8Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_Re6_J1g8Q) 🗒️ ⭐️ ⚙️ 📌 👤 ...

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**PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1543**

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2021-10-07 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)



Undergraduate Fall 2021  
Commencement Ceremony -...

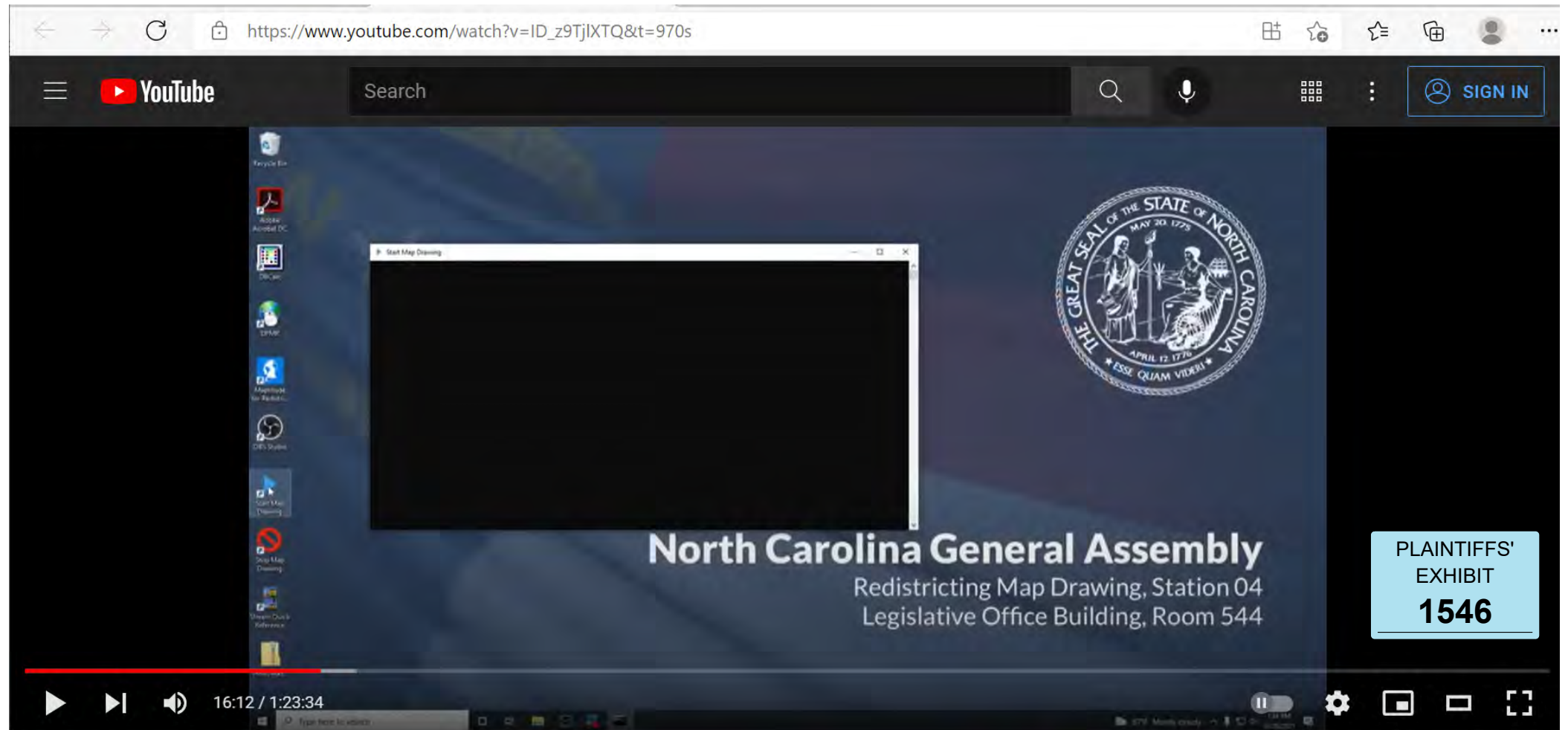
YouTube video player interface showing a map drawing station. The video title is "2021-10-28 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)". The video player shows a map of North Carolina with various districts outlined in different colors. A status window is open over the map, displaying "Merging Census Block..." and "Creating layer...". The status window has a progress bar and a "Cancel" button. The video player controls show the video is at 19:25 / 1:28:34.

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1544



← → ↺ 🔒 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID\\_z9TjIXTQ&t=970s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID_z9TjIXTQ&t=970s) 📑 ☆ ⋮ 📌 👤 ...

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**North Carolina General Assembly**  
Redistricting Map Drawing, Station 04  
Legislative Office Building, Room 544

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
MAY 20, 1775  
APRIL 12, 1776  
ESSE QUAM VIDERI

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT  
**1546**

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2021-10-28 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)




Awards Ceremony | BirdSO Mini  
2021-22

← → ↻ 🔒 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-\\_I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-_I) 📺 ⭐ ⚙️ 📌 👤 ...

☰ YouTube 🔍 🔊 📺 ⋮ [SIGN IN](#)

Recycle Bin  
Adobe Acrobat DC  
DCalc  
DPMR  
Magnitude for Redistri...  
OBS Studio  
Start Map Drawing  
Stop Map Drawing  
Stream Quick Reference

Start Map Drawing

  
**North Carolina General Assembly**  
Redistricting Map Drawing, Station 04  
Legislative Office Building, Room 544

**PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1547**

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Type name to search

89°F Cloudy 10:47 AM 10/7/2021

2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)



← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-\\_I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-_I) ...

Search SIGN IN

Mapitude for Redistricting Licensed to North Carolina General Assembly

File Edit Map Database Selection Tools Redistricting QA browser Window Help

SCG-1.rdp

Selection Layer: Voting District

Regions Manager

- Districts
- State
- Water Areas
- Census Blocks
- County Subdivision
- Roadway
- River
- Google Map
- Census Block Group
- Census Tract
- County
- Unclassified Senate 21
- Voting District
- Shells
- City/Town

District	P.2010A_TOT1	Deviation	% Deviation
6	210329	1,741	0.83%
5	201179	931	0.46%
4	211642	2,894	1.37%
3	209997	1,209	0.58%
2	218487	6,899	3.16%
18	210036	10,218	4.86%
17	216693	7,905	3.70%
16	212671	8,883	4.20%
15	216410	7,627	3.53%
14	216686	7,888	3.64%
13	215738	6,120	2.84%
12	204576	6,212	3.04%

SCG-1.rdp - Block-VTD County (Template)

Download - Pending Changes (None)

District	P.2010A_TOT1	Change - P.2010A_TOT1	Local Value	Deviation	% Deviation
17	216,593	-3	216,590	7,905	3.70%

3:09:35 / 8:34:23

71°F Cloudy 10/7/2021

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1548

← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-\\_l](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CVbWSWL-_l)

Search SIGN IN

MapItude for Redistricting (Licensed to North Carolina General Assembly) SCG-1.mxd

File Edit Map DataView Selection Tools Redistricting GA Tools Window Help

Display Manager

- Districts
- State
- Voting District
- County Subdivision
- Water Area
- County
- Google Map
- County Block Group
- County Tract
- City/Town

District	P_200A_TOT	Deviation	% Deviation
1	832335	422,887	212.89%
2	870439	661,621	316.89%
3	1091402	981,614	426.18%
4	860205	442,141	210.77%
5	218568	7,780	3.70%
6	219393	7,211	3.48%
7	212788	6,732	3.07%
8	213323	1,741	0.83%
9	209193	891	0.38%
10	211642	2,854	1.37%
11	209917	1,209	0.58%
12	228487	6,892	3.03%

SCG-1.mxd - Block VTD County (Template)

Alexis Lucia Woodlee Arlington Woodford Green Cadenville Belmont

MapItude? - Pending Changes

District	Old	New	%
P_200A_TOT	217,671	215,798	444.2
Change - P_200A_TOT	217,671	0	-206.6
Ideal Value	206,788	206,788	206.7
Deviation	6,883	6,923	235.4
% Deviation	4.25%	3.31%	112.88

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1549

2:52:48 / 8:34:23

Type here to search

70°F Cloudy 11:03 AM 10/7/2021

YouTube video player interface showing a map of North Carolina General Assembly districts. The video title is "2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)". The video progress bar shows 2:39:30 / 8:34:23.

The map displays various districts, including District 14, which is highlighted in blue. The map also shows other districts in green and red. The map is titled "SCC-2-ndp".

The video player interface includes a search bar, a sign-in button, and a timestamp of 2:39:30 / 8:34:23.

**PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1550**



YouTube video player interface showing a map application. The video title is "2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)". The video progress bar shows 2:28:00 / 8:34:23.

The map application displays a map of North Carolina with various districts and counties. The map is titled "Mapitude for Redistricting (Licensed to North Carolina General Assembly)". The map shows several counties, including Wayne, Jones, and others, with various districts and precincts labeled.

The application includes a "Layers Manager" on the left, a "Datawindow - Pending Changes (How)" on the right, and a "Target" dropdown menu at the bottom left. The "Target" dropdown is set to "13".

The "Datawindow - Pending Changes (How)" table shows the following data:

District	PL20AA_TOT	Deviation	% Deviation
13	186,693	208,788	-10.56%

The map shows a large area of red, indicating a significant change or deviation. The map is titled "SCC-2-map - Rock VTD County (Template)".

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1552

2021-10-07 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)

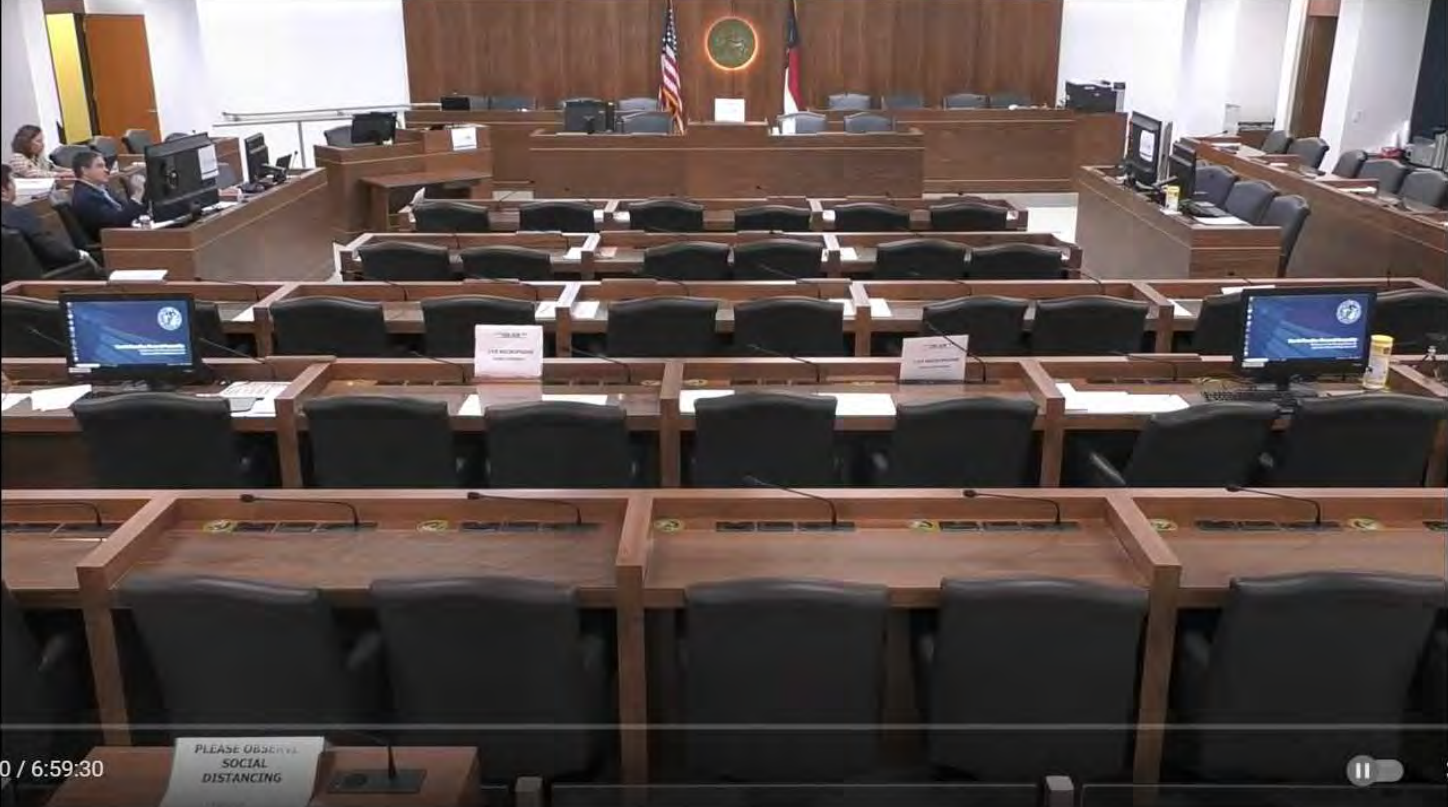


**WISE MEN STILL**

Summit Online - December 19, 2021

← → ↺ 🔒 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A44AbmkAkrq> 📺 ⭐ ⚙️ 📁 👤 ...

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PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1554

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2021-10-27 Redistricting Map Drawing (Senate)

2021 Undergraduate Commencement Ceremony -

← → ↺ 🔒 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1zeRpCwCes> 🏠 ☆ ⚙️ 📌 👤 ...

☰ YouTube 🔍 Search 🔍 🎤 📺 ⋮ 👤 SIGN IN

MapItude for Redistricting (Licensed to North Carolina General Assembly) HBP-4.rdp

File Edit Map DataView Selection Tools Redistricting GA Extras Window Help

Display Manager

- Districts
  - Sets
    - Theme: District Status
    - Theme: District
    - State
      - State Area
      - State
      - Plan House 2002, 1992
      - City/Town
  - Feature Display
    - CDP
    - City
    - Town
    - Village
    - Over 500,000
    - 100,000 to 499,999
    - 50,000 to 99,999
    - 25,000 to 49,999
    - Under 25,000
  - Census Block
  - Voting District
  - County Subdivision
  - Water
  - Census Block Group
  - Census Tract
  - County
  - Incumbents House 21
  - Public House 21
  - NC, Colleges and Univ
  - Landscape Point
  - Landscape Area
  - County\_No\_Label

Redistricting Toolbox - HBP-4

Target: New District  
Source: All  
Selection Layer: City/Town  
Theme: None

Distances - Voting Changes (House)

District	PL20AA_TOT	Change - PL20AA_TOT	Ideal Value	% Deviation
1	86,179	-416	86,995	-0.9%
2	87,197	202	86,995	0.23%
3	82,824	-4,171	86,995	-4.79%
4	85,250	-1,745	86,995	-2.01%
5	87,647	652	86,995	0.75%
6	87,132	137	86,995	0.16%
7	85,522	-1,175	86,995	-1.35%
8	85,011	-1,964	86,995	-2.26%
9	86,426	-569	86,995	-0.65%
10	86,827	-168	86,995	-0.19%
11	89,000	2,205	86,995	2.53%
12	90,963	3,868	86,995	4.45%
13	90,993	3,898	86,995	4.48%
14	89,894	2,899	86,995	3.33%
15	88,397	1,402	86,995	1.61%
16	87,762	767	86,995	0.88%
17	86,263	-732	86,995	-0.84%
18	88,846	1,851	86,995	2.13%
19	87,523	528	86,995	0.61%
20	84,155	-2,840	86,995	-3.26%
21	84,156	-2,839	86,995	-3.26%
22	84,980	-2,015	86,995	-2.32%
23	89,809	2,814	86,995	3.23%
24	85,537	-1,458	86,995	-1.68%
25	82,297	-3,698	86,995	-4.25%
26	82,938	-4,057	86,995	-4.66%
27	82,956	-4,039	86,995	-4.64%
28	80,262	-3,267	86,995	-3.76%
29	82,412	-2,583	86,995	-2.98%
30	89,005	2,510	86,995	2.89%
31	91,212	4,217	86,995	4.85%
32	91,290	4,295	86,995	4.94%
33	91,165	4,170	86,995	4.79%
34	90,263	3,268	86,995	3.76%
35	89,750	1,755	86,995	2.02%
36	93,073	6,078	86,995	6.99%
37	83,457	-3,538	86,995	-4.07%
38	88,170	1,175	86,995	1.35%
39	82,964	-4,031	86,995	-4.63%
40	90,566	3,571	86,995	4.11%
41	89,894	2,899	86,995	3.33%
42	90,742	3,747	86,995	4.31%
43	90,915	3,920	86,995	4.51%
44	90,928	3,933	86,995	4.52%
45	85,250	-1,745	86,995	-2.01%







8:11:00 / 8:44:40







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48°F Sunny 10/18/2021

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1555**



← → ↺ [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f\\_3wg3jg0k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f_3wg3jg0k)      

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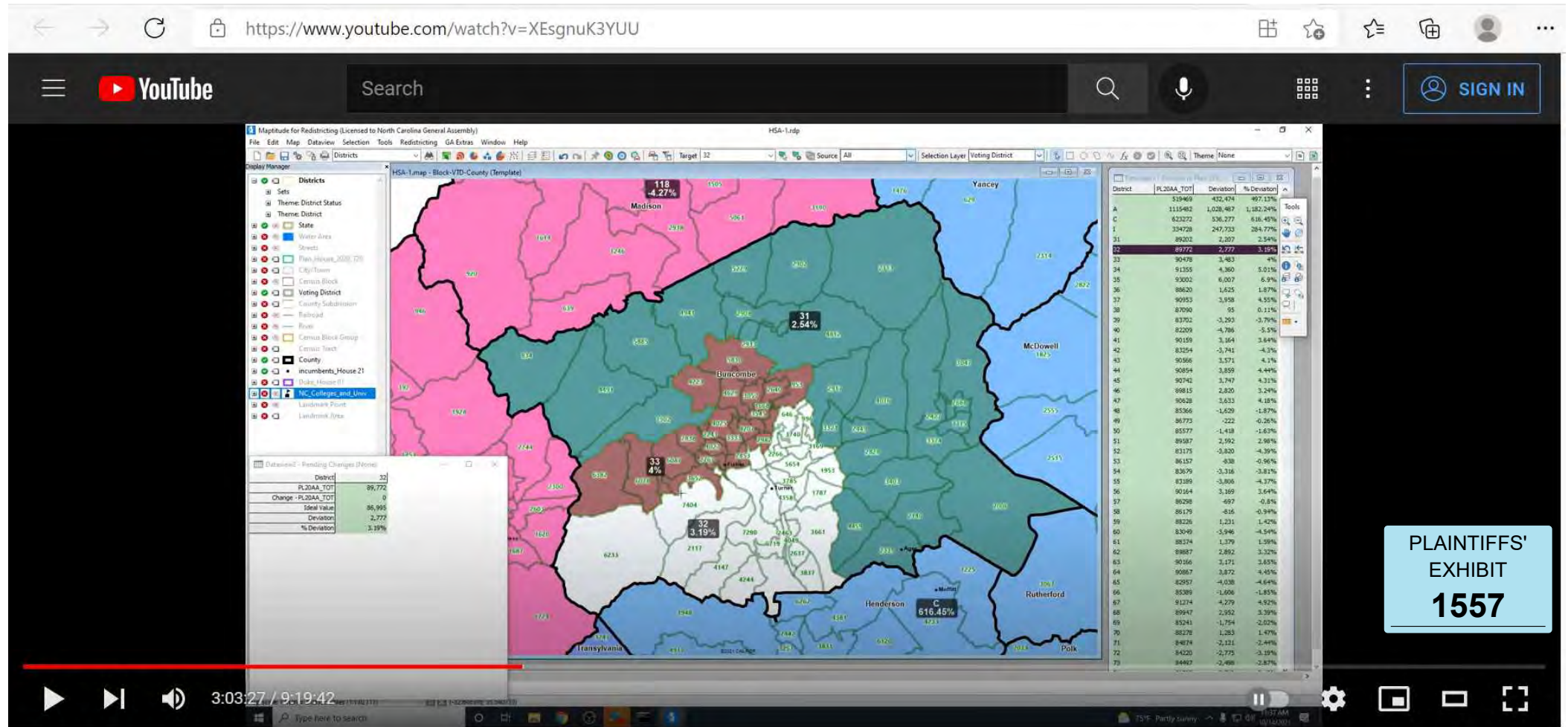
PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1556**

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2021-10-18 Redistricting Map Drawing (House)



Undergraduate Fall 2021  
Commencement Ceremony - ...



2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 01 (643)

2021-11-04 Map Drawing  
Station 02 (643)

← → ↺ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=os7hNbXoBmE>

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becky carney Charitra C. Reed (Rep. Debra ...)  
pricey harrison

**PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
1558**

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2021-10-14 Redistricting Map Drawing (House)

Undergraduate Fall 2021

← → ↺ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=os7hNbXoBmE>

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PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 1559

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STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

FILED

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE  
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION

COUNTY OF WAKE

21 CVS 015426

2021 DEC 16 A 9:37

COMMON CAUSE,

WAKE CO., C.S.C.

BY

Plaintiff,

v.

PHILIP E. BERGER in his official capacity as President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate; TIMOTHY K. MOORE in his official capacity as Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives; RALPH E. HISE, JR., WARREN DANIEL, PAUL NEWTON, in their official capacities as Co-Chairmen of the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections; DESTIN HALL, in his official capacity as Chairman of the House Standing Committee on Redistricting; THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA; THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; DAMON CIRCOSTA, in his official capacity as Chair of the State Board of Elections; STELLA ANDERSON, in her official capacity as Secretary of the State Board of Elections; STACY EGGERS IV, in his official capacity as Member of the State Board of Elections; JEFF CARMON III, in his official capacity as Member of the State Board of Elections; TOMMY TUCKER, in his official capacity as Member of the State Board of Elections; KAREN BRINSON BELL, in her official capacity as Executive Director of the State Board of Elections,

Defendants.

**VERIFIED COMPLAINT FOR  
DECLARATORY JUDGMENT  
AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

(Three-Judge Court Pursuant to N.C. Gen.  
Stat. § 1-267.1)

PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT

**1561**

Pursuant to N.C.G.S. § 1-253 et seq., and Rules 8, 24, and 57 of the North Carolina Rules of Civil Procedure, Plaintiff Common Cause, through counsel, hereby files this Complaint for declaratory judgment and for injunctive relief.

## **I. PRELIMINARY STATEMENT**

1. After drawing one unconstitutional redistricting plan after another in the last decade,<sup>1</sup> the North Carolina General Assembly has acted in an unlawful and unconstitutional manner by defiantly ignoring clear direction from the North Carolina Supreme Court on how to draw constitutional maps and once again engaging in extreme partisan gerrymandering. North Carolina state Legislative and Congressional districts are once again extreme outliers, do not reflect or allow to be reflected the will of North Carolina voters, and entrench the power of the current Legislative majority in a manner that will be certain to withstand even high turnout elections where voters widely prefer Democratic candidates. At core, North Carolina’s democracy is critically subverted by these actions, and they are inconsistent with the North Carolina Constitution.

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117, 124 (M.D.N.C. 2016), *summarily aff’d*, 137 S. Ct. 2211 (2017) (per curiam) (finding state legislative districts as enacted in S.L. 2011-402 and S.L. 2011-404 violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment); *Covington v. North Carolina*, 283 F. Supp. 3d 410, 434-35 (M.D.N.C. 2018) (finding state legislative districts as enacted in S.L. 2017-207 and S.L. 2017-208 violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment); *North Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 002322, slip op. at 2 (N.C. Super. Ct. Nov. 2, 2018) (finding state legislative districts as enacted in S.L. 2017-207 and S.L. 2017-208 violated Article II, Section 5 of the North Carolina Constitution); *Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super LEXIS 56, at \*333, \*346, \*361–62 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019) (finding state legislative districts as enacted in S.L. 2017-207 and S.L. 2017-208 violated Article I, Section 10, Article I, Section 12, Article I, Section 14, and Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution); *Harris v. McCrory*, 159 F. Supp. 3d 600, 622 (M.D.N.C. 2016), *aff’d sub nom.*, *Cooper v. Harris*, 137 S. Ct. 1455 (2017) (finding Congressional districts as enacted in S.L. 2011-403 violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment); *Harper v. Lewis*, No. 19 CVS 012667, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 122, at \*18 (N.C. Super. Ct. Oct. 28, 2019) (order granting preliminary injunction) (finding Congressional districts as drawn in S.L. 2016-1 violated Article I, Section 10, Article I, Section 12, Article I, Section 14, and Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution).

2. But the harm does not end here. The incontrovertible evidence of bad actions and bad faith by the current Legislative majority will harm voters of color too. By categorically prohibiting the formal consideration of any racial data in drawing or evaluating districts that would allow legislators to prevent dilution, but acknowledging the obvious familiarity that legislators have with the state’s demography that would still allow them to target these voters, the North Carolina General Assembly knowingly destroyed functioning crossover districts that enabled the election of candidates of choice of voters of color. While such districts may not always be compelled by the Voting Rights Act (“VRA”), the destruction of those districts violates North Carolina’s equal protection guarantees. To be clear, this case is not a Voting Rights Act case. Plaintiff Common Cause solely brings state law claims under the North Carolina Constitution. This case is one of intentional racial discrimination in violation of the North Carolina Constitution, unconstitutional partisan gerrymandering in violation of the North Carolina Constitution, and the legal need for a reckoning with a General Assembly that has no respect for the rule of law, the rulings of the North Carolina Supreme Court, or co-equal judicial institutions at all.

3. Common Cause files this action to challenge the state House, Senate, and federal Congressional maps (“2021 Enacted Maps”) as unconstitutional and invalid, and calls upon this Court to enjoin the 2021 Enacted Maps and to establish new constitutional plans if the General Assembly fails to do so.

4. From the beginning of this process, the Defendant Chairs of the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections and the House Committee on Redistricting (the “Redistricting Chairs” of the “Redistricting Committees”) have, despite warnings from citizens and legislators of color, stated their intention to contravene the North Carolina Constitution, as interpreted by the North Carolina Supreme Court *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, by prohibiting the formal consideration of

racial data and failing to undertake any racially polarized voting analyses to understand how district lines would affect minority voting strength and representation. *See Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354 (2002) (*Stephenson I*) and *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 357 N.C. 301 (2003) (*Stephenson II*). They did this while acknowledging it would be infeasible to prevent legislators from applying their pre-existing knowledge of North Carolina’s demographic and political make-up (and by extension doing so in a way that would harm voters of color) when devising districts. The Redistricting Committees have approved redistricting criteria formally prohibiting any use of racial data, and the Redistricting Chairs have stated that they disallowed consideration of any maps drawn that formally, lawfully and properly utilize racial data, despite their legal obligations to do so. These actions directly contravene the North Carolina Constitution, including: (1) the requirements of the North Carolina Constitution, which affirms the supremacy of federal law under Sections 3 and 5 of Article I; and (2) the requirement that legislators first consider the data necessary to ensure satisfaction of the requirements of federal law in drawing state legislative districts, as explained in *Stephenson I* and *II*. They did so in an unnecessarily chaotic process that stifled public comment in an apparent effort to capitalize on the delay in 2020 Census data and evade judicial review as they did last cycle, which allowed the party currently in power to obtain and maintain a veto-proof supermajority for most of the last decade due to unlawful racial gerrymanders.<sup>2</sup> These tactics should not be tolerated again.

5. Plaintiff Common Cause brings this Declaratory Judgment action seeking a judicial determination that their members and voters they serve are entitled to a redistricting process that adheres to the requirements of Article II, Sections 3 and 5 of the North Carolina Constitution and

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<sup>2</sup> See *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117, 124 (M.D.N.C. 2016), *summarily aff’d*, 137 S. Ct. 2211 (2017) (per curiam).

that the use of purportedly “race-blind” redistricting criteria violates North Carolina law and unlawfully harms voters of color. Defendants Berger, Moore, Hise, Daniel, and Hall (“Legislative Defendants”) intentionally orchestrated an unlawful redistricting process that contravened the requirements of the state Constitution as set forth in *Stephenson I* and *II*. The use of purportedly “race-blind” redistricting criteria in defiance of these requirements, and Legislative Defendants’ failure to conduct any analysis that would prevent vote dilution for voters of color, violates the Equal Protection Clause, Article I, Section 19, of the North Carolina Constitution.

6. Finally, Legislative Defendants have once again persisted in drawing and enacting state Legislative and Congressional maps that are extreme partisan gerrymanders, which intentionally and harmfully dilute the votes of North Carolina’s Democratic voters, in violation of the Free Elections Clause, Equal Protection Clause, and Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Assembly Clauses guaranteed under Article I, Sections 10, 12, 14, and 19 of the North Carolina Constitution. The political analysis of the 2021 Enacted Maps reveal that the purported non-partisan drafting of these maps is implausible given expert analysis of millions of simulated maps that do not use partisan data. Such ensembles of non-partisan maps do not produce the extreme partisan outcomes seen in the 2021 Enacted Maps, and analysis performed by Professor Jonathan Mattingly of Duke University demonstrates that the 2021 Enacted Maps are astonishingly durable and non-responsive to political waves (changes in the state partisan vote shares). Legislative Defendants’ plans will heavily and consistently favor Republican candidates and the Republican Party even if the will of North Carolina’s voters does not.

7. Without judicial intervention, Legislative Defendants’ actions will cause irreparable harm to the rights of Plaintiff Common Cause, its members and the voters it serves, as well as the rights of all North Carolina voters to participate in free elections. The process pursued

by the Redistricting Chairs as described above cannot, as a matter of law, comply with the North Carolina Constitution. The 2021 Enacted Maps are undeniably extremely skewed in favor of the Legislative Defendants’ party. North Carolinians are entitled to have their rights enforced by the courts of this State, and should not have to endure yet another set of elections under unconstitutional maps.

## **II. JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

8. Jurisdiction is proper in this Court pursuant to N.C.G.S. § 1-253 et seq. (“Declaratory Judgment Act”), N.C.G.S. § 7A-245(a)(4), and Article 26A of Chapter 1 of the General Statutes.

9. This Court has the power to declare rights, status, and other legal relations, whether or not further relief is or could be claimed, and such declaration shall have the force and effect of a final judgment or decree. *See* N.C.G.S. § 1-253.

10. The purpose of the Declaratory Judgment Act is to settle and afford relief from uncertainty and insecurity with respect to rights, status, and other legal relations.

11. An action under the Declaratory Judgment Act may be used to declare rights of persons. N.C.G.S. § 1-253.

12. The Declaratory Judgment Act is to be liberally construed and administered. N.C.G.S. § 1-264.

13. Under N.C.G.S. § 1-81.1, the exclusive venue for this action is the Wake County Superior Court.

14. Under N.C.G.S. § 1-267.1, a three-judge court must be convened because this action challenges the validity of redistricting plans enacted by the General Assembly.

15. Removal to federal court is not proper in this matter because all of Plaintiff’s causes of action challenge Defendants’ enacted maps based upon North Carolina Constitutional law, the

matters in dispute do not arise under or require resolution of federal law, and there is no diversity of jurisdiction. This is a suit involving challenging the enactment of state redistricting law, properly brought in this Court.

16. An actual, justiciable controversy exists between Plaintiff and Defendants at present.

### III. PARTIES

#### *Plaintiff*

17. **Plaintiff Common Cause** is a non-profit nonpartisan democracy organization with over 1.5 million members and local organizations in 30 states, including North Carolina. Common Cause has over 25,000 members, staff and supporters in every district challenged herein of the 2021 Enacted Maps. Since its founding by John Gardner in 1970, Common Cause has been dedicated to fair elections and making government at all levels more representative, open, and responsive to the interests of ordinary people. “For the past twenty-five years, Common Cause has been one of the leading proponents of redistricting reform.”<sup>3</sup> Common Cause also assists voters in navigating the elections process, provides resources for voters to determine their districts and their polling locations, and mobilizes voters to engage in political advocacy. Some of the voters assisted by Common Cause identify as voters of color and/or habitually vote for candidates of the Democratic Party. Unfair and discriminatory redistricting directly frustrates and impedes Common Cause’s core missions of making government more responsive to the interests of communities by diminishing the voices of the voters Common Cause works to engage and forces Common Cause to divert resources toward directly combatting the ill effects of unlawful redistricting. Common

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<sup>3</sup> JONATHAN WINBURN, THE REALITIES OF REDISTRICTING: FOLLOWING THE RULES AND LIMITING GERRYMANDERING IN STATE LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING 205 (2008)..

Cause has long advocated for redistricting reform, whether executed by Republicans or Democrats, and for an end to partisan gerrymandering in North Carolina. Partisan gerrymandering frustrates and impedes Common Cause’s core mission of increasing voter engagement and making government officials accountable to voters because this practice preordains election results, making voters less likely or willing to engage and government officials less responsive to constituents. It also frustrates and impedes Common Cause’s goal of advocating for redistricting reform because the beneficiaries of gerrymandered plans are unlikely to adopt meaningful redistricting reform. Common Cause brings this action on its own behalf and on behalf of its members and supporters who are registered voters in North Carolina. These members and supporters include registered voters in every county in North Carolina, registered Democrats and/or voters who support Democratic candidates in each of the districts alleged to be partisan gerrymanders herein, and voters who identify as Black in each of the effective districts for voters of color that were intentionally and unlawfully dismantled by the 2021 Enacted Maps as alleged herein. Each of these members and supporters have a right to representation in the State Legislature that complies with the North Carolina Constitution, a right to be free of intentional discrimination, and a right to free association.

*Defendants*

18. **Defendant Philip E. Berger** is a member of the North Carolina Senate, having been elected to that office by the voters residing in District 30. Mr. Berger serves as the President *Pro Tempore* of the North Carolina Senate. Mr. Berger is sued in his official capacity.

19. **Defendant Timothy K. Moore** is member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, having been elected to that office by the voters residing in District 111. Mr. Moore

serves as the Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives. Mr. Moore is sued in his official capacity.

20. **Defendant Ralph E. Hise, Jr.** is a member of the North Carolina Senate, having been elected to that office by the voters residing in Senate District 47. Mr. Hise serves as the Senate Deputy President *Pro Tempore* and the Chairman of the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee. Mr. Hise is sued in his official capacity.

21. **Defendant Warren Daniel** is a member of the North Carolina Senate, having been elected to that office by the voters residing in District 46. Mr. Daniel serves as the Chairman of the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee. Mr. Daniel is sued in his official capacity.

22. **Defendant Paul Newton** is a member of the North Carolina Senate, having been elected to that office by the voters residing in District 36. Mr. Newton serves as the Chairman of the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee. Mr. Newton is sued in his official capacity.

23. **Defendant Destin Hall** is a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, having been elected to that office by voters residing in District 87. Mr. Hall serves as the Chairman of the House Redistricting Committee. Mr. Hall is sued in his official capacity.

24. Defendants Hise, Daniel, Newton, and Hall together herein shall be referred to as the “**Redistricting Chairs**” and, together with Defendants Moore and Berger, the “**Legislative Defendants.**”

25. **Defendant State of North Carolina** is one of the fifty sovereign states in the United States of America. Article I of the State’s Constitution establishes, “principles of liberty and free government,” which the General Assembly and its members must honor in enacting legislation for the State and its citizens.

26. **Defendant North Carolina State Board of Elections** is the agency responsible for the administration of North Carolina elections, including issuing rules and regulations for the conduct of all elections in the State.

27. **Defendant Damon Circosta** is the Chairman and a member of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Mr. Circosta is sued in his official capacity.

28. **Defendant Stella Anderson** is the Secretary and a member of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Ms. Anderson is sued in her official capacity.

29. **Defendant Stacy Eggers IV** is a member of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Mr. Eggers is sued in his official capacity.

30. **Defendant Jeff Carmon II** is a member of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Mr. Carmon is sued in his official capacity.

31. **Defendant Tommy Tucker** is a member of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Mr. Tucker is sued in his official capacity.

32. **Defendant Karen Brinson Bell** is the Executive Director of the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Ms. Brinson Bell is sued in her official capacity.

33. Defendants the North Carolina State Board of Elections, Circosta, Anderson, Eggers, Carmon, Tucker, and Brinson Bell shall together herein be referred to as the “**SBE Defendants,**” and, together with the State of North Carolina, the “**State Defendants.**”

#### **IV. FACTUAL ALLEGATIONS**

##### **A. North Carolina Constitutional Requirements in Redistricting.**

34. The North Carolina Constitution provides that “the General Assembly, at the first regular session convening after the return of every decennial census of population taken by order of Congress, shall revise the senate districts and the apportionment of Senators among those

districts” and “shall revise the representative districts and the apportionment of Representatives among those districts.” N.C. Const. art. II, §§ 3, 5.

35. The State Constitution specifically enumerates four limitations upon the redistricting and reapportionment authority of the General Assembly, including that:

- a. each Senator and Representative shall represent, as nearly as possible, an equal number of inhabitants;
- b. each senate and representative district shall at all times consist of contiguous territory;
- c. no county shall be divided in the formation of senate or representative districts (the “Whole County Provision”); and
- d. once established, the senate and representative districts and the apportionment of Senators and Representatives shall remain unaltered until the next decennial census of population taken by order of Congress.

*See* N.C. Const. art. II, §§ 3, 5.

36. In addition to these requirements, Article I, Section 3 of the North Carolina Constitution provides that the rights of the people of North Carolina “shall be exercised in pursuance of law and consistently with the Constitution of the United States,” and Article I, Section 5 of the North Carolina Constitution prohibits a law or ordinance in North Carolina from contravening the federal Constitution. Collectively, these provisions “delineate[] the interplay between federal and state law[.]” *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 370. Finally, Article I, Section 19 guarantees North Carolinians equal protection of the laws and freedom from discrimination by the State on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, and Article I, Section 10 provides that “All elections shall be free.”

37. Among the federal requirements applicable to redistricting is compliance with the federal one-person one-vote requirements under the Fourteenth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act (“VRA”), as amended and as proscribed under the Fifteenth Amendment. *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 363-64. Accordingly, *North Carolina law* prohibits any voting qualification or prerequisite that impairs or dilutes, on account of race or color, a citizen’s opportunity to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. *Id.* This requirement does not command a state to adopt any particular legislative reapportionment plan, but rather prevents the enforcement of redistricting plans having the purpose or effect of diluting the voting strength of legally protected minority groups. *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 364.

38. In *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, the North Carolina Supreme Court sought to harmonize the different North Carolina Constitutional requirements imposed on the redistricting process. 355 N.C. 354; *see also Stephenson II*, 357 N.C. 301. The court developed a methodology for grouping counties together into “clusters” that it held would minimize the splitting of counties, in recognition of the Whole County Provision, while satisfying one-person, one-vote requirements.

39. Importantly, *Stephenson* expressly mandates that “to ensure full compliance with federal law, legislative districts required by the VRA shall be formed prior to the creation of non-VRA districts.” *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 383. In other words, first, any and all districts that are required under the VRA (which requires that districts be drawn without the intent or effect of depriving protected voters of an equal opportunity to elect their candidates of choice) must be drawn.<sup>4</sup> Only after an analysis is performed to ascertain what districts are compelled by the VRA,

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<sup>4</sup> Importantly, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act prohibits intentional vote dilution (or intentional racial discrimination in redistricting). Likewise, Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution prohibits intentional racial discrimination, *see Holmes v. Moore*, 270 N.C. App. 7, 33 (2020), which would prohibit intentional vote dilution in redistricting. Thus, while the *Stephenson* court referenced the VRA, because part of the VRA is identical in purpose and direction to Article I, Section 19, that part of *Stephenson* cannot be read logically to not also incorporate the requirements incumbent on the legislature under the State’s equal protection guarantees. To put it another way, even if the Section 2 effects test (as opposed to its prohibition on intentional

and those districts are drawn, may any work be done to draw clustered districts that harmonize and maximize compliance with North Carolina’s Whole County Provision and equal protection guarantees of population equality. “Thus, the process established by [the North Carolina Supreme] Court in *Stephenson I* and its progeny requires that, in establishing legislative districts, the General Assembly first must create all necessary VRA districts, single-county districts, and single counties containing multiple districts.” *Dickson v. Rucho*, 368 N.C. 481, 532 (2015), *vacated on other grounds*, 137 S. Ct. 2186 (2017).

40. The trial court in *Stephenson* also instructed that VRA districts should be formed where, “due to demographic changes in population there exists the required [*Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 50–51 (1986)] preconditions,” a finding that was affirmed by the North Carolina Supreme Court. *Stephenson II*, 357 N.C. at 307. Accordingly, to comply with *Stephenson*, the Legislature must evaluate demographic changes to determine whether there exist the required *Gingles* preconditions. This includes, at the least, considering racial data and, where legislators and members of the public have indicated that there may be VRA concerns, conducting a regionally-focused Racially Polarized Voting (“RPV”) study to determine if there is legally significant racially polarized voting. *See, e.g., Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 55–58 (1986). Again, to be clear, there are no allegations or causes of action in this case of any specific districts compelled by the VRA. Plaintiff need not allege a Section 2 claim to show that the Legislature admittedly and unapologetically flouted the North Carolina Supreme Court’s instruction by failing

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racial discrimination) did not compel ANY districts under the VRA (and Plaintiff has not alleged in this case that the VRA effects test compels any such districts), the Legislature would still be obligated under the first step of *Stephenson* to examine racial data to ensure it avoids violations of Article I, Section 19. Such a reading of *Stephenson* is reinforced by the harmonizing intent expressly indicated by the North Carolina Supreme Court. *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 393.

to consider any racial data or conduct any RPV analysis, even when made aware of harmful effects on Black voters.

41. In North Carolina, “[a]ll political power is vested in and derived from the people; all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole.” N.C. Const. art. I, § 2. Here, “the object of all elections is to ascertain, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people – the qualified voters,” and “the machinery provided by the law to aid in attaining the main object – the will of the voters . . . should not be used to defeat the object which they were intended to aid.” *Hill v Skinner*, 169 N.C. 405, 415 (1915) (quoting *R.R. v. Comrs.*, 116 N.C. 563, 568 (1895)). The Free Elections Clause in Article I, Section 10 of the North Carolina Constitution provides that “[a]ll elections shall be free,” and thus requires that elections be conducted freely and honestly to ascertain, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people. *See Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*337 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019).

42. Partisan gerrymandering at its most basic level involves drawing legislative districts “to subordinate adherents of one political party and entrench a rival party in power,” with the effect of dismantling the fundamental precept of democracy that “voters should choose their representatives, not the other way around.” *Ariz. State Legislature v. Ariz. Indep. Redistricting Comm’n*, 576 U.S. 787, 791, 824 (2015). It does so by systematically “packing” and “cracking” voters likely to support the disfavored party to dilute their voting power overall. *See Gill v. Whitford*, 138 S. Ct. 1916, 1935–41 (Kagan, J., concurring). Extreme partisan gerrymandering entrenches the political party in power, serving the interest of that political party over the public good, and systematically diluting and devaluing the votes of some citizens compared to others based on political affiliation. *See Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super.

LEXIS 56, at \*339. Overall, extreme partisan gerrymandering prevents elections from ascertaining, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people, and thus violates the Free Elections Clause. *Id.*

43. And even more insidiously, in a state like North Carolina, where the Southern Strategy has been effective, and it is widely known that Black voters overwhelmingly prefer Democratic candidates, partisan gerrymandering is an act of racial discrimination in violation of the State Constitution. *N.C. State Conf. of NAACP v. McCrory*, 831 F.3d 204, 222-24. Race and politics are inextricably intertwined in this State, and that is all the more reason for courts to reign in extreme partisan gerrymandering.

**B. The Legislative Defendants Orchestrated a Redistricting Process that Contravenes Applicable Law, Causing an Inevitable Deprivation of Voters’ Rights.**

1. The Redistricting Committees’ Adopted Criteria Contravene State Constitutional Requirements.

44. On Thursday, August 5, 2021, the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections convened a Joint Meeting of the Redistricting Committees to begin discussions about the redistricting process.<sup>5</sup> Following this meeting, staff member Erika Churchill distributed to joint committee members the legislative redistricting criteria ordered by the North Carolina Superior Court for Wake County in its September 3, 2019 Judgment in the matter *Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56 (the “2019 Criteria”).<sup>6</sup>

45. The 2019 Criteria set forth by the court specifically required that new maps comply with the VRA and other federal requirements concerning the racial composition of districts, and

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<sup>5</sup> *Joint Meeting of the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee and the House Redistricting Committee to Begin Discussion on the Redistricting Process*, Aug. 5, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-05-2021/6683.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> E-mail from Erika Churchill, Staff Attorney, Legislative Analysis Division, N.C. General Assembly, to Joint Committee Members (Aug. 5, 2021).

required within 14 days of the order that the parties to submit briefing and expert analysis on whether VRA districts were required, including consideration of whether the minimum Black Voting Age Population “BVAP” thresholds were met to implicate the VRA. *Id.* at \*417.

46. On Monday, August 9, 2021 the Redistricting Chairs released the “2021 Joint Redistricting Committee Proposed Criteria.”<sup>7</sup> Contrary to the requirements of Article I, Sections 3 and 5 of the North Carolina Constitution, and the aforementioned court orders in *Stephenson v. Bartlett* and *Common Cause v. Lewis*, these criteria outright prohibited *all* formal use of racial data in redistricting, with no exceptions permitting the use of racial data to prevent vote dilution or comply with the VRA:

Racial Data. Data identifying the race of individuals or voters *shall not* be used in the construction or consideration of districts in the 2021 Congressional, House and Senate plans.<sup>8</sup>

47. The Redistricting Committees received public comment on the proposed criteria on Tuesday, August 10, 2021. Among those providing public comment were Plaintiff’s Counsel Allison J. Riggs, who described how the criteria prohibiting use of racial data was contrary to applicable law:

It is neither appropriate nor required to draw districts race-blind. As long as redistricting has occurred, it has been a tool used to harm voters of color. Beyond compliance with the VRA, it is entirely appropriate to advance race-equity to consider race in the drawing of districts, to ensure voters of color are not being packed or cracked. Additionally, in *Covington v. North Carolina*, this legislative body tried the same thing with respect to race-blind redistricting. A three-judge panel, including republican and democratic appointees, and a unanimous supreme court, rejected your race-blind remedial drawing of two senate districts and two

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<sup>7</sup> 2021 Joint Redistricting Committee Proposed Criteria, North Carolina General Assembly Joint Redistricting Committee, Aug. 9, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-09-2021/2021%20Joint%20Redistricting%20Committee%20Plan%20Proposed%20Criteria.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* (emphasis in original).

house districts. In fact there is apparently not a federal judge out there who agrees with this approach and we urge you to abandon that criteria.<sup>9</sup>

48. On Thursday, August 12, 2021, the Redistricting Committees met to consider the proposed redistricting criteria and any amendments thereto. During debate on the proposed criteria, Senator Dan Blue stated that the court in *Stephenson* held that the first step of redistricting is determining whether districts are required to comport with the VRA and queried how this would be accomplished without the consideration of racial data. The Redistricting Chairs reiterated the view that consideration of racial data to evaluate whether VRA districts were necessary was not required but failed to explain how VRA compliance would be assessed absent that data.

49. Defendant Newton indicated that if any members presented evidence or new studies of RPV in North Carolina, the Chairs would be willing to examine that evidence.<sup>10</sup>

50. Defendant Daniel then proposed an amendment providing that “[t]he Committee will draw districts that comply with the Voting Rights Act,”<sup>11</sup> again failing to explain how this would or could be done without racial data or any analysis of racially polarized voting patterns. This amendment was adopted into the final criteria.

51. Senator Blue then proposed an amendment titled “Voting Rights Act,” adding the following criteria:

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<sup>9</sup> NCGA Redistricting, *2021-08-10 Committee (Joint)*, YOUTUBE, <https://youtu.be/QFA6QNpqWVWk?t=2084> (Aug. 10, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> NCGA Redistricting, *2021-08-12 Committee (Joint)*, YOUTUBE, <https://youtu.be/gSm2OhE7Slk?t=10321> (Aug. 12, 2021).

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* at 2:58:00; *Amendment to Proposed Criteria #4 (Racial Data) Offered by Senator Daniel*, North Carolina Joint Redistricting Committee, Aug. 12, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-12-2021/Adopted%20Amendments/Racial%20Data.Daniel.pdf>.

As condemned by the United States Supreme Court in *Cooper v. Harris* and *Covington v. State of North Carolina*, African-Americans shall not be packed into any grouping or district to give partisan advantage to any political party.<sup>12</sup>

52. During debate on this amendment, Senator Blue again queried how it would be possible to comply with the VRA without consideration racial data. Senator Clark also repeated these concerns. In response, Defendant Daniel erroneously advised that prior case law, including a 2019 decision, in North Carolina did not require the use of racial data.<sup>13</sup> The amendment offered by Senator Blue failed.

53. Upon information and belief, Defendant Daniel referenced the September 3, 2019 Judgment of the North Carolina Superior Court for Wake County in the matter *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Case No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, to contend that racial data is not required to ensure compliance with the VRA this redistricting cycle. The court held no such thing. In *Common Cause v. Lewis*, the Superior Court struck down 2017 state Legislative plans as unlawful partisan gerrymanders that violated the Free Elections Clause of the North Carolina Constitution, Article I, Section 10. *Id.* at \*333. In its analysis, the court explicitly held that “[a]ny Remedial Maps must comply with the VRA and other federal requirements concerning the racial composition of districts,” and afforded the parties the opportunity to “submit briefing . . . on whether the *Gingles* factors are met in particular counties and county groupings and/or the minimum BVAP needed in particular counties and county groupings for African-Americans to be able to elect candidates of their choice . . . .” *Id.* at \*407–08. In other words, the court in *Common*

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<sup>12</sup> *Amendment to Proposed Criteria (Voting Rights Act) Offered by Senator Blue*, North Carolina Joint Redistricting Committee, Aug. 12, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-12-2021/Proposed%20Amendments/Voting%20Rights%20Act.Amendment.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> NCGA Redistricting, 2021-08-12 Committee (Joint), YOUTUBE, <https://youtu.be/gSm2OhE7Slk?t=13039>, (Aug. 12, 2021).

*Cause v. Lewis* explicitly required the same analysis that Legislative Defendants are unlawfully chose to skip this cycle.

54. Furthermore, in subsequent orders addressing the remedial maps enacted in *Common Cause v. Lewis*, the court noted that the “need for such localized [RPV] analysis is particularly acute in North Carolina because . . . the existence and extent of white bloc voting varies widely across different county groupings.” Order Supplementing Court Order of October 28, 2019 with Findings and Conclusions Regarding Compliance of Remedial Maps with Federal Voting Rights Act at 4, *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Case No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56. Accordingly, any assertions that courts have definitely held there is no racially polarized voting in North Carolina, and that no RPV analyses are therefore necessary, are both factually and legally incorrect.

55. Hypothetically, it could be that that no districts were compelled by the effects test under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, but the Legislature’s process would still be problematic for two reasons:

- a. First, willful ignorance of racial data invites the destruction of effective crossover districts, and such willful exclusion of racial data suggests the consequences are intended – undermining Black voting strength. The intentional destruction of effective crossover districts, even though such districts are not compelled by the VRA, violates equal protection guarantees such as those in Article I, Section 19. *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 24 (2009).
- b. Second, regardless of whether any districts are actually compelled by the effects test of the VRA, the North Carolina Supreme Court implicitly

demands that the Legislature ascertain whether such districts are compelled and draw the ones compelled. But the only way to know whether there are districts compelled by the effects test of the VRA is to conduct analysis of large populations of minority voters and whether there is racially polarized voting. The Legislature’s failure to even conduct any such analysis makes a mockery of the Supreme Court’s authority and precedent.

56. The final criteria adopted by the Redistricting Committees prohibited the use of any racial data in the 2021 redistricting process.<sup>14</sup>

2. The Legislative Defendants Mandate the Use of County Clusters That Contravene the North Carolina Constitution.

57. On August 12, 2021, the United States Census Data released block-level data showing North Carolina’s population increased from 9,535,483 residents in 2010<sup>15</sup> to 10,439,388 residents in 2020.<sup>16</sup> This 9.5 percent increase gave North Carolina an additional Congressional seat, raising its delegation from 13 members of the House of Representatives to 14 members, and thereby requiring the addition of one Congressional district.<sup>17</sup>

58. The North Carolina population increase reflected in the Census data was not evenly distributed throughout the state, with the vast majority of population increase occurring in urban

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<sup>14</sup> *Criteria Adopted by the Committees*, North Carolina Joint Redistricting Committee, Aug. 12, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-12-2021/Criteria.adopted.8.12.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *North Carolina: 2010: Population and Housing Unit Census* (2012), <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-2-35.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> *North Carolina: 2020 Census*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (Aug. 25, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/north-carolina-population-change-between-census-decade.html>.

<sup>17</sup> *2020 Census: Apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (Apr. 26, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/2021/dec/2020-apportionment-map.html>.

and suburban areas.<sup>18</sup> Without updating the district lines during the decennial redistricting process, North Carolina’s existing districts for the North Carolina House of Representatives and North Carolina Senate would be substantially unequal in population size and deviation.<sup>19</sup>

59. On Tuesday, October 5, 2021, the House Committee on Redistricting and the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections convened separately. In both meetings, the Redistricting Chairs announced in both chambers that they would be limiting the consideration of Senate and House maps to those drawn using county clusters described in the academic paper *N.C. General Assembly County Clusterings from the 2020 Census* (the “Duke Academic Paper”), published on the Duke University website “Quantifying Gerrymandering.”<sup>20</sup>

60. The Duke Academic Paper states: “The one part of *Stephenson v. Bartlett* which this analysis does not reflect is compliance with the Voting Rights Act.”<sup>21</sup>

61. In the meeting of the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections, Defendant Hise provided the set of sixteen possible Senate cluster options, based upon the Duke Academic Paper, that would be required for any map to be considered for enactment (the “Duke Senate Clusters”). See “Duke Senate Groupings Maps 11x17.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Tyler Dukes, *How Has Your NC Neighborhood Grown Since 2010? Use This Map of Census Data to Find Out*, NEWS & OBSERVER (Aug. 14, 2021), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article253375248.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Rebecca Tippet, *Preview: What Redistricting Means for NC’s House*, CAROLINA DEMOGRAPHY (Aug. 2, 2021), <https://www.ncdemography.org/2021/08/02/preview-what-redistricting-means-for-ncs-house/>; Rebecca Tippet, *Preview: What Redistricting Means for NC’s Senate*, CAROLINA DEMOGRAPHY (Aug. 3, 2021), <https://www.ncdemography.org/2021/08/03/preview-what-redistricting-means-for-ncs-senate/>.

<sup>20</sup> Christopher Cooper et al., *NC General Assembly County Clusterings from the 2020 Census*, QUANTIFYING GERRYMANDERING (Aug. 17, 2021), <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Duke Senate Groupings Maps 11x17*, North Carolina Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee, Oct. 5, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/10-05-2021/Duke%20Senate%20Groupings%20Maps%2011x17.pdf>.

62. Senator Blue repeatedly asked how leadership had ensured compliance with the VRA, as required under the North Carolina Constitution, in the mandated clusters without any demographic analysis. Senator Marcus stated the committee needed to conduct an RPV study to ensure legal compliance. Defendant Hise confirmed the Chairs’ views that no demographic data was legally required, and that there was no directive to staff to order any RPV analysis or provide racial data to members drawing maps.<sup>23</sup>

63. In the meeting of the House Committee on Redistricting, Defendant Hall provided the set of eight possible House cluster options, based upon the Duke Academic Paper, that constituted the set of options eligible for adoption (the “Duke House Clusters”). *See* “Duke House Groupings Maps 11x17.pdf.”<sup>24</sup> Defendant Hall stated that no maps that used cluster options other than the Duke House Clusters would be considered.

64. Representative Harrison questioned how the committee would comply with the VRA as the Duke Academic Paper stated its analysis did not reflect compliance with the VRA as required by *Stephenson*. Representative Reives inquired about the obligations under the VRA and how to comply with them. Defendant Hall stated the committees made a decision not to use racial data, contrary to redistricting criteria used in the previous two sessions, which Defendant Hall alleged to be “the best way” to ensure compliance with the VRA as well as other state and federal law.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> NCGA Redistricting, *2021-10-05 Committee (Senate)*, YOUTUBE, <https://youtu.be/IphUZPhkqSY?t=2175>, (Oct. 5, 2021).

<sup>24</sup> *Duke House Groupings Maps 11x17*, North Carolina House Redistricting Committee, Oct. 5, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://ncleg.gov/documents/sites/committees/House2021-182/2021/October%205,%202021/Duke%20House%20Groupings%20Maps%2011x17.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> NCGA Redistricting, *2021-10-05 Committee (House)*, YOUTUBE, [https://youtu.be/9UsiS\\_6rlUA?t=7961](https://youtu.be/9UsiS_6rlUA?t=7961) (Oct. 6, 2021).

3. The Legislature Is Notified that the Mandated County Clusters Violate North Carolina Law.

65. Three days after the proposed County Cluster Maps were publicly released, on Friday, October 8, 2021, counsel for Plaintiff sent a letter to Legislative Defendants informing them that the purportedly “race-blind” redistricting criteria adopted and the mandated county clusters violated well-established redistricting law (the “October 8 Letter”).<sup>26</sup> The October 8 Letter also informed Legislative Defendants of specific areas in the North Carolina Senate and House cluster maps that required examination for VRA Compliance, including:

- a. the Greene/Wayne/Wilson cluster “Q1” mandated by all 16 of the Senate Duke Cluster options;
- b. the Sampson/Wayne cluster “LL2” mandated in some of the House Duke Cluster options;
- c. the Camden/Gates/Hertford/Pasquotank cluster “NN1” mandated in some of the House Duke Cluster options.

66. Legislative Defendants failed to take any action in response to this letter and the highlighted harm to Black voters. This inaction is strong evidence of the Legislature’s racially discriminatory intent and its violation of the process requirements imposed by the *Stephenson* cases.

67. After draft Senate map, “SST-4”, was made publicly available on the North Carolina Legislature’s website (ncleg.gov),<sup>27</sup> counsel for Plaintiff sent a second letter to

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<sup>26</sup> Letter from SCSJ Attorneys to Legislative Defendants, Oct. 8, 2021, [https://southerncoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/SCSJ-correspondence\\_NCGA-redistricting\\_2021.10.082.pdf](https://southerncoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/SCSJ-correspondence_NCGA-redistricting_2021.10.082.pdf).

<sup>27</sup> See *SST-4*, North Carolina Senate Redistricting Committee, Member Submitted Maps [https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4\\_19x36.pdf](https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4_19x36.pdf) (last visited Dec. 12, 2021).

Legislative Defendants on Monday, October 25, 2021,<sup>28</sup> expressing concern that the cluster “Z1” chosen for this map from Duke Senate Clusters map “Duke\_Senate 02” would obstruct the ability of Black voters to continue electing their candidate of choice. On Tuesday, October 26, 2021, Plaintiff Common Cause sent a letter to Legislative Defendants providing RPV analysis for Senate Districts 1 and 9 in map SST-4 that showed legally significant racially polarized voting in these proposed districts.

68. The Legislature hastily enacted the 2021 Enacted Maps shortly thereafter and with almost unprecedented speed, despite failing to announce any public deadline for the proposal or consideration of maps or timeline for enactment. Specifically:

- a. A proposed version of the state Senate map (“SST-13”) was filed on Friday, October 29, 2021 as Senate Bill 739 (“SB739”) and received its first reading in the Senate that day. It was then referred to the Senate Redistricting Committee on November 1 where the Redistricting Committee adopted a substitute along party lines (“SBK-7”). It then passed its second and third readings in the Senate by November 3 along party lines, and passed all three readings and the House Redistricting Committee without any alteration on November 3 – 4, 2021. SB739 was ratified into law on November 4 as S.L. 2021-173.
- b. A placeholder, blank version of the state House Map was filed on Thursday, October 28, 2021 as House Bill 976 (“HB976”) where it passed its first reading. A committee substitute (“HBK-14”) received a favorable review

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<sup>28</sup> Letter from SCSJ Attorneys to Legislative Defendants, Oct. 25, 2021, <https://southerncoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/SCSJ-Letter-Senate-Map-10-25-21-FINAL.pdf>.

and, after one amendment, passed its second and third readings on the House and its first reading in the Senate on November 2, 2021. It received a favorable report from the Senate Redistricting Committee on November 3, 2021 without alteration and passed its second and third readings on November 4, 2021. HB976 was ratified into law on November 4, 2021 as S.L. 2021-175.

- c. A proposed Congressional map (“CST-13”) was filed on October 29, 2021 as Senate Bill 740 (“SB740”) and passed its first reading and received a favorable report from the Senate Redistricting Committee on November 1, 2021. It proceeded unaltered through its second and third readings in the Senate and its first reading in the House on November 2, received a favorable report from the House Redistricting Committee on November 3, and proceeded unaltered through its second and third readings in the House on November 4, 2021. SB740 was ratified into law on November 4, 2021 as S.L. 2021-174.

69. In the rush to finalize maps, Legislative Defendants rejected or tabled multiple amendments offered by other Senate and House legislators intended to require assessment and, as appropriate, to ameliorate the harm that would result to voters of color from the Legislative Defendants’ redistricting process. Legislative Defendants also continued to defend the adopted criteria with inaccurate recitations of applicable law and mischaracterizations of fact. For example, in the meeting of the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections on November 2, Defendant Newton stated that “some have asked whether the *Stephenson* cases require that race be used in redistricting,” and then sought to justify the Legislative Defendants’ choice to prohibit use of racial

data by asserting that (1) subsequent case law held that use of racial data or analysis was not legally required, (2) *Stephenson* did not apply because Section 5 of the VRA is not currently enforceable, and (3) it was the duty of other members to propose plans with majority-minority districts (despite unequivocal direction from the Redistricting Chairs that *no plan would be considered if racial data had been used*).

70. Legislative Defendants’ flagrant disregard for the redistricting requirements set forth in *Stephenson* certainly confirms that their destruction of crossover districts that were providing Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice was a willful and intentional act of racial discrimination in violation of the North Carolina Constitution. These bad acts are not merely abstract but will in fact cause harm to Black voters by reducing the number of districts in which they are effectively able to elect their candidate of choice, in violation of their rights to equal protection, and will frustrate the core missions of Plaintiff Common Cause to make government at all levels more representative, open, and responsive to the interests of ordinary people, including voters of color. Plaintiff forecast to Legislative Defendants that their members and other voters of color would specifically be harmed in *at least* the following areas, and this harm is still ensured given the districts drawn in the final maps proposed by Legislative Defendants and enacted in SB739 and HB976:<sup>29</sup>

- a. Choice of Senate cluster “Z1”. The Duke Senate Clusters provided two potential cluster options for the “Z1” cluster in northeast North Carolina. The proposed Senate map “SST-4” (an early draft of the enacted SB739)

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<sup>29</sup> Plaintiff does not concede that there may not be other clusters that raise VRA implications, but those are not the subject of this litigation, which only focuses on the racially discriminatory exclusion of racial data in the select of clusters that the Legislature defined as “legal” and the Legislature’s failure to do consider any racial data that is required by the NC Supreme Court in the *Stephenson* cases.

was drafted using the Duke Senate Cluster “Duke\_Senate 02,” which eliminates an effective crossover district, thus obliterating the voting power of Black voters in this area of North Carolina, specifically in Senate District 1. The Legislature had the option to adopt a cluster comprised of Warren, Halifax, Martin, Bertie, Northampton, Hertford, Gates, Camden, Currituck, and Tyrell counties, with a BVAP of 42.33%, and were advised of this by Plaintiff’s counsel on October 25, 2021. While there is racially polarized voting in these counties, collectively and using reconstituted election results, this one-district cluster would have elected the Black-preferred candidate in recent statewide racially contested elections. However, the “Z1” cluster ultimately selected for inclusion in SB739 is comprised of Northampton, Hertford, Bertie, Gates, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Camden, Currituck, Tyrell, and Dare Counties, and dilutes the ability of Black voters to elect their candidates of choice. The BVAP in District 1 of SB739 using this cluster is only 29.49%. There is racially polarized voting in these counties which, collectively and using reconstituted election results, would not have elected the Black-preferred candidate in recent statewide, racially contested elections. Even without explicitly viewing racial data during drafting, any individual with passing familiarity with this area of North Carolina would understand that the choice of this “Z1” cluster in SB739 would destroy Black voters’ ability to continue electing their candidate of choice in a crossover district.

- b. House Cluster “KK2”. The Duke House Clusters provided two configurations for the group of six counties in southeast North Carolina (Wayne, Sampson, Duplin, Onslow, Pender, and Bladen). The 2019 House Remedial Map formed House District 21 from portions of Wayne and Sampson counties, which provided Black voters the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice at 39% BVAP. On October 8, 2021, Plaintiff’s counsel notified Legislative Defendants that House District 21 was providing Black voters the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice, and that it would be possible to create two House districts from the Wayne and Sampson County Cluster. Plaintiff’s counsel also notified Legislative Defendants that voting in Sampson and Wayne Counties was highly racially polarized and thus there was substantial evidence of legally significant racially polarized voting in this cluster. However, the enacted HB976 intentionally dismantled an effective cross-over district that allowed Black voters to elect their candidate of choice.

71. As illustrated above, each of these examples of Senate and House clusters required by the Committee Chairs, and enacted in SB739 and HB976, would deprive Black voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Under the purportedly “race-blind” criteria adopted by the Legislative Defendants, however, the deleterious consequences on BVAP has not, and in fact cannot, be directly and appropriately considered by the Redistricting Committees.

72. The racially discriminatory impact of this purportedly “race-blind” approach, in violation of Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution, has a well-understood detrimental effect on Black representation. Overall, Legislative Defendants’ intentional racially

discriminatory actions will cause a drastic decrease in representation for Black voters in the North Carolina House and Senate, as well as Congress. Of the 12 Senate districts that currently provide a genuine and equitable opportunity for voters of color to elect their candidate of choice (who also identify as Black),<sup>30</sup> four – the districts electing Senator Ernestine Bazemore, Senator Toby Fitch, Senator Ben Clark, and Senator Sydney Batch – are unlikely or certain not to elect candidates of choice for voters of color under SB739.<sup>31</sup> Of the 23 House districts that currently perform and provide a genuine and equitable opportunity for voters of color to elect their candidate of choice (who also identify as Black),<sup>32</sup> five – the districts electing Representative Raymond Smith, Representative James Gailliard, Representative Linda Cooper-Suggs, Representative Howard Hunter II, and Represented Garland Pierce – are unlikely or certain not to elect candidates of choice for voters of color under HB976.<sup>33</sup> Of the two Congressional districts that currently perform and provide a genuine and equitable opportunity for voters of color to elect their candidate of

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<sup>30</sup> Sen. Sydney Batch, current SD 17; Sen. Ernestine Bazemore, current SD 3; Sen. Dan Blue, current SD 14; Sen. Ben Clark, current SD 21; Sen. Don Davis, current SD 5; Sen. Milton F. “Toby” Fitch, current SD 4; Sen. Valerie Foushee, current SD 23; Sen. Natalie Murdock, current SD 20; Sen. Gladys Robinson, current SD 28; DeAndra Salavador, current SD 39; Sen. Joyce Waddell, current SD 40; and Sen. Paul Lowe, current SD 32. Available at: <https://www.ncleg.gov/Members/MemberList/S>.

<sup>31</sup> Laura Leslie, *Minority Lawmakers Likely to Lose Out Under Partisan NC District Maps*, WRAL (November 8, 2021), <https://www.wral.com/minority-lawmakers-likely-to-lose-out-under-partisan-nc-district-maps/19969697/>.

<sup>32</sup> Rep. Howard Hunter, current HD 5, Rep. Kandie Smith, current HD 8, Rep. Raymond Smith, current HD 21, Rep. Shelly Willingham, current HD 23, Rep. Linda Cooper-Suggs, current HD 24, Rep. James D. Gaillard, current HD 25, Rep. Vernetta Alston, current HD 29, Rep. Zack Hawkin, current HD 31, Rep. Terry Garrison, current HD 32, Rep. Rosa U. Gill, current HD 33, Rep. Abe Jones, current HD 38, Rep. Marvin W. Lucas, current HD 42, Rep. Garland Pierce, current HD 48, Rep. Robert T. Reives, current HD 54, Rep. Amos L. Quick, III, current HD 58, Rep. Cecil Brockman, current HD 60, Rep. Amber Baker, current HD 72, Rep. Terry M. Brown,, current HD 92, Rep. Nasif Majeed, current HD 99, Rep. Carolyn Logan, current HD 101, Rep. Brandon Lofton, current HD 104, Rep. Carla Cunningham, current HD 106, Rep. Kelly Alexander, current HD 107, Available at <https://www.ncleg.gov/Members/MemberList/H>.

<sup>33</sup> Laura Leslie, *Minority Lawmakers Likely to Lose Out Under Partisan NC District Maps*, WRAL (November 8, 2021), <https://www.wral.com/minority-lawmakers-likely-to-lose-out-under-partisan-nc-district-maps/19969697/>

choice (who also identify as Black),<sup>34</sup> one – the district electing Congressman G.K. Butterfield – is unlikely to elect candidates of choice for voters of color under SB740. This result could have been avoided had the General Assembly not flagrantly violated the redistricting process mandates issued by the North Carolina Supreme Court. Instead, functioning crossover districts were intentionally destroyed in violation of Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution.

73. Significantly, while Legislative Defendants have tried to justify their actions by a purported and erroneous view that it will lower the risk of violations of federal law, they have not expressed the belief that undertaking the first step of *Stephenson* would automatically violate federal law. To the contrary, they have affirmed their belief that it is possible to comply with the requirements of both state and federal law, as set forth in *Stephenson*. For example, in a meeting of the Senate Redistricting Committee on Tuesday, October 5, 2021, Defendant Hise stated that “It is our position that you can comply with both laws at the same time” when asked about compliance with the VRA and the county clusters required by the Whole County Provision under *Stephenson*.

74. Relatedly, Legislative Defendants have also expressed the view that using race to draw maps is not a *per se* violation of federal law, but rather only impermissible if they did not first ensure the *Gingles* preconditions were satisfied before using race (as they failed to do last cycle and as determined by the court in *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117, 176-78 (M.D.N.C. 2016), *summarily aff’d*, 137 S. Ct. 2211 (2017)). For example, in a meeting of the Senate Committee on Tuesday, November 2, 2021, Defendant Newton stated “if we draw districts using race, and we do not satisfy the *Gingles* preconditions, we risk violating the Equal Protections

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<sup>34</sup> Rep. G.K. Butterfield, current CD 1, Rep. Alma Adams, current CD 12. Available at <https://www.congress.gov/members?q=%7B%22member-state%22%3A%22North+Carolina%22%2C%22congress%22%3A117%7D>.

Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.” This statement acknowledges that, if the *Gingles* preconditions were satisfied, the use of race to draw districts would *not* violate the Equal Protections Clause and thus use of race in redistricting is not prohibited by federal law.

75. These views were reinforced by statements from counsel for Legislative Defendants during oral argument in the matter *North Carolina NAACP v. Berger*, in which counsel for Legislative Defendants asserted that Legislative Defendant were not required under law to ascertain what VRA districts are required nor to do any analysis of racial demographic data. *See* Transcript of 30 November 2021 Oral Argument, *NC NAACP v. Berger*, No. 21CVS014476 (Wake Cty. Super. Ct. Nov. 30, 2021) at p. 51 lines 15-17 (“There’s no affirmative duty on the Legislature to engage in any particular process to get a complaint VRA map.”), p. 49, lines 18-19 (“There’s no requirement that we [the Legislature] inform ourselves of that data to comply with the VRA.”), p. 50, lines 11-13 (“There’s been no formal [analysis to determine whether the maps are VRA compliant] . . . the Legislature hasn’t had a hearing or done anything like that. They’re not required to.”).

76. Accordingly, Legislative Defendants’ role in orchestrating a redistricting process that defiantly ignored the unequivocal directions of the highest court in this state is not based upon the belief that doing so would be inconsistent with federal law, including the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Rather, it is based upon an erroneous legal view that the first step of *Stephenson* is not required at all.

**C. The Legislative Defendants Have Continued to Partisan Gerrymander State Legislative and Congressional Maps to Further Entrench Their Party in Power.**

1. The North Carolina Republican Party Has a Long History of Passing Redistricting and Election-Related Laws to Ensure Political Entrenchment and Frustration of the Ability of North Carolina Voters to Elect Their Candidates of Choice.

77. While the mechanics, justifications, and legal arguments have all shifted as strategies and tactics have changed, one dynamic has remained constant: the North Carolina Republican Party’s relentless efforts to insulate their political power from the will of the people of North Carolina.

78. In 2010, the North Carolina Republican Party took unified control of the North Carolina General Assembly for the first time since 1870. No sooner were their newfound majorities sworn in than they started working to entrench those majorities, using discriminatory redistricting processes and changes in election laws to place their political power beyond the reach of North Carolina voters. Many of these efforts have been challenged in both state and federal court, and many of these efforts have been struck down by those same courts. While the specific claims at issue have shifted over time, the overall thrust of these cases is clear: the North Carolina Republican Party attempting to entrench its power, by any means necessary, in violation of applicable law. Plaintiff Common Cause’s claims in this case are only the latest episode in this saga.

79. The majorities that precipitated the North Carolina Republican Party’s unlawful political entrenchment were rooted in partisan machinations from the beginning. In 2010, the North Carolina Republican Party, in coordination with the Republican National Committee, targeted the North Carolina General Assembly via their “REDistricting Majority Project,” or “REDMAP.” REDMAP sought to identify opportunities to take control of state legislatures throughout the

country ahead of the 2011 decennial redistricting process, in order to use that newfound control to gerrymander maps in favor of Republican candidates.

80. REDMAP was wildly successful, with Republicans winning 18 of the 22 North Carolina House and Senate races targeted in 2010, and giving Republicans control of the both chambers of the General Assembly for the first time since 1870.

81. Republican leadership in the General Assembly immediately put these REDMAP-powered majorities to work in the 2011 redistricting process. Working out of the basement of the North Carolina Republican Party headquarters, a team led by Tom Hofeller drew legislative maps in secret. The goal was clear: to ensure durable Republican majorities in each legislative delegation, regardless of the desires of North Carolina voters.

82. The REDMAP-derived Republican majorities passed the Hofeller-drawn plans without a single Democrat in support, with the express goal of entrenching Republican legislative dominance. The 2011 plans did exactly that. In elections in 2012, 2014, and 2016, the percentage of seats won by Republicans in the House, Senate, and Congressional delegations greatly exceeded the Republican vote share statewide. The 2011 state Legislative plans were struck down as unconstitutional racial gerrymanders in *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. at 176-78. The *Covington* court found that the Legislature's proffered explanation for the maps as necessary for Voting Rights Act compliance was unjustified. *Id.* at 168-69. The U.S. Supreme Court summarily affirmed this decision. 137 S. Ct. 2211 (2017). A similar finding was made concerning two Congressional districts in *Harris v. McCrory*, 159 F. Supp. 3d 600, 604 (M.D.N.C. 2016), and was also affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court. *Cooper v. Harris*, 137 S. Ct. 1455, 1481-82 (2017).

83. In the immediate aftermath of the *Covington* decision, before remedial maps undoing the unconstitutional gerrymanders could be passed, the Republican-dominated General

Assembly reached for alternate means to entrench their political power. The day after the Supreme Court affirmed the *Covington* decision, the General Assembly placed a constitutional amendment on the ballot to authorize a voter ID law in North Carolina. The amendment was rife with procedural irregularities, including complete silence as to implementation of the amendment. After the amendment referendum narrowly passed, the outgoing legislature (and its soon-to-disappear Republican supermajority) passed racially discriminatory legislation implementing the amendment. This legislation was vetoed by the Governor, but the Governor’s veto was subsequently overridden in a last act of the Republican supermajority in a lame duck session just before a legislature elected under remedial maps would enter office. The amendment was later struck down as intentionally discriminatory on the basis of race. Final Judgment and Order, *Holmes v. Moore*, No. 18-CVS-15292 (N.C. Sup. Ct. Sept. 17, 2021).

2. After the 2011 Plans Were Struck Down, the Legislature Drew Remedial Maps in 2017 and Again Attempted to Entrench Their Political Power.

84. The Legislature sought to defend the subsequently enacted 2017 Plans exclusively as partisan gerrymanders. Republican leaders made repeated public statements about their partisan intentions, and grounded their legal defense of the maps in the theory that partisan gerrymandering was explicitly allowable under both the U.S. and North Carolina Constitutions. After a two-week trial, a three-judge panel struck down the 2017 state Legislative maps as unconstitutional partisan gerrymanders. *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*404-05. Shortly thereafter, the 2017 Congressional maps were also enjoined as unconstitutional partisan gerrymanders. *Harper v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 122, at \*24-25 (N.C. Sup. Ct. Oct. 28, 2019).

3. The Legislative Defendants Have Continued This Cycle of Gerrymandering By Enacting Partisan Gerrymandered State Legislative and Congressional Maps.

85. The 2021 Enacted Maps all passed along party lines. The State House map, HB976, passed the House on a strict party line vote, with 67 Republican Representatives in favor and 49 Democratic Representatives opposed. HB976 also passed the Senate on a strict party line vote, with 25 Republican Senators in favor and 21 Democratic Senators opposed.

86. The State Senate map, SB739, passed the Senate on a strict party line vote, with 26 Republican Senators in favor and 19 Democratic Senators opposed. SB739 also passed the House on a strict party line vote, with 65 Republican Representatives in favor and 49 Democratic Representatives opposed.

87. The Congressional map, SB740, passed the Senate on a strict party line vote, with 27 Republican Senators in favor and 22 Democratic Senators opposed. SB740 also passed the House on a strict party line vote, with 65 Republican Representatives in favor and 49 Democratic Representatives opposed.

88. Each of the maps were enacted with the intent to dilute the vote of and impede voters who support candidates not in the majority party in the General Assembly from electing their candidate of choice.

89. Each of the enacted maps will have an extreme and durable discriminatory effect on voters who prefer Democratic candidates.

90. The extreme partisan outcomes produced by each of the challenged maps cannot be explained by any neutral reason.

**D. The Three Challenged Maps Were Enacted with the Intent to Discriminate Against Voters Who Support Democratic Candidates.**

91. Legislative Defendants’ claims that they did not use political data are belied by the fact that simulations demonstrate that plans produced without partisan data almost never produce the outcomes seen in the enacted plans.

92. Moreover, Legislative Defendants acknowledged they would not be enforcing the “rule” that partisan and racial data not be used. Upon information and belief, numerous Republican legislators brought with them into the map-drawing room papers upon which they relied in drawing district lines on the public terminals, and the poor audio quality of the livestream made it impossible for the public to hear many of the conversations held between Republican legislators and their staffers.

93. Given the Legislative Defendants’ defiant rejection of the rules the North Carolina Supreme Court has imposed on redistricting; the inconsistency between their claims of a transparent process with the opacity of the process that actually occurred; and their failure to meaningfully exclude members from using political data, an inference of improper intent is supported by the circumstantial evidence.

*Congressional Districts at Issue*

94. The Congressional map (SB740) demonstrates cracking and packing of Democratic-performing areas that would not be possible without utilizing political data (or a deep familiarity with the politics of certain areas, which belies the claims of not using any partisan data).

95. While the entire design of the Congressional map is necessary to effectuating the unconstitutional and discriminatory effect orchestrated by Legislative Defendants, the following districts exemplify the packing and cracking strategies used – strategies that highlight the intentional manipulation of district lines in order to achieve unconstitutional goals.

96. In Congressional District 2, the Legislature purposefully excluded Greenville in Pitt County – despite splitting Pitt County to include a microscopic portion of the county in District 2 – in order to undermine Democratic and Black voting strength in this Congressional District. Substantial portions of Greenville, a heavily Black and Democratic city widely known as such to anyone with a passing familiarity of the state’s political geography, have historically been included in that Congressional district, long represented by the candidate of choice of Black voters even though it has, for years, never needed to achieve majority-Black status in order to provide Black voters the opportunity to elect their candidates of choice.

97. Instead of including Greenville, as has historically been done, the Legislature instead chose to add Caswell and Person Counties to Congressional District 2, counties that are overwhelmingly White and overwhelmingly Republican. Again, to believe that map drawers would not be aware of the racial and political implications of this significant change would require abandonment of all common sense and logic, and an assumption that North Carolina legislators do not understand the state’s political geography at all.

98. These changes to Congressional District 2 dramatically reduce the BVAP in the district, from 42.38% to 39.99%, likely destroying a functioning crossover district and dramatically decreasing the Black political performance of the district, leading the Cook Political Report to list this district as a “Toss Up.”<sup>35</sup>

99. Likewise, in Congressional District 4, the Sandhills counties of Cumberland and Sampson Counties are joined with non-Sandhill counties of Harnett and Johnston Counties, which are Triangle suburb counties, and a heavily Republican portion of Wayne County. This decision

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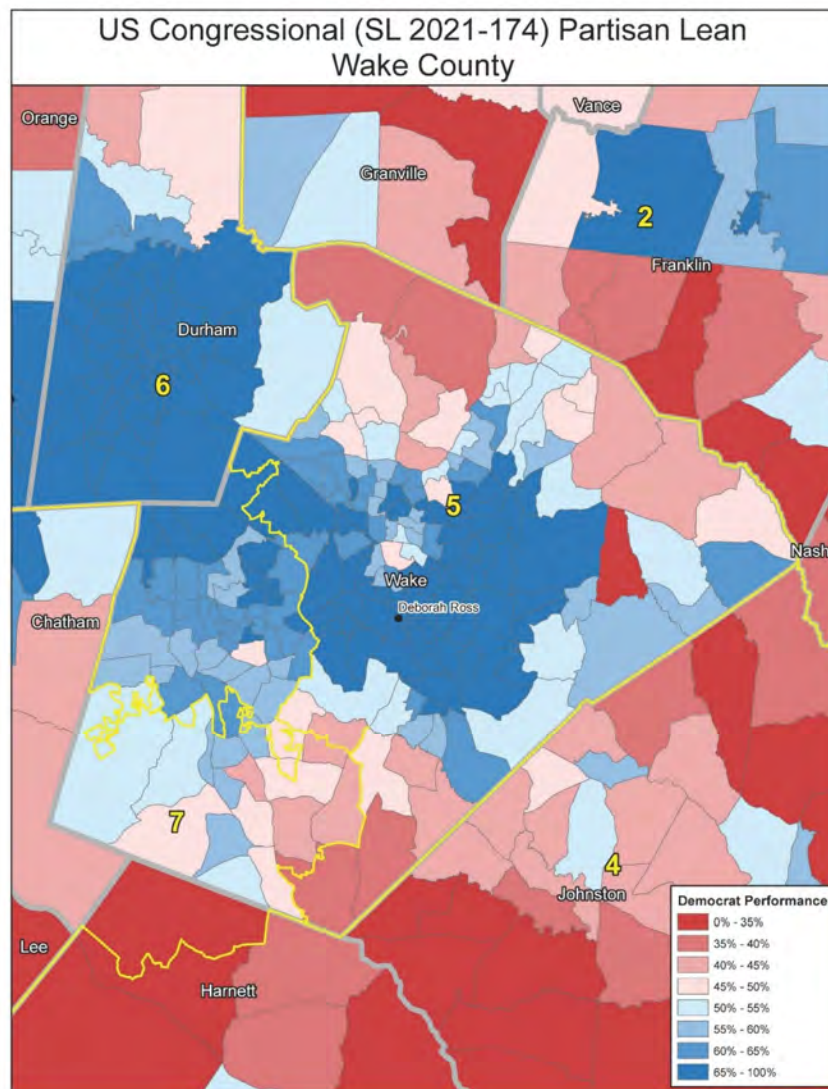
<sup>35</sup> Cook Political Report, *2022 House Race Ratings* (Dec. 9, 2021), <https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings> (last visited Dec. 10, 2021).

effectively frustrates the ability of Democratic and Black voters in Fayetteville (Cumberland County), widely known to be such, by submerging those voters within a district of heavily White and conservative areas. In court-ordered remedial districts in 2016 and 2019, Cumberland County was never joined with Harnett or Johnston Counties.

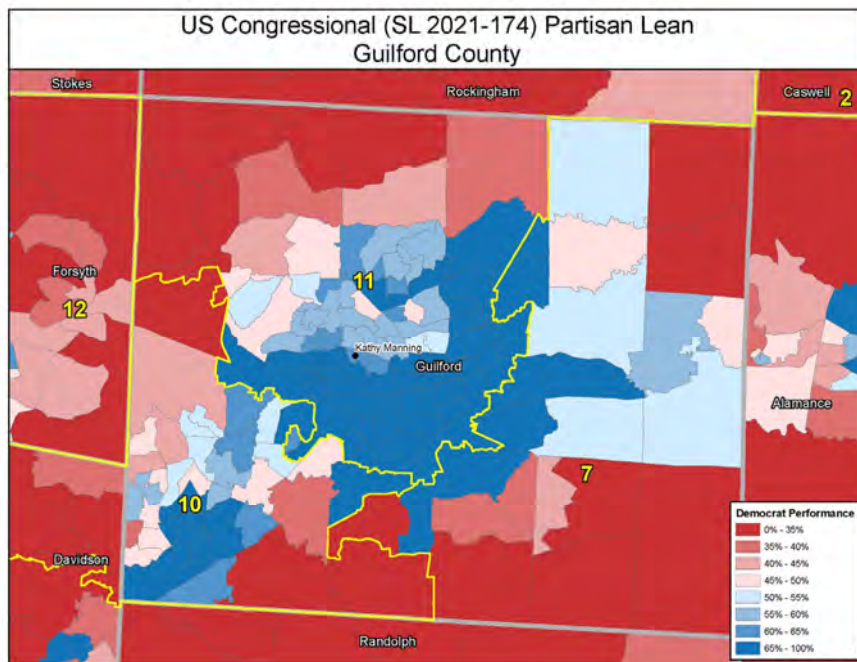
100. The Triangle region was subject to extreme packing and cracking in order to effectuate partisan gerrymandering in that region. Wake County, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, is split into 3 different districts in order to prevent the natural emergence of a third Democratic leaning district in the county.

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101. The image below demonstrates that Democratic voters are packed into Congressional District 5. The remainder of Democratic voters in the county are cracked, with half being assigned to the already heavily Democratic district (Congressional District 6) based in Orange and Durham County and the rest being stranded in a Republican-leaning, Triad-based district (Congressional District 7). Such surgical packing and cracking would not be possible without partisan data and an intense familiarity with the political characteristics of the precincts in Wake County – familiarity that Legislative Defendants had.

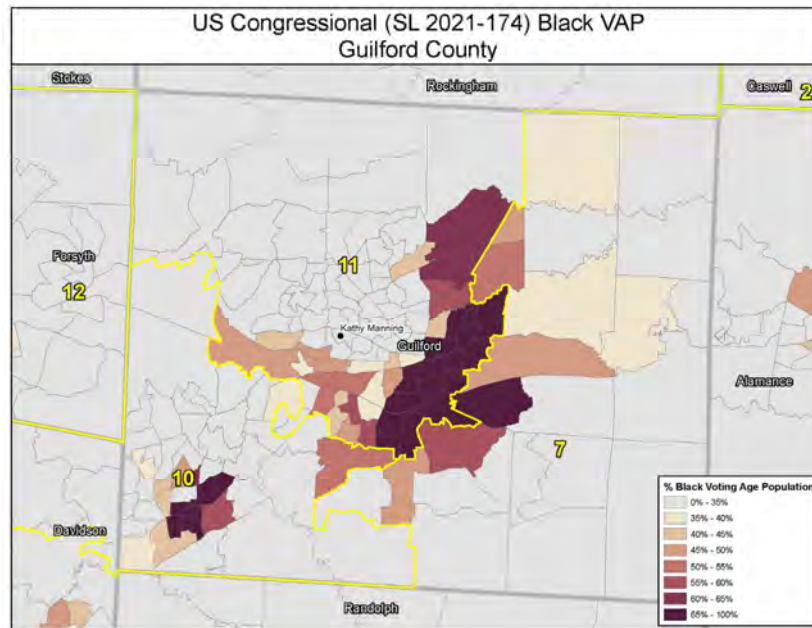


102. The Triad region saw some of the most egregious cracking strategies and gross disregard for communities of interest. As the image below demonstrates, the heavily Black and heavily Democratic Guilford County was cracked into 3 districts – Congressional District 11, Congressional District 7 and Congressional District 10.



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103. The cracking of Black voters in Guilford County was also done with near surgical precision and presents strong evidence of the Legislative Defendants’ intentional racial discrimination in violation Article I, Section 19.<sup>36</sup>

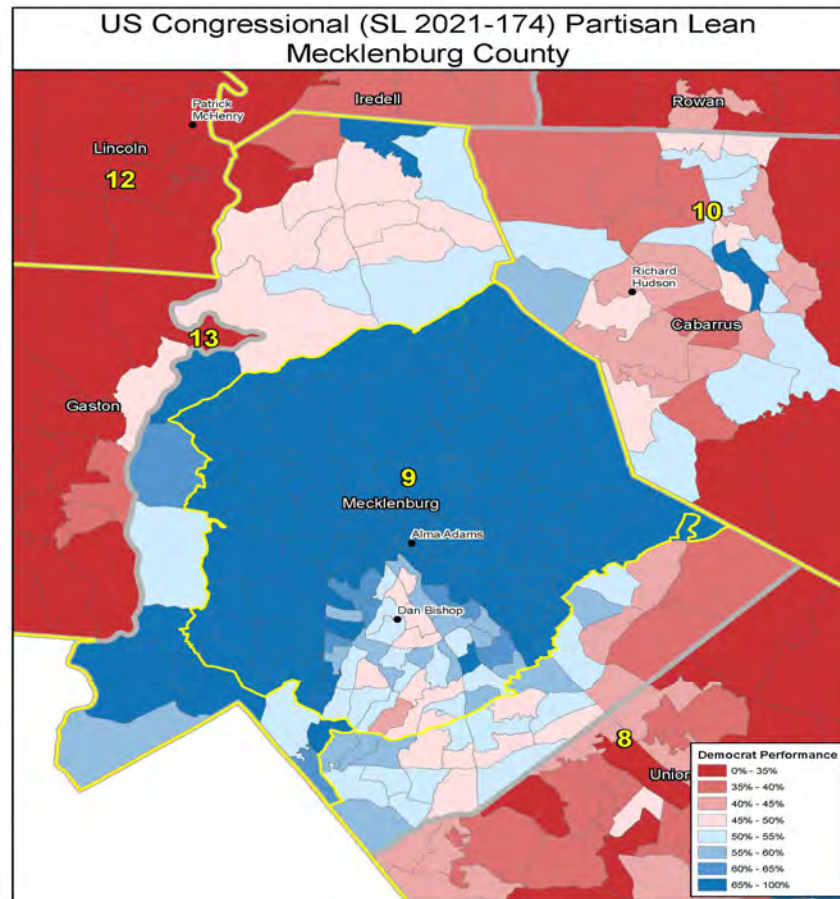


104. Black and Democratic voters are stranded in Republican districts reaching, to the west, out to Watauga County and, to the east, into Wake County – regions that have nothing in common with Guilford County. This cracking also belies the expected defense that maps that favor Republicans are caused by the fact that Democrats choose to congregate in urban areas. If those areas are egregiously cracked, as seen above, that plainly cannot be a plausible, non-discriminatory reason for the extreme partisan outcomes produced by the enacted Congressional maps.

105. In Mecklenburg County, a pattern of cracking and packing emerges as Democratic voters were packed into Congressional District 9 and cracked between the remaining two Republican leaning Congressional Districts 8 and 13. Such surgical packing and cracking would

<sup>36</sup> Plaintiff does not allege that the VRA compelled the drawing of any district in Guilford County, but that does not give the Legislature free reign to crack Black voting populations in order to frustrate their political voice.

not be possible without partisan data and an intense familiarity with the political characteristics of the precincts in Mecklenburg County – familiarity that Legislative Defendants had.



106. Plaintiff Common Cause has members who are voters who identify as Black in each of the above districts.

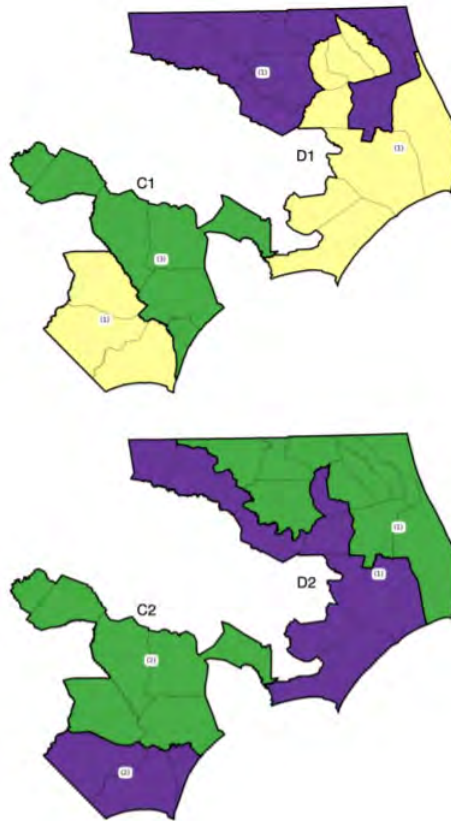
107. Plaintiff Common Cause has members who are voters who prefer Democratic Congressional candidates in each of the above districts.

#### *Senate Districts at Issue*

108. The Senate Map demonstrates cracking and packing of Democratic-performing areas that would not be possible without political data (or a deep familiarity with the politics of certain areas, which belies the claims of not using any partisan data).

109. While the entire design of the Senate map is necessary to effectuating the unconstitutional and discriminatory effect orchestrated by Legislative Defendants, the following districts exemplify the packing and strategies used – strategies that highlight the intentional manipulation of district lines in order to achieve the unconstitutional goals. They likewise demonstrate the racially discriminatory efforts at play.

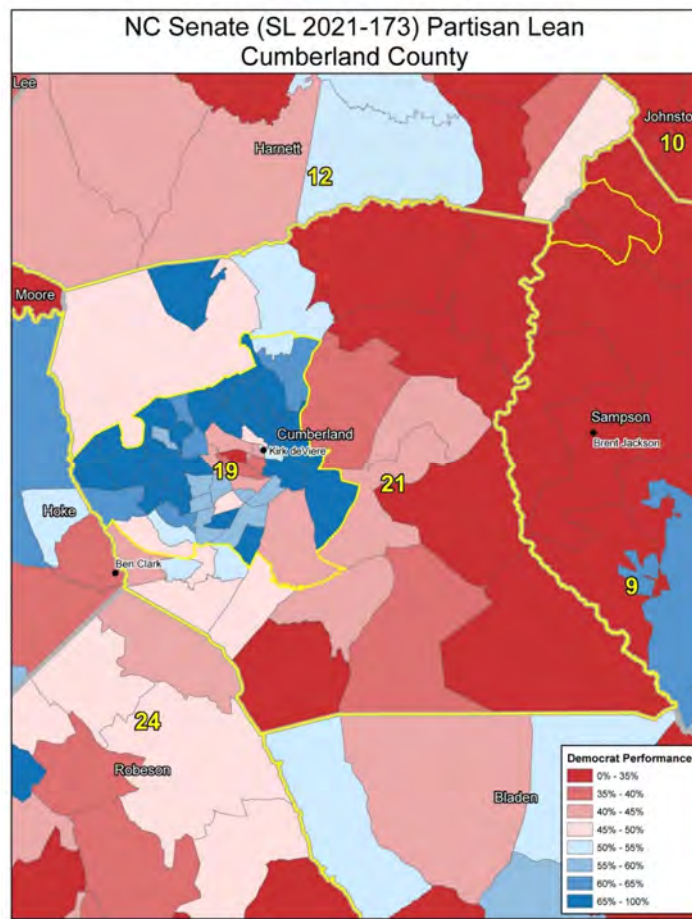
110. The Legislature was presented with two possible clusters for a district in Northeast North Carolina (for a seat currently held by Sen. Ernestine Bazemore). The two cluster options are represented below:



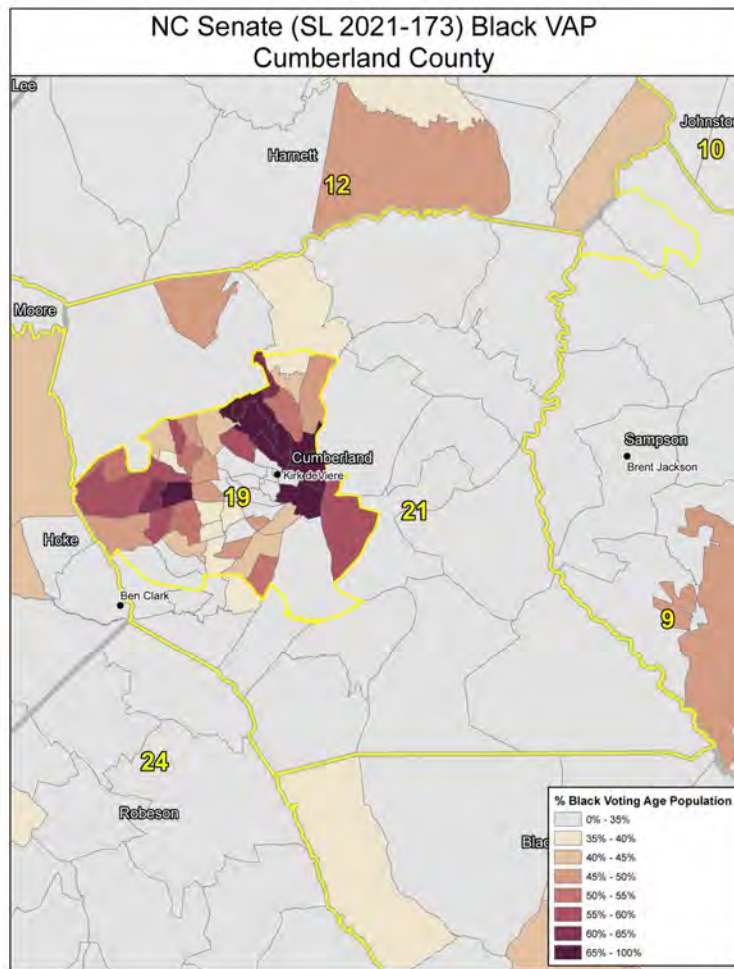
111. Legislative Defendants asserted that both cluster options were legal. The cluster at the top (D1, which includes Carteret, Pamlico, Washington, Chowan, Hyde, Dare, Perquimans, and Pasquotank counties) would have maintained a performing crossover district that allowed

Black voters to elect their candidate of choice in eastern North Carolina. The cluster below (D2, which includes Carteret, Pamlico, Washington, Chowan, Hyde, Martin, Halifax, and Warren counties) would destroy the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice and ensure the defeat of their current preferred representative, Senator Bazemore. Legislative Defendants were warned that the selecting the second cluster would dramatically reduce the BVAP in the district and would destroy an effective crossover district. They destroyed it anyway, and offered no other justification.

112. Cumberland County presents another example where heavily Black and heavily Democratic areas were packed and cracked with near-surgical precision to create Senate Districts 19 and 21.

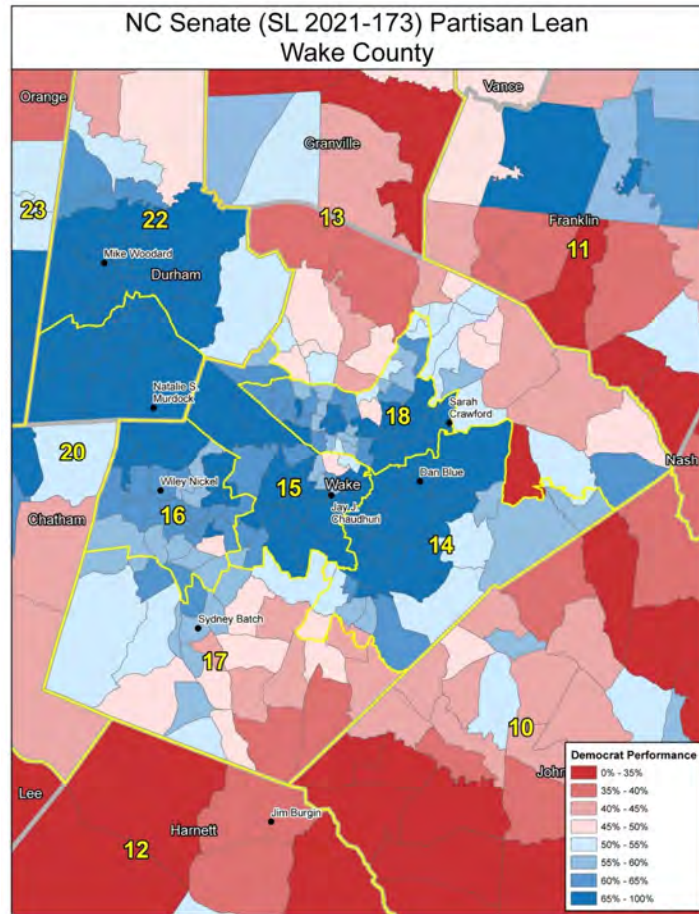


113. The correlation of these lines to the make-up of BVAP also presents strong evidence of intentional racial discrimination in violation of Article I, Section 19.



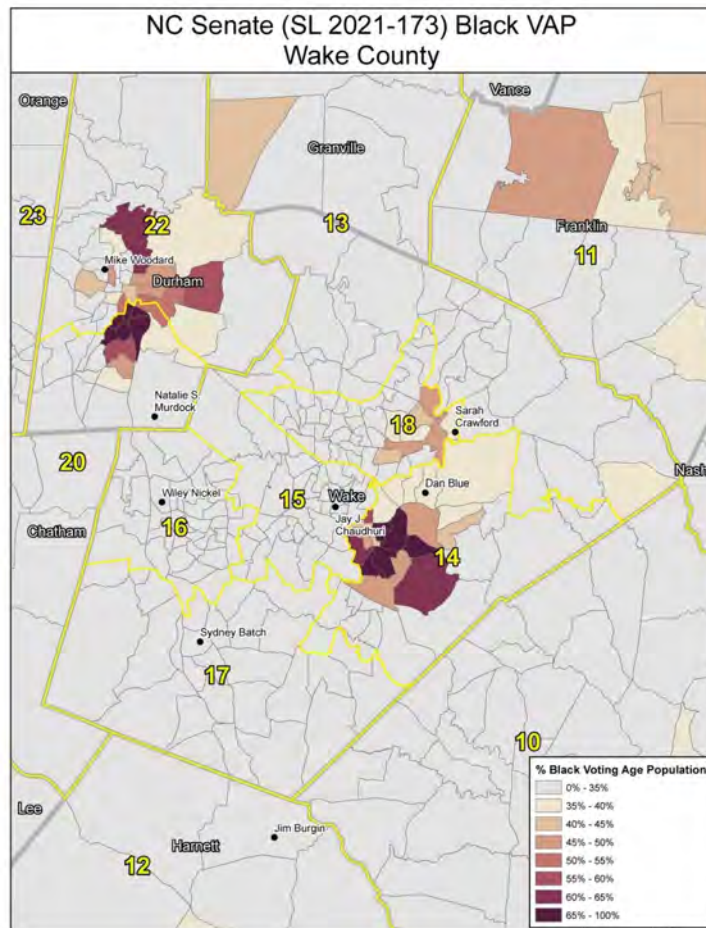
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114. In Wake County, the Legislature drew Senate districts that cracked Democratic voters into various senate districts (SD 15, 16, 17) within the county, while packing them into others (SD 14). This would only be possible with the utilization of political data or a deep familiarity with the political makeup of Wake County, either of which belies the Legislative Defendants’ claims that partisan data was not used to draw districts.



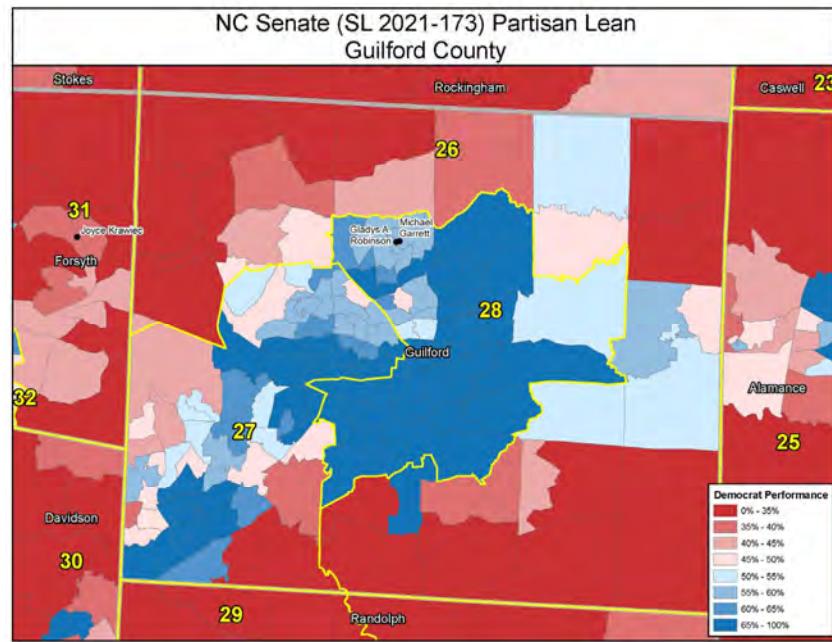
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115. The Legislature also drew maps that explicitly followed the contours of the Black electorate in Wake County, especially in Senate District 14 and Senate District 18. The precise way that these districts were drawn is only possible by looking at racial data.

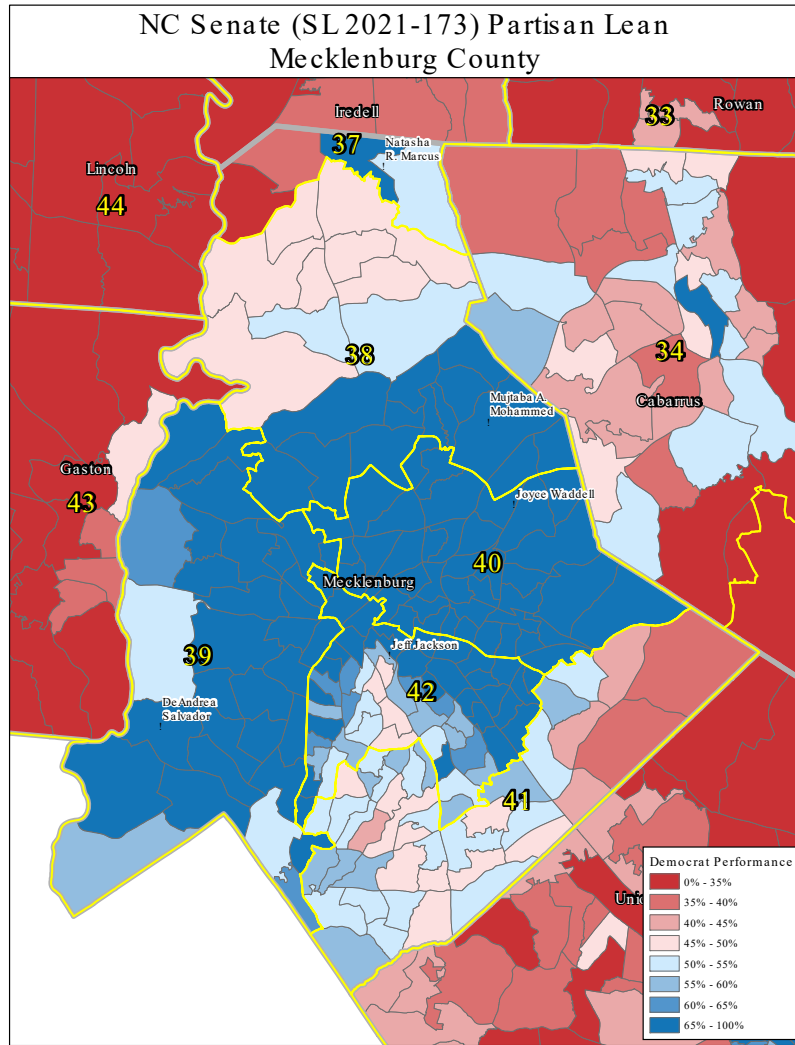


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116. In Guilford County, the Legislature also surgically cracked Democratic voters into various Senate districts (SD 27 and 28) in a manner that is not possible without looking at political data.



117. In Mecklenburg/Iredell Counties, map drawers intentionally double-bunked Senator Marcus in Senate District 37, which leadership later unsuccessfully attempted to use as a bargaining chip to garner Democratic support for their gerrymanders. Map drawers also purposefully drew two Republican-influence districts in the north and south of Mecklenburg County first, and then proceeded to pack all remaining Democratic areas together, in order to increase the influence of Republican voters overall.

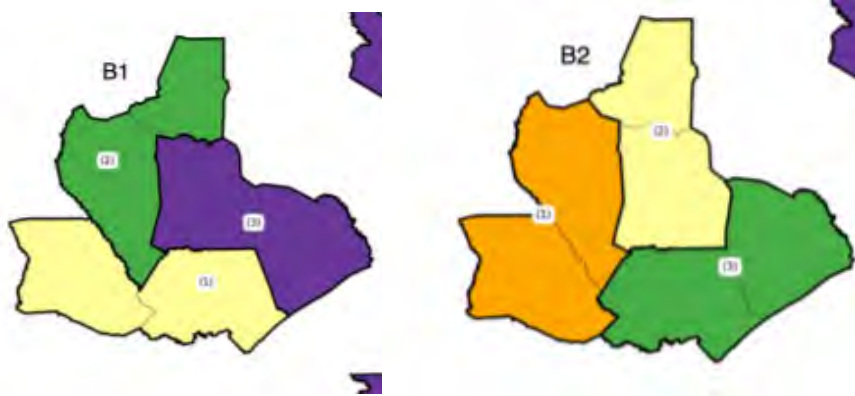


### *State House Districts at Issue*

118. The State House Map demonstrates cracking and packing of Democratic-performing areas that would not be possible without political data (or a deep familiarity with the politics of certain areas, which belies the claims of not using any partisan data).

119. While the entire design of the State House map is necessary to effectuating the unconstitutional and discriminatory effect orchestrated by Legislative Defendants, the following districts exemplify the packing and strategies used – strategies that highlight the intentional manipulation of district lines in order to achieve the unconstitutional goals. They likewise demonstrate the racially discriminatory efforts at play.

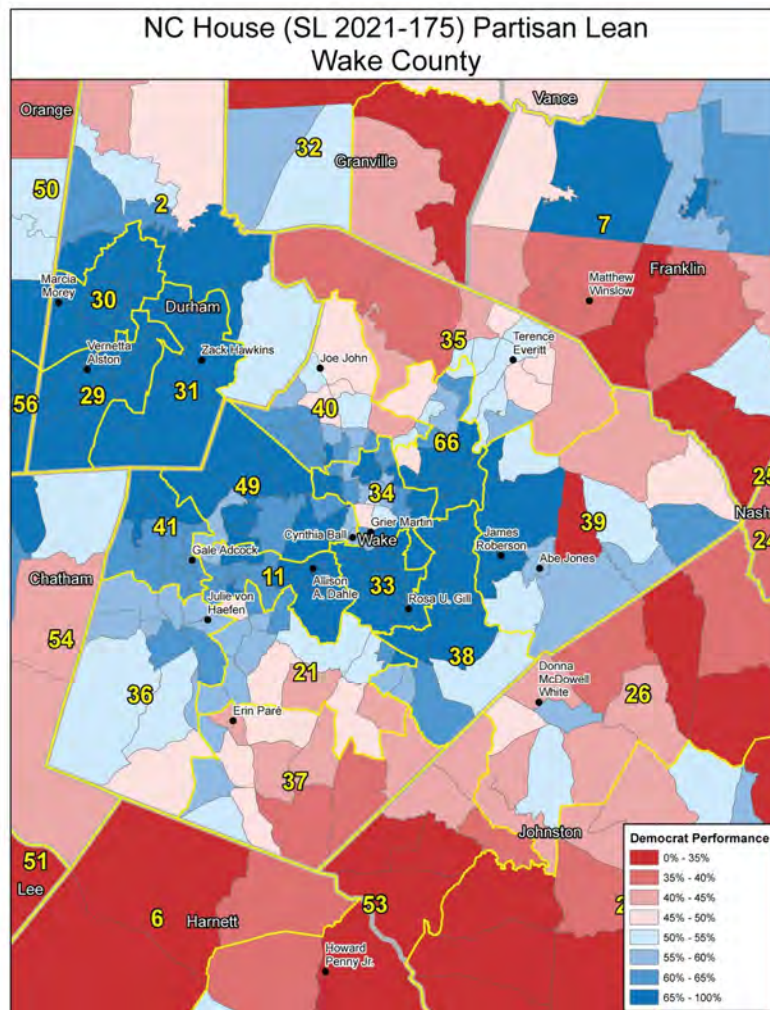
120. The Legislature was presented with two possible clusters for a House district based in Wayne County (for a seat currently held by Rep. Raymond Smith). The two cluster options are represented below:



121. Legislative Defendants asserted that both cluster options were legal. The cluster to the right (B2) would have had a better chance of maintaining a performing crossover district that allowed Black voters to elect their candidate of choice and would have better respected communities of interest. The cluster to the left (B1) would destroy the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice and ensure the defeat of their current preferred representative, Representative Smith. Legislative Defendants were warned that the selecting the cluster on the left would reduce the BVAP in the district and would destroy an effective crossover district. They destroyed it anyway.

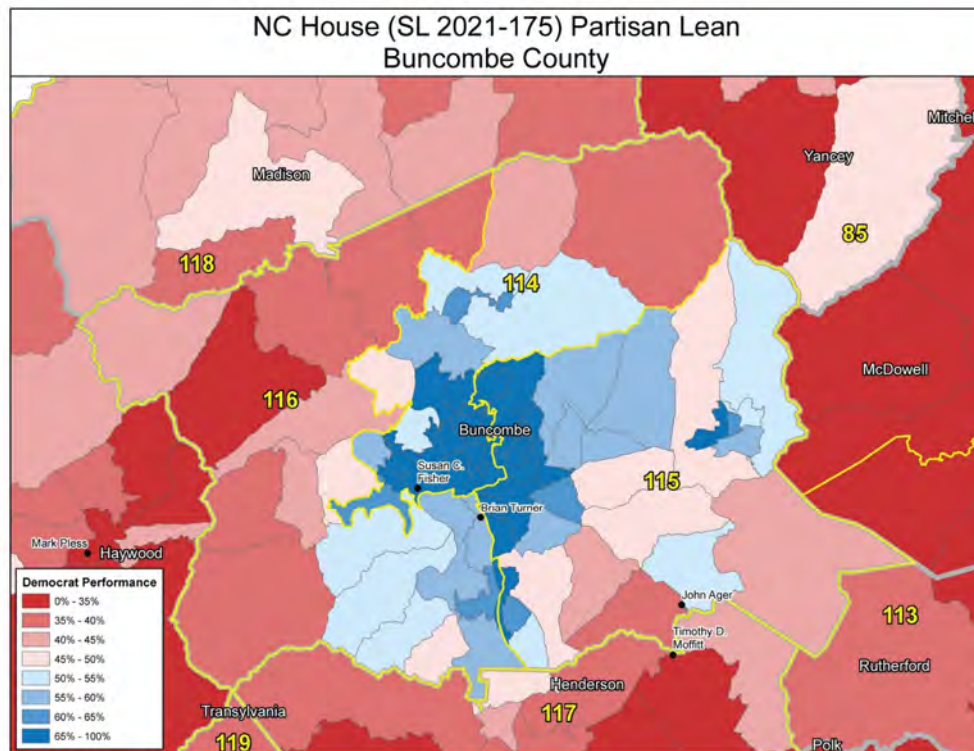
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122. In Wake County, House District 35 also demonstrates all the hallmarks of a partisan gerrymander. While the district is still anchored in Wake Forest, the district shifted substantially to capture the most conservative VTDs in this part of Wake County. It is simply not plausible that such a district, presenting one of the few configurations of VTDs that would enable a Republican to win in north Wake County, was created without relying on partisan data.

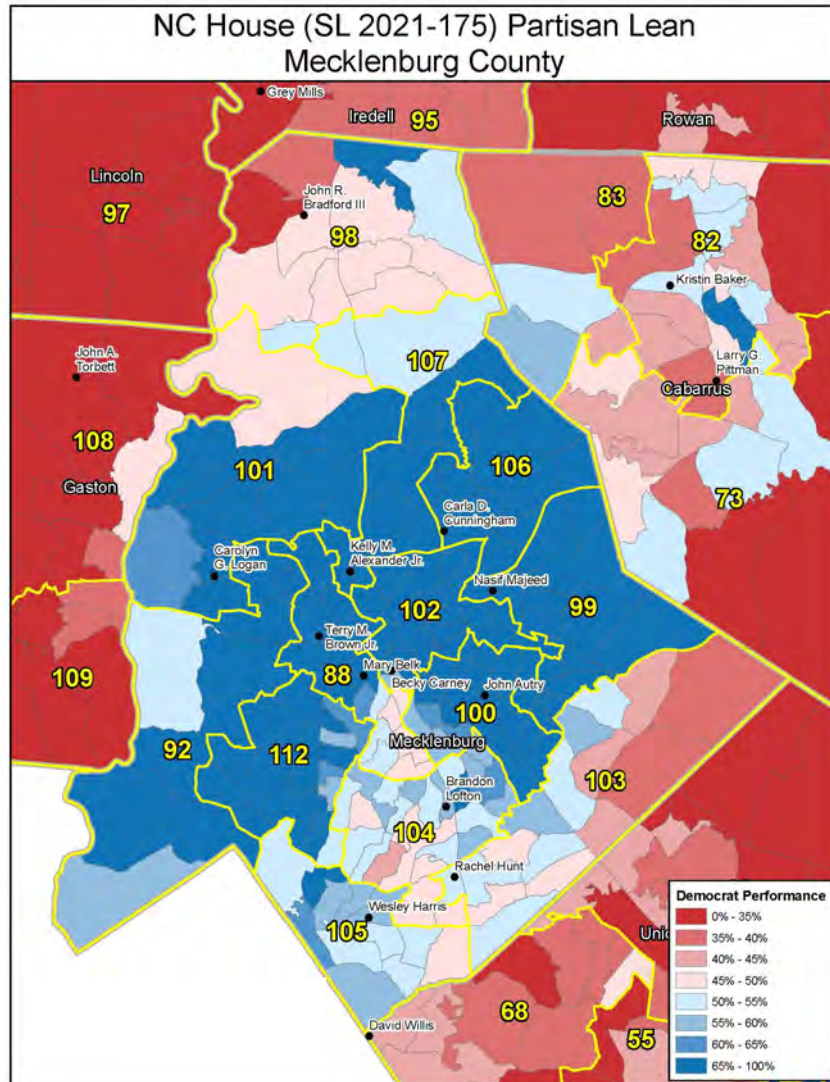


123. In Buncombe County, Legislative Defendants drew House Districts 114, 115, and 116 along precise partisan lines to give Republicans an opportunity to win one of the county's three districts. In order to achieve this, House District 116 loops around the perimeter of the county, staying out of Asheville in order to sweep up the most Republican-leaning areas. The degree to

which House District 116 steers clear of predominantly Democratic VTDs would not be possible without considering partisan data.

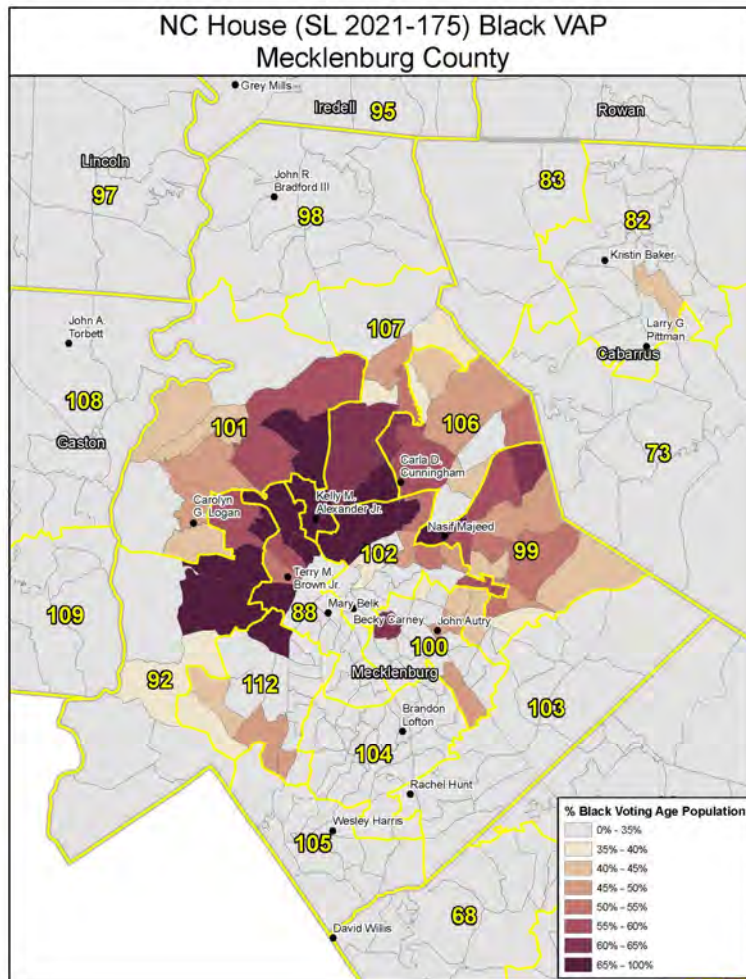


124. In Mecklenburg County, the House district lines closely mirror the partisan breakdowns of the county, particularly at the northern and southern ends of the county. House District 98 in the northern part of the county skirts around Democratic VTDs to keep the district as Republican as possible; House District 103 does the same along the southern border of the county. House District 104 also weaves through southern Mecklenburg County, picking up as many Republican-leaning VTDs as possible to give Republicans a chance to win the district. None of these configurations would be possible without considering partisan data.

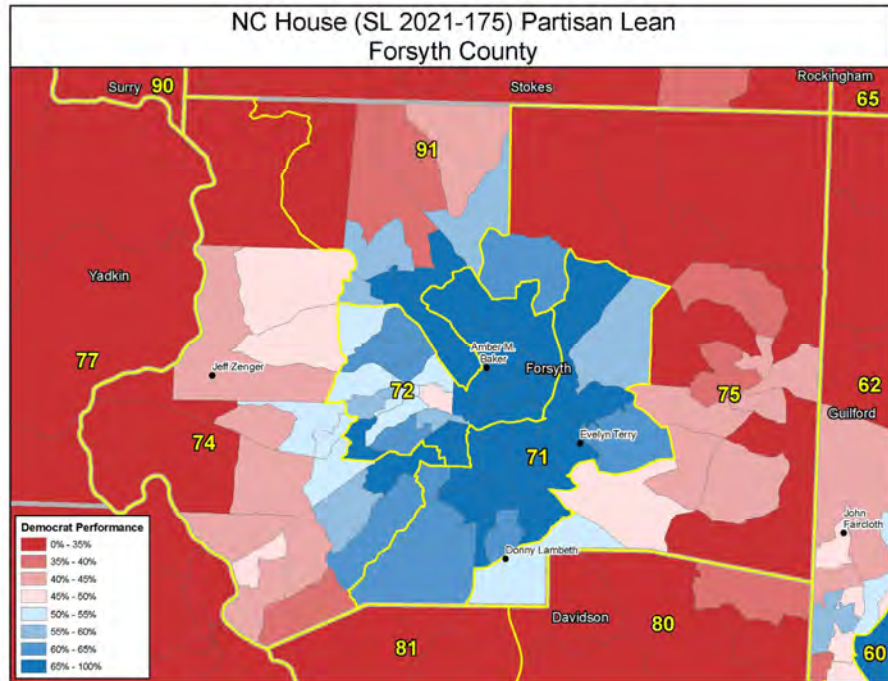


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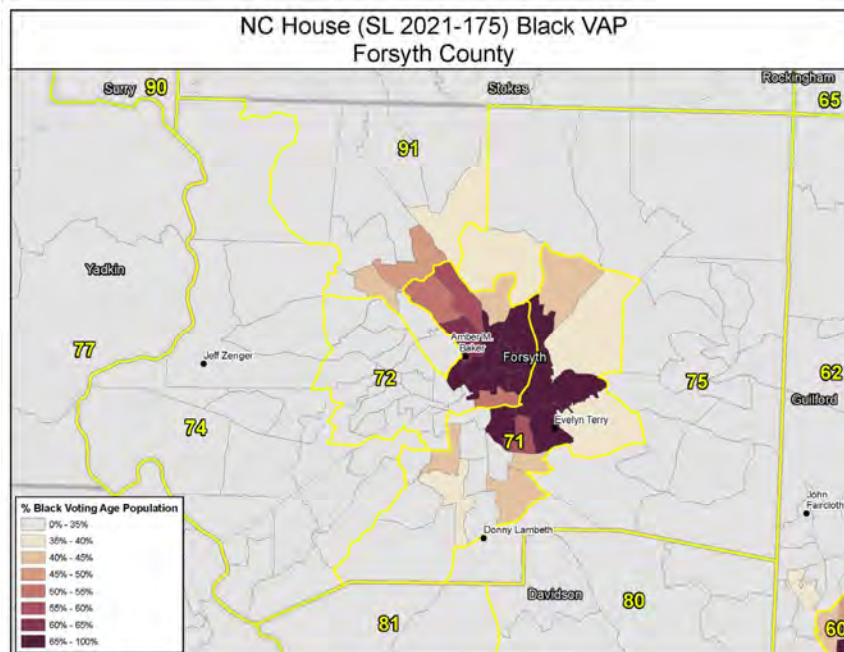
125. In a similar vein, the Legislature drew House districts within Mecklenburg County that cracked Black voters into a myriad of different districts, breaking apart communities of interest.



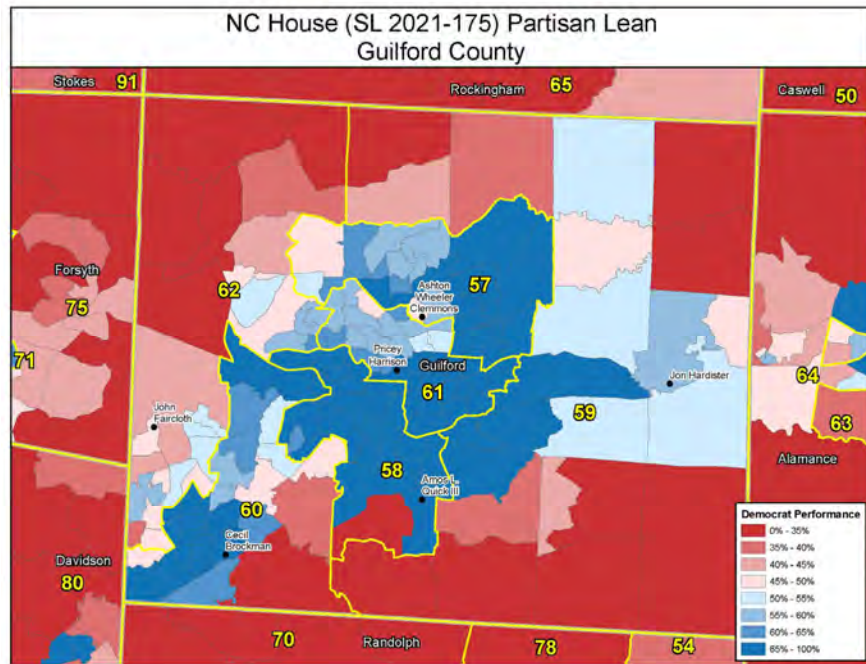
126. In Forsyth County, the Legislature drew maps that cracked Democratic voters into various House districts, some that break apart communities of interest, specifically House Districts 72 and 91. This cracking is only possible if political data was utilized in drawing these districts.



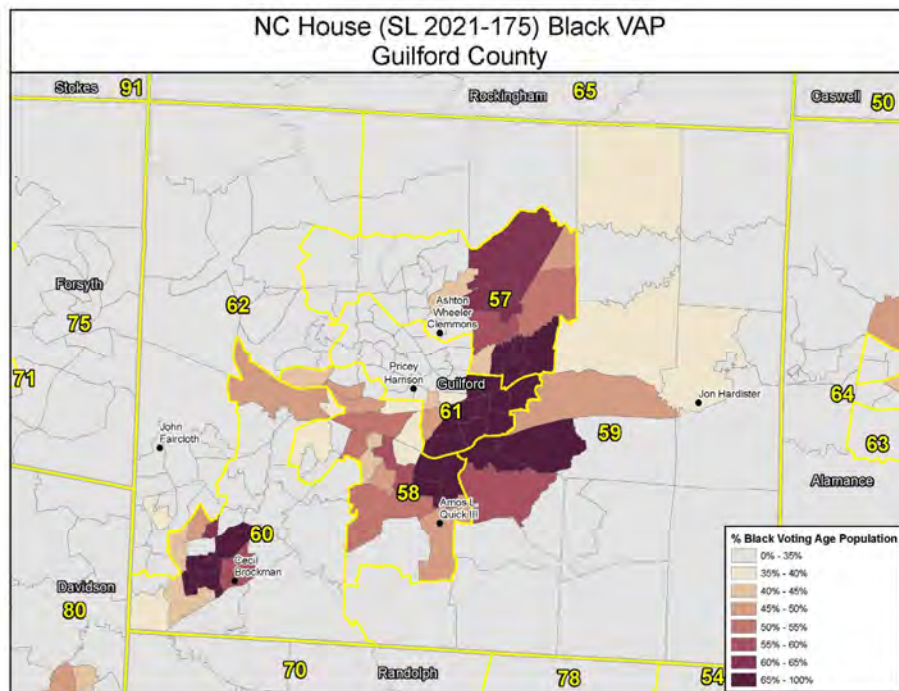
127. Similar to the partisan cracking described above, the Legislature also cracked Black voters in Forsyth County between Districts 71 and 72, drawing district lines in a manner that followed the contours of the Black electorate in northwest Forsyth.



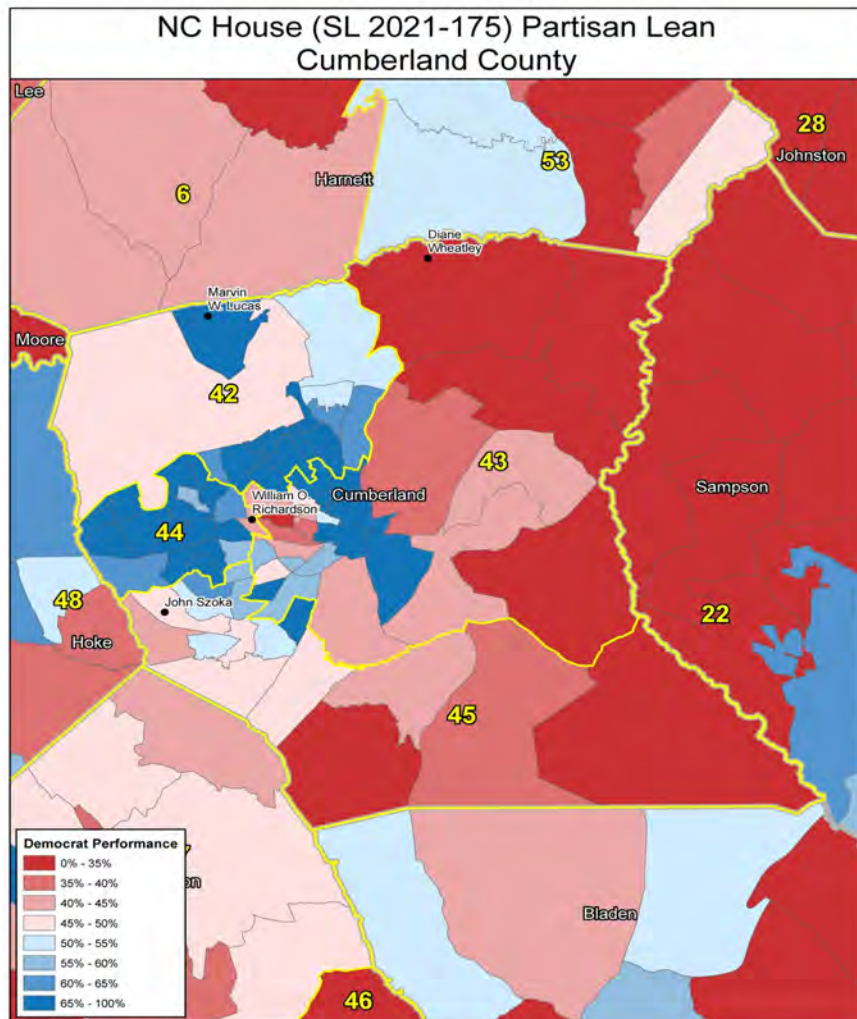
128. Similar to Forsyth County, the Legislature also cracked Guilford County Democratic voters, specifically in the western part of the county.



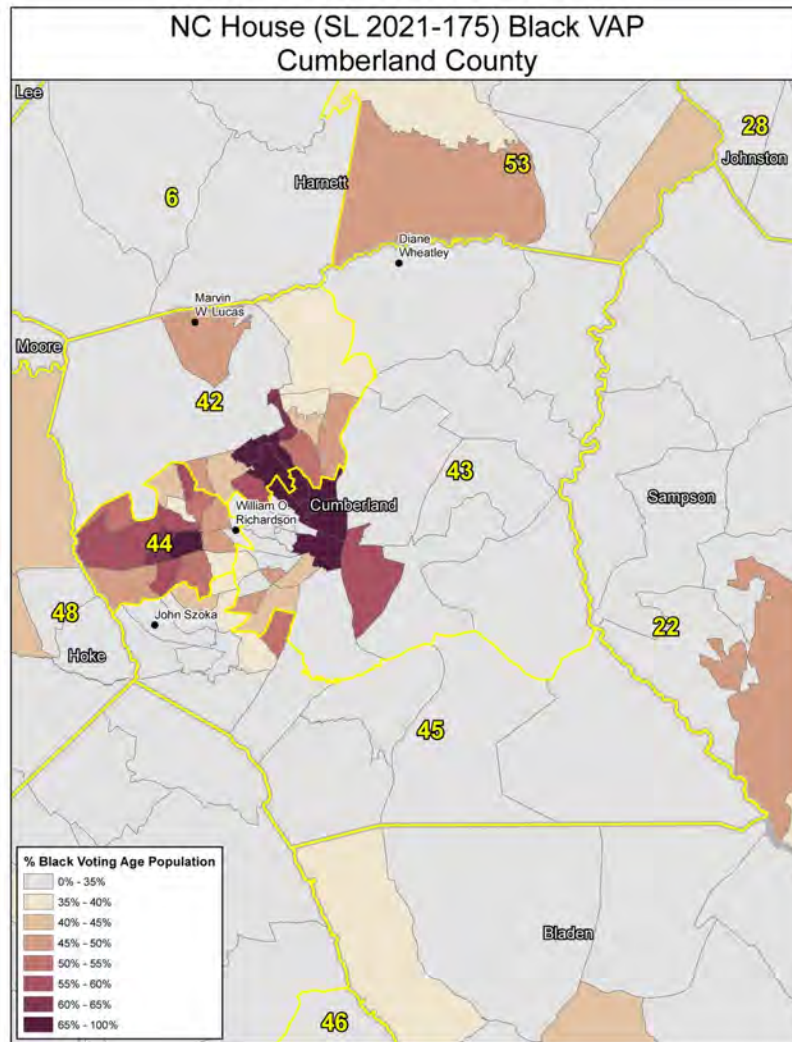
129. In a similar vein, the Legislature also cracked the Black electorate in Guilford County splitting communities of interest in the eastern part of the county.



130. In Cumberland County, the Legislature also cracked Democratic voters in a similar manner to Forsyth and Guilford Counties. Democratic voters on the eastern side of the county are split into four different districts in order to dilute the power of Democratic voters in the eastern part of the county overall.



131. The Legislature also cracked the Black electorate between House Districts 42 and 43, but packed Black voters into District 44. The only way that these lines could be drawn was by looking at racial data.



**E. The Challenged Maps Will Have a Durable and Extreme Discriminatory Effect.**

132. The enacted maps produce political outcomes that are extreme statistical outliers and political outcomes of the elections are unlikely to change even in swing election years – that is, they are very effective partisan gerrymanders.

133. The Congressional Map is likely to elect 10 Republicans and 4 Democrats, although Congressional District 2 has now been rated a Toss Up district, so it is entirely possible that the map will elect 11 Republicans and 3 Democrats. This is a 71.4%-78.6% Republican control of the Congressional delegation in a state where most statewide elections are very close to 50-50.

134. Likewise, in the Senate, the districts are drawn to ensure that Republicans cannot lose a majority in the Senate, and should they pick up just a few seats (in the small number of competitive seats to begin with), they could likely restore their supermajority. That is, again, in a 50-50 state, Republicans would be poised to control at least three-fifths or more of the Senate.

135. Similarly, in the State House, the district lines are drawn so that it is essentially impossible for Democrats to obtain a majority in that chamber, despite the fact that North Carolina is an evenly divided state. The number of Republicans elected to the State House would, through the entire decade of use of this map, be expected to greatly exceed and outperform their statewide vote share.

**F. No Other Neutral Reason Explains the Extreme Partisan Discrimination.**

136. No purported reason that might be offered to explain the extreme partisan gerrymander is plausible or factual.

137. To the extent that Democratic voters are concentrated in urban areas, that did not require Legislative Defendants to crack Democratic and Black voters in Guilford County or to crack Democratic voters in Wake County congressional districts, as an example.

138. The Whole County Provision likewise does not require or produce the extreme partisan outcomes observed in the three challenged maps. Repeatedly, when Legislative Defendants chose between county clusters that they said were legal, they consistently chose the clusters that would perform better for Republicans and worse for Democrats (and often the clusters that would perform worse for Black voters). Moreover, within the clusters, the line-drawing was designed to maximize Republican advantage.

139. And even if, hypothetically, the leadership of the North Carolina General Assembly had not chosen to intentionally destroy a number of performing crossover districts in violation of Art. 1, Section 19 as they did, these maps would still be extreme partisan gerrymanders.

**G. Legislative Defendants Timed their Redistricting Process to Evade Judicial Review and Stifle Public Input.**

140. Plaintiff repeats and re-alleges the allegations contained in the preceding paragraphs.

141. On February 12, 2021, the U.S. Census Bureau announced that its release of P.L. 94-171 redistricting data would be delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic, and would not be released until the fall of 2021.<sup>37</sup> On February 24, 2021, the North Carolina State Board of Elections Executive Director Karen Brinson Bell advised the House Elections Law and Campaign Finance Reform Committee that this delay would require an election schedule change in light of the time required to prepare for candidate filing and ballot styles. Director Brinson Bell advised the Committee to move the 2022 primary to a May 3 primary, July 12 second primary, and November 8 general election.<sup>38</sup>

142. The North Carolina General Assembly did not respond to Director Brinson Bell's recommendation to postpone the March 2022 primaries to May 3. The General Assembly did, however, extend the schedule for municipal elections for those municipalities similarly impacted by the Census delay. *See* S.B. 722, S.L. 2021-56 (2021).

143. The Legislative Defendants thereafter unnecessarily and intentionally narrowed the window for public engagement in redistricting by waiting until the last moment to plan and begin the redistricting process. This delay caused avoidable confusion and obstructed the opportunity for meaningful public comment.

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<sup>37</sup> Press Release, U.S. Census Bureau, Census Bureau Statement on Redistricting Data Timeline (Feb. 12, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/statement-redistricting-data-timeline.html>.

<sup>38</sup> North Carolina State Board of Elections, *A Look Back at North Carolina's Historic 2020 Election & Looking Ahead at 2021, Presentation to House Election Law & Campaign Finance Reform Committee* at p. 14, Feb. 24, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), <https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/House2021-21/02-24-21/House%20Elections%20Committee%20Presentation%202-24-2021%20FINALv2.pdf>.

144. Despite having received notice in February 2021 from the U.S. Census Bureau about the delays in releasing Census data, and the resulting impact on election schedules, the Redistricting Chairs failed to convene any meetings of the Redistricting Committees to plan for the 2021 redistricting until the eve of Census data’s release in August of 2021. The Redistricting Chairs and Redistricting Committees failed to propose any schedule for the redistricting process or notice of public comment related to the redistricting process, and failed to publicly propose or consider redistricting criteria, until the first meeting on August 5, 2021. Any and all of these steps could have been taken at any point after the Long Session was convened in January 2021.

145. When the Redistricting Committees finally met on August 5, 2021, the Redistricting Chairs initiated an unnecessarily rushed and disorganized redistricting process that has stifled public comment and lent uncertainty to what could have been an organized and predictable process. For example:

- a. The Redistricting Chairs released proposed redistricting criteria on August 9, 2021, and provided the public less than 24-hours-notice to attend an 8:30am, in-person only hearing on a weekday (August 10, 2021) for public comment on the proposed redistricting criteria.<sup>39</sup> The Redistricting Committees then voted to accept that criteria barely three days (August 12) after it was first proposed.
- b. The Redistricting Chairs waited until September 1 to announce a schedule for public hearings, held from September 8 through September 30, 2021.

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<sup>39</sup> *Joint Meeting of the Senate Redistricting and Elections Committee and the House Redistricting Committee for Discussion of Schedule for Public Hearings*, Aug. 18, 2021, 2021–2022 Session (N.C. 2021), [https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-18-2021/Senate%20Committee%20on%20Redistricting%20and%20Elections%20Agenda%20for%208-18-21%209\\_00%20AM.pdf](https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/08-18-2021/Senate%20Committee%20on%20Redistricting%20and%20Elections%20Agenda%20for%208-18-21%209_00%20AM.pdf).

These hearings were ineffectively noticed, including errors in location that caused confusion and obstructed public comment. For example, the Redistricting Chairs provided the wrong location information in the notice for the September 8, 2021 hearing in Caldwell County, telling the public it was to be held at Caldwell County Community College when it was actually being held miles away at the JE Broyhill Civic Center. There was low turnout at this hearing, and several individuals who had signed up to speak at this hearing did not appear when called.

- c. As compared to prior redistricting cycles, the Redistricting Committees provided materially less opportunities for public comment and involvement by holding only 13 public hearings as compared to over 60 hearings held in the 2011 cycle.
- d. The Redistricting Chairs announced the aforementioned required county groupings from the Duke Academic Paper on October 5, 2021, without any prior discussion or opportunity for public input.
- e. The Redistricting Chairs failed to provide the public or Legislatures with any schedule for drawing maps, or even a deadline by which maps would need to be proposed, lending uncertainty and unnecessary delay in the map-drawing process. As of noon on October 29, 2021, Legislators were still drawing proposed maps and no deadline or schedule for the submission or vote on proposed maps had been announced by the Redistricting Chairs. Upon information and belief, Defendant Hise was revising a proposed

Senate map on October 28 in a meeting for which there was no prior public notice.

- f. The Redistricting Chairs provided less than three business days' notice of two public hearings on proposed maps on October 25 and 26, 2021, failing to make all the maps that would be considered available for public view when available. For example, Senate map "SST-4" was, upon information and belief, drafted by October 14, but was not publicly available until October 19 and was published without any public announcement. House map "HBK-1" was not public until the afternoon of Friday, October 22, with no public announcement. Overall, Legislative Defendants provided the public with just three days to review and analyze a total of ten maps.
- g. The House Redistricting Committee continued to schedule map drawing sessions up until November 3, 2021, even though on October 28, notice was provided – and later rescinded by – the House Committee on Rules, Calendar, and Operations for House Bill 976 ("HB976") titled House Redistricting Plan 2021 without a corresponding map. Later that day, the House Redistricting committee gave notice that HB976 would be heard on November 1 still with no corresponding map. In the afternoon of October 29, the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections provided notice to hear three proposed redistricting bills: Senate Bill 737 ("SB737") titled Congressional Redistricting Plan 2021-CCH-6, Senate Bill 738 ("SB737") titled Congressional Redistricting Plan 2021-CST-8, and Senate Bill 740 ("SB740") titled Congressional Redistricting Plan 2021/CST-13, for

November 1 at 9:00am. On October 29, the Senate Committee on Redistricting and Elections sent notice to hear Senate Bill (“SB739”) titled Senate Redistricting 2021-SST-13 for November 2.

- h. On November 1, the Redistricting Chairs asked committee members to vote no on SB738 and SB740, the two Congressional maps drawn by Democrat members, the two Congressional maps drawn by Democrat members.
- i. The Redistricting Chairs continued the pattern of providing the public or Legislatures with confusing and inadequate notice on November 1 when the House Redistricting committee postponed hearing HB976 three times in less than three hours.

146. By designing a process that stifled public comment and caused uncertainty and unnecessary chaos to the redistricting process, the delay caused by Legislative Defendants will have severe consequences for voters’ ability to elect candidates of their choice.

147. Pursuant to Sections 6 and 7 of Article II of the North Carolina Constitution, candidates for North Carolina House and Senate must have resided in the district for one year immediately prior to the General Election. The General Election occurs on November 8, 2022, and thus candidates must reside in their district starting on November 8, 2021. Due to Legislative Defendants’ unjustified delay in convening the Redistricting Committees until August, the implementation of a confusing and uncertain public comment process, and the late adoption of final redistricting maps, potential candidates had insufficient time to change their residency if required by changes in the final maps. The inability of potential candidates to meet residency requirements due to late-adopted maps will impede the ability for voters of color, including the voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause, to elect candidates of their choice.

148. Upon information and belief, Legislative Defendants acted to ensure that members of their political party would not be mal-impacted by the one-year residency requirement, and gave forewarning to Legislators of their political party who they anticipated would be impacted by district lines long before the Redistricting Committees were convened in August 2021. Upon information and belief, Senator McInnis moved residencies in mid-2021, before the Redistricting Committees were convened, in order to avoid double bunking when a new Senate map would be enacted.<sup>40</sup>

149. Legislative Defendants also deliberately misrepresented public testimony offered during the public hearings held in September 2021, before draft maps had been released, in an attempt to justify their maps when they were voted on in November. Member of the public that provided comment consistently asked for an end to gerrymandering, and further requested that lawmakers adhere to state and federal law, including those such as the VRA meant to protect voters of color. However, Legislative Defendants cherry picked and misrepresented testimony, and specifically testimony of Black residents, in order to justify their unlawful districts. For example, in a November 1, 2021 Senate Redistricting Committee meeting, Defendant Daniel asserted that public input from Moore County resident Maurice Holland Jr. informed the formation of a “Sandhills” district in the Congressional map. However, Mr. Holland spoke specifically in favor of proposed Congressional map CBK-4 which grouped Moore, Hoke, Cumberland, Scotland, Robeson, and parts of Harnett and Richmond counties together,<sup>41</sup> while SB740 trisects this county

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<sup>40</sup> See Dallas Woodhouse, “Veteran GOP State Senators Headed for High Profile Primary,” CAROLINA JOURNAL (Nov. 11, 2021) (“McInnis finalized his move late this summer when it became clear that he would be double bunked with another GOP senator from a considerably larger county.”), <https://www.carolinajournal.com/news-article/veteran-gop-state-senators-headed-for-high-profile-primary/>.

<sup>41</sup> See *2021-10-25 Redistricting Public Hearing – Wake, Caldwell, New Hanover* at 2:17:02, YOUTUBE (Nov. 1, 2021) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=njisLoqWuT0>.

grouping through the middle between Congressional Districts 3, 4 and 8.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Holland also spoke against proposed Senate Map SST-4,<sup>43</sup> calling districts 21 and 22 in Moore and Cumberland county “extreme,” and against proposed House Map HBK-11 (dividing Moore County into 3 districts).<sup>44</sup> But the Enacted maps drawn and proposed by Legislative Defendants directly contradict Mr. Holland’s expressed wishes; the Senate Map largely retains the “extreme” districts in SD 21 and SD19, and the House map still trisects Moore County between HD 51, HD 78, and HD 52. This misrepresentation of public testimony gives rise to an inference of bad faith.

150. Overall, the actions of Legislative Defendants, or lack thereof, have caused significant uncertainty for potential candidates running for legislative office to the detriment of the candidates of choice for voters of color, and while acting to insulate members of their own party. Upon information and belief, Legislative Defendants’ unnecessarily delay and chaotic process will prevent voters of color from electing candidates of their choice due to the burden and uncertainty currently facing new candidates. Upon information and belief, Legislative Defendants’ delay will also restrain Plaintiff from educating their members and voters on who is running for legislative office in a timely manner.

## **CLAIM I**

### **DECLARATORY JUDGMENT ACT**

151. Plaintiff repeats and re-alleges the allegations contained in the preceding paragraphs.

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<sup>42</sup> See [https://www.ncleg.gov/Files/GIS/Plans\\_Main/Congress\\_2021/SL%202021-174%20Congress%20-%2011%20x%2017%20Map.pdf](https://www.ncleg.gov/Files/GIS/Plans_Main/Congress_2021/SL%202021-174%20Congress%20-%2011%20x%2017%20Map.pdf).

<sup>43</sup> Available at [https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4\\_11x17.pdf](https://www.ncleg.gov/documentsites/committees/Senate2021-154/2021/Member%20Submitted%20Maps/SST-4/SST-4_11x17.pdf)

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

152. The North Carolina Declaratory Judgment statutes, N.C.G.S. Chapter 1, Article 26, expressly allows for the determination of legal rights, and must be liberally construed and administered to afford “relief from uncertainty and insecurity with respect to rights, status, and other legal relations.” N.C.G.S. §§ 1-254, 1-264. Where a declaratory judgment claim is premised on “issues of great public interest,” the court should “adopt and apply the broadened parameters of a declaratory judgment action.” *Hoke Cty Bd. of Educ. v. State*, 358 N.C. 605, 615-16 (2004).

153. Article I, Section 3 of the North Carolina Constitution provides that the rights of the people of North Carolina “shall be exercised in pursuance of law and consistently with the Constitution of the United States.” Article I, Section 5 of the North Carolina Constitution prohibits a law or ordinance in North Carolina from contravening the federal Constitution. Together, these provisions “delineate[] the interplay between federal and state law.” *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 370. As applied to redistricting, “the State retains significant discretion when formulating legislative districts so long as the ‘effect’ of districts created pursuant to the ‘whole county’ criterion or other constitutional requirement does not dilute minority voting strength in violation of federal law.” *Id.*

154. Legislative Defendants have adopted redistricting criteria that prohibit the use of racial data, and have repeatedly asserted – incorrectly – that applicable law does not require the consideration of racial data to ensure compliance with the North Carolina Constitution or other applicable law.

155. Legislative Defendants have further mandated the use of designated county clusters for state Senate and House maps that destroyed effective crossover districts, in violation of Article I, Section 19, without ensuring compliance with North Carolina Constitutional requirements and following the unequivocal instructions for the redistricting process articulated in *Stephenson v. Bartlett*. Legislative Defendants have asserted themselves, and through counsel, that state law does

not require them to undertake the first step in *Stephenson* by making the analysis of racial data necessary to ascertain what districts are required by the VRA (including prohibiting intentional racial discrimination, also required by Article I, Section 19) before drawing all others.

156. The intentional action, and inaction, by Legislative Defendants has created insecurity and uncertainty as to the rights of the members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause that will result in, and which indicate an intent to cause, violations of their fundamental right to fair representation and freedom from intentional discrimination.

157. Accordingly, Plaintiff seeks a declaratory ruling that Plaintiff and its members and the voters it serves are entitled to, and Legislative Defendants have a duty to undertake, a redistricting process that adheres the requirements of Article II, Sections 3 and 5 of the North Carolina Constitution as set forth in *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, including a requirement to undertake the analysis of racial data necessary to ascertain what districts are required by the VRA.

158. The Declaratory Judgment Act provides for further relief “whenever necessary or proper.” N.C.G.S. § 1-259.

159. Moreover, Plaintiff seeks injunctive relief requiring the North Carolina General Assembly to adhere to the requirements of Article II, Sections 3 and 5, as set forth in *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, and specifically to perform a meaningful attempt to determine whether there are any districts compelled by the VRA, which, at a minimum, requires the consideration of racial data to understand changing demographics and performing a racially polarized voting analysis where the racial demographics indicate potential VRA problems before designating county clusters required in Senate and House legislative maps.

160. Plaintiff further seeks injunctive relief enjoining SBE Defendants from administering any election utilizing the districts set forth in SB739 and HB976 and/or enjoining

the SBE Defendants from administering the Statewide Primary elections until Legislative Defendants or the General Assembly have fulfilled their duty under *Stephenson*.

## **CLAIM II**

### **INTENTIONAL RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE I, SECTION 19 OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONSTITUTION**

161. Plaintiff relies herein upon all of the paragraphs of this Complaint.

162. The Equal Protection Clause, Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution, states that “[n]o person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws; nor shall any person be subjected to discrimination by the State because of race, color, religion, or national origin.” This provision prevents a state and its officials from discriminatorily or arbitrarily treating qualified voters differently on account of their race or skin color.

163. North Carolina’s Equal Protection Clause affords broader protections to its citizens in the voting rights context than the U.S. Constitution’s equal protection provisions. *See Stephenson v. I*, 355 N.C. at 376–80, 381 n.6; *Blankenship v. Bartlett*, 363 N.C. 518, 523 (2009).

164. The Supreme Court of North Carolina has held that “[i]t is well settled in [North Carolina] that the right to vote on equal terms is a fundamental right.” *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 378 (internal quotation marks omitted).

165. To that end, North Carolina’s Equal Protection Clause protects the right to “substantially equal voting power.” *Id.* at 379.

166. Legislative Defendants’ intentional discrimination against Plaintiff’s members of color and the voters of color that Plaintiff serves in devising state Legislative maps is plain: Legislative Defendants’ deliberately and intentionally orchestrated a redistricting process that unlawfully and blatantly disregarded express direction from the North Carolina Supreme Court in

*Stephenson v. Bartlett*, with the intent and effect of preventing lawmakers from protecting voters of color from harm in the redistricting process.

167. Any reasonable legislature, including the Legislative Defendants, could have surmised that prohibiting any formal use of racial data in the drawing or consideration of maps and that failing to undertake the analysis of racial data set forth under *Stephenson* would lead to – and have the clear and unavoidable effect of – the intentional destruction of functioning crossover districts for voters of color and reduce their ability to elect candidates of their choice, thus disproportionately limiting their ability to elect candidates of choice as compared to White voters. *See McCrory*, 831 F.3d at 227-28 (“[T]he removal of public assistance IDs in particular was suspect, because a reasonable legislator would be aware of the socioeconomic disparities endured by African Americans and could have surmised that African Americans would be more likely to possess this form of ID” (internal quotations and citations omitted)). Upon information and belief, Legislative Defendants intentionally orchestrated an unlawful redistricting process that prohibited any other member from formally considering or using the data needed to prevent the destruction of effective districts for voters of color or the drawing of district lines that would disproportionately reduce the ability of voters of color to elect their candidates of choice.

168. Furthermore, by enacting and implementing SB740, SB739, and HB976, Defendants have purposefully discriminated against Black voters as alleged in the above paragraphs. A motivating purpose behind SB740, SB739, and HB976 was to undermine the voting power of Black voters and reduce Black representation in the Legislature. At the time these laws were enacted, the General Assembly had before it evidence that Black voters would be harmed by these laws due to packing and cracking in certain areas within these maps. The Legislature enacted SB740, SB739, and HB976 with minimal public debate and on an extremely and unnecessarily

compressed legislative schedule, with the bills passing both houses of the Legislature only days after their submission.

169. Racially polarized voting exists in North Carolina, both historically and today, such that the race of voters correlates with the selection of certain candidate or candidates. *McCrory*, 831 F.3d at 225-26 (noting African American voters overwhelmingly support Democratic candidates). Any reasonable legislator, including Legislative Defendants, would understand this correlation. Upon information and believe, Legislative Defendants sought to target and discriminate against voters of color in order to receive the “political payoff” that would result from the racially polarized voting. *McCrory*, 831 F.3d at 222.

170. Both the discriminatory effect of these statutes and their legislative history are relevant factors in analyzing them for discriminatory intent. *Vill. of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

171. A motivating purpose behind Legislative Defendants’ intent to orchestrate their unlawful redistricting process, and in the Legislature’s drawing and enactment of SB740, SB739, and HB976, was to draw districts that will not provide Black voters, including the members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause, an equal opportunity to elect their preferred candidates, will dilute the voting power of Black voters, and will make it more difficult for these voters to elect their candidates of choice across the state.

172. Legislative Defendants’ unlawful redistricting process and the enacted maps SB740, SB730, and HB976 will undermine and/or prevent the ability of Black voters, including the members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause, to elect their candidates of choice as they are able to under current benchmark state Legislative districts, as specified in the above paragraphs.

173. Legislative Defendants’ designated county clusters for state Legislative maps, and the enacted maps in SB740, SB739, and HB976 intentionally and impermissibly discriminate against the members and voters of color served by Plaintiff, and Defendants advance no legitimate or compelling government interest to justify this discrimination.

### **CLAIM III**

#### **PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING VIOLATION OF FREE ELECTIONS CLAUSE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONSTITUTION**

174. Plaintiff relies herein upon all of the paragraphs of this Complaint.

175. The Free Elections Clause in Article I, Section 10 of the North Carolina Constitution provides that “All elections shall be free.”

176. The will of the people plays a fundamental role in North Carolina’s democratic government. *See People ex re. Van Bokkelen v. Canaday*, 73 N.C. 198, 220 (1875) (“Our government is founded on the will of the people. Their will is expressed by the ballot.”). North Carolina’s “is a government of the people, in which the will of the people – the majority – legally expressed, must govern.” *State ex rel. Quinn v. Lattimore*, 120 N.C. 426, 428 (1897) (citing N.C. Const. art. I, § 2). Furthermore, there is a “compelling interest” of the state “in having fair, honest elections.” *State v. Petersilie*, 334 N.C. 169, 184 (1993).

177. Accordingly, the Free Elections Clause requires that elections be conducted freely and honestly to ascertain, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people. This is a fundamental right of the citizens enshrined in the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, a compelling governmental interest, and a cornerstone of North Carolina’s democratic form of government. *Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*337-38.

178. Partisan gerrymandering is the drawing of legislative district lines to subordinate adherents of one political party and entrench a rival party in power. *Ariz. State Legislature v. Indep.*

*Redistricting Comm’n*, 135 S. Ct. 2652, 2658 (2015). It operates through vote dilution, i.e., the devaluation of one citizen’s vote as compared to others, because they are likely to vote for the other party.

179. Partisan gerrymandering claims are justiciable under the North Carolina Constitution because such claims fall within the broad, default category of constitutional cases the North Carolina courts are empowered and obliged to decide on the merits, and not within the narrow category of exceptional cases covered by the political question doctrine. Furthermore, partisan gerrymandering does not involve a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department. *Bacon v. Lee*, 353 N.C. 696, 717 (2001). Furthermore, there are satisfactory and manageable criteria and standards for adjudicating partisan gerrymandering claims under the North Carolina Constitution. *Hoke Cty Bd. of Educ. v. State*, 358 N.C. 605, 639 (2004).

180. Extreme partisan gerrymandering that entrenches politicians in power is contrary to the fundamental right of North Carolina citizens to have elections conducted freely and honestly to ascertain, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people. “Elections are not free when partisan actors have tainted future elections by specifically and systematically designing the contours of the election districts for partisan purposes and a desire to preserve power.” *Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*344 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019).

181. SB740, SB739, and HB976 were designed, specifically and systematically, to maintain at least Republican majorities in the state House and Senate and to provide at least a majority of Congressional seats to Republicans. This was achieved by drawing maps in which it was nearly impossible for Democrats to win majorities in either state Legislative chamber or a majority of Congressional seats in any reasonably foreseeable electoral environment.

182. In drawing and enacting SB740, SB739, and HB976, Defendants ensured that it is nearly impossible for the will of the people to be expressed through their votes for State legislators and sought instead to predetermine election outcomes in specific districts and county groupings, as set forth above. Defendants, with the intent to control and predetermine the outcome of state Legislative and Congressional elections for the purpose of retaining partisan power in the General Assembly and to send a majority of Republicans to Congress in North Carolina’s Congressional Delegation, manipulated district boundaries resulting in extreme gerrymandering, subordinating traditional redistricting criteria, so that the resulting maps cracked and packed voters to achieve these partisan objectives.

183. Defendants’ actions do not serve any legitimate government interest, and are not narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling government interest.

184. Accordingly, in drawing and enacting SB740, SB739, and HB976, individually and collectively, Defendants have violated the Free Elections Clause by depriving North Carolina citizens the right to the vote for General Assembly members and Congresspersons in elections that are conducted freely and honestly to ascertain, fairly and truthfully, the will of the people.

185. Defendants’ actions have also harmed Plaintiff, its members and the voters it serves and other voters in North Carolina, by subverting their right, as guaranteed by the Free Elections Clause and provided for in Article I, § 9 of the North Carolina Constitution, to seek a “redress of grievances and for amending and strengthening the law,” as Democratic voters in North Carolina cannot meaningfully seek to redress their grievances or amend the laws consistent with their policy preferences when they cannot obtain a majority of the General Assembly.

#### CLAIM IV

##### **PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE I, SECTION 19 OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONSTITUTION**

186. Plaintiff relies herein upon all of the paragraphs of this Complaint.

187. The Equal Protection Clause of the North Carolina Constitution guarantees to all North Carolinians that “[n]o person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws.” N.C. Const., art. I, § 19.

188. The Equal Protection Clause protects the right to “substantially equal voting power.” *Stephenson I*, 355 N.C. at 379. The right to vote on equal terms is a “fundamental right.” *Id.* at 379.

189. Partisan gerrymandering violates the State’s obligation to provide all persons with equal protection of law because, by seeking to diminish the electoral power of supporters of a disfavored party, a partisan gerrymander treats individuals who support candidates of one political party less favorably than individuals who support candidates of another party. *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*346; *cf. Lehr v. Robertson*, 463 U.S. 248, 265 (1983) (“The concept of equal justice under law requires the State to govern impartially.”).

190. In drawing and enacting SB740, SB739, and HB976, Defendants intended to deprive citizens of the right to vote on equal terms based on partisan classification in an invidious manner and/or in a way unrelated to any legitimate legislative objective. Defendants intended to hamper, rather than to achieve, fair and effective representation for all citizens in drawing and enacting SB740, SB739, and HB976. Defendants subordinated Democratic voters by devaluing their vote as compared to the votes of Republican voters with at least the partial purpose, and in the alternative the predominant purpose, of entrenching the Republican Party by drawing district lines in individual districts and statewide.

191. Defendants’ actions have the effect of silencing the political voice of voters who support Democratic candidates, including members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause, by virtue of district lines that crack or pack those voters, as set forth in the paragraphs above, thereby depriving them of substantially equal voting power in an effort to entrench the Republican party in power, in violation of Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution.

192. As a result, voters who prefer Democratic candidates, including the members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause, are significantly hindered from meaningfully participating in the decision-making process of government because SB740, SB739, and HB976 were drawn to systematically prevent Democrats from obtaining a majority in either chamber of the General Assembly or sending a majority of Democrats to Congress as part of North Carolina Congressional Delegation.

193. SB740, SB739, and HB976 also deprive Democratic voters in their districts, as alleged above, such that their votes, when compared to the votes of Republican voters, are substantially less likely to ultimately matter in deciding election results. Defendants’ partisan gerrymandering further harms voters, including the Common Cause members and voters who support Democratic candidates, by insulating legislators from popular will and rendering them unresponsive to portions of their constituencies.

194. Defendants’ actions in partisan gerrymandering are not justified by any legitimate state interest or other neutral factor, nor are they narrowly tailored to advance a compelling government interest. Rather, Defendants acted with intent, unrelated to any legitimate legislative objective, to classify voters and deprive citizens of the right to vote on equal terms by subordinating Democratic voters to Defendants’ partisan goals, and this intent was the predominant purpose of drawing the district lines in individual districts and statewide, set forth

above. Defendants’ actions have the effect of depriving disfavored voters in North Carolina of substantially equal voting power and the right to vote on equal terms, as well as substantially equal legislative representation.

### **CLAIM V**

#### **PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE I, SECTIONS 12, 14 OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONSTITUTION**

195. Plaintiff relies herein upon all of the paragraphs of this Complaint.

196. The Freedom of Speech Clause in Article I, Section 14 of the North Carolina Constitution provides that “[f]reedom of speech and of the press are two of the great bulwarks of liberty and therefore shall never be restrained.” The Freedom of Assembly Clause in Article I, Section 12 provides, in relevant part, that “[t]he people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the General Assembly for redress of grievances.” In North Carolina, the right of assembly encompasses the right of association. *Feltman v. City of Wilson*, 238 N.C. App. 246, 253 (2014).

197. Voting for the candidate of one's choice and associating with the political party of one's choice are core means of political expression protected by the North Carolina Constitution's Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Assembly Clauses. Voting provides citizens a direct means of expressing support for a candidate and his views. *See Common Cause v. Lewis*, 2019 N.C. Super. LEXIS 56, at \*365; *Buckley v. Valeo*, 42 U.S. 1 (1976).

198. The Freedom of Assembly Clause independently protects Common Cause members and voters who support Democratic candidates, and their association with the Democratic Party.

199. By partisan gerrymandering, Defendants identified Republican voters as preferred speakers and targeted Democratic voters, including members and voters served by Plaintiff

Common Cause, as disfavored speakers for disfavored treatment because of disagreement with the views they express when they vote. In doing so, they have rendered disfavored speech less effective, and have intentionally engaged in viewpoint discrimination against Democratic voters, including members and voters served by Plaintiff Common Cause.

200. SB740, SB739, and HB976 also burden the ability of Plaintiff’s members and the voters it serves who are Democratic voters to associate effectively, as guaranteed under Article I, § 12, by precluding them from instructing their representatives, and reducing their ability to apply to the General Assembly for redress of grievances. As a result of the partisan gerrymanders, Democratic voters across the states will be unlikely to obtain redress from the General Assembly on important policy issues because they will unlikely be able to obtain Democratic majorities in the General Assembly. Plaintiff Common Cause likewise cannot instruct representatives or obtain redress on the issues central to its mission due to the gerrymanders.

201. Defendants’ actions do not serve any legitimate government interest, and are not narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling government interest.

202. SB740, SB739, and HB976 also impermissibly retaliate against Plaintiff’s members and the voters it serves who are Democratic voters by (1) taking adverse action against them by diluting their votes and the votes of the Common Cause members and voters who support Democratic candidates, and (2) being created by Defendants with an intent to retaliate against their protected speech or conduct based on their voting history. Furthermore, Defendants would not have taken this adverse action, specifically cracking and packing Democratic voters to dilute their votes, but for that retaliatory intent.

#### **PRAYER FOR RELIEF**

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff respectfully requests the following relief:

- a. Convene a court of three judges pursuant to N.C.G.S. § 1-267.1;

- b. Declare Plaintiff’s and its members and the voters it serves legal right to be free from redistricting that violates the North Carolina Constitution, as set forth in the paragraphs above;
- c. Declare Legislative Defendants’ duty to undertake a redistricting process that complies with the requirements of Article II, Sections 3 and 5 of the North Carolina Constitution, as described in *Stephenson v. Bartlett* and as set forth in the paragraphs above;
- d. Declare that the process orchestrated by Legislative Defendants in 2021, including the use of redistricting criteria that prohibited the formal use of racial data in the construction or consideration of state Legislative districts, requirement to utilize the Duke Senate Clusters and Duke House Clusters, and/or failure to ascertain and draw districts required by the VRA prior to all others violate Article II, Sections 3 and 5 of the North Carolina Constitution;
- e. Declare that the process orchestrated by Legislative Defendants in 2021, including the use of redistricting criteria that prohibited the formal use of racial data in the construction or consideration of state Legislative districts, requirement to utilize the Duke Senate Clusters and Duke House Clusters, and/or failure to ascertain and draw districts required by the VRA prior to all others violate Article I, Section 19 of the North Carolina Constitution;
- f. Declare that the harms to Black voters from the intentional destruction of effective crossover districts within SB739 and HB976 resulted from an unconstitutional redistricting process and violate the Equal Protection Clause of the North Carolina Constitution;

- g. Issue a permanent injunction enjoining Defendants from enforcing or giving any effect to the boundaries of districts that harm Black voters by intentionally destroying effective crossover districts within SB739 and HB976, including an injunction barring Defendants from conducting any further elections for the North Carolina General Assembly under these racially discriminatory districts.
- h. Issue a permanent injunction enjoining Defendants from enforcing or giving any effect to the boundaries of districts that reflect partisan gerrymanders in violation of the North Carolina Constitution in SB739, SB740, and HB976.
- i. Issue a permanent injunction enjoining Defendants from creating any future Legislative districts with the purpose or effect of burdening or penalizing an identifiable group, a political party, or individual voters based on their political beliefs, political party membership, registration, affiliations or political activities, or voting histories;
- j. Issue a permanent injunction enjoining Defendants from using “political data” in any future redistricting process to burden or penalize an identifiable group, a political party, or individual voters based on their political beliefs, political-party membership, registration, affiliations or political activities, or voting histories;
- k. Establish new state House, Senate, and federal Congressional districts that comply with the North Carolina Constitution if the North Carolina General Assembly fails to timely enact new plans comporting with the North Carolina Constitution;
- l. Issue any further injunctive relief necessary to delay the state Legislative and Congressional primary elections to allow for fulsome judicial review of the allegations herein and prevent irreparable harm to voters, as alleged herein;

- m. A prompt hearing and/or expedited pleading schedule;
- n. Award Plaintiff reasonable attorneys' fees, if just and proper;
- o. Make all further orders as are just, necessary, and proper; and
- p. Grant Plaintiff such other and further relief as the Court deems just and proper.

Respectfully submitted, this the 13th day of December, 2021.

  
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**VERIFICATION**

I, Bob Phillips, serve as Executive Director of Common Cause North Carolina, and hereby state that my organization, Common Cause, is the Proposed Plaintiff Intervenor in the above-titled action, that I have read the contents of the foregoing **VERIFIED COMPLAINT**, and that the contents therein are true and accurate as they pertain to Common Cause, except to those matters stated on information and belief, which I believe to be true.

B. Phillips

Bob Phillips

Sworn and subscribed before me this the 12 day of December, 2021.

Talia Ray  
Notary Public

Name: Talia Ray

My commission expires: 11/6/2024



### CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

This is to certify that the undersigned has this day submitted a copy of the foregoing COMPLAINT OF PLAINTIFF INTERVENOR COMMON CAUSE in the above titled action by mail and/or electronic mail, in the manner requested, to the following parties:

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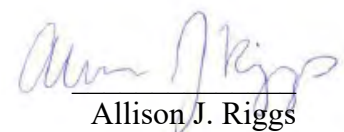
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*Counsel for the State Defendants*

This the 15<sup>th</sup> day of December, 2021.



Allison J. Riggs

North Carolina Congressional Districts enacted by the North Carolina  
Exhibit 1 Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-249)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	G.K. Butterfield	Black	Democratic	51.03%	42.38%	4.89%	1.25%	54.65%	43.76%
2	Deborah Ross	White	Democratic	64.24%	20.97%	8.40%	1.02%	62.36%	34.97%
3	Gregory Murphy	White	Republican	70.98%	20.77%	6.11%	1.05%	37.75%	60.01%
4	David Price	White	Democratic	60.85%	26.11%	8.50%	1.02%	65.70%	32.13%
5	Virginia Foxx	White	Republican	84.80%	9.61%	3.83%	0.76%	32.22%	65.47%
6	Kathy Manning	White	Democratic	57.42%	31.76%	7.29%	1.04%	60.49%	37.22%
7	David Rouzer	White	Republican	73.63%	17.75%	6.68%	1.51%	40.68%	57.00%
8	Richard Hudson	White	Republican	63.48%	25.29%	8.06%	1.77%	45.92%	51.59%
9	Dan Bishop	White	Republican	63.85%	18.68%	6.45%	8.88%	44.57%	53.18%
10	Patrick McHenry	White	Republican	82.20%	10.09%	5.78%	0.74%	31.58%	66.08%
11	Madison Cawthorn	White	Republican	89.18%	3.90%	4.24%	2.00%	43.01%	54.61%
12	Alma Adams	Black	Democratic	47.73%	35.77%	11.77%	1.11%	68.00%	29.33%
13	Tedd Budd	White	Republican	78.09%	13.64%	6.61%	0.96%	32.60%	65.25%

– Ex. 6841 –

North Carolina Congressional Districts enacted by the  
Exhibit 2 North Carolina Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-174)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP_Bl	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Gregory Murphy	White	Republican	65.57%	23.31%	6.90%	2.13%	41.76%	56.04%
2	G.K. Butterfield	Black	Democratic	50.61%	39.99%	6.72%	2.25%	51.99%	46.38%
3	David Rouzer	White	Republican	67.31%	16.44%	6.90%	8.16%	41.39%	56.29%
4	None			53.99%	29.19%	11.95%	3.35%	46.21%	51.43%
5	Deborah Ross	White	Democratic	58.31%	24.47%	10.89%	1.90%	62.23%	35.19%
6	David Price	White	Democratic	54.50%	21.42%	10.01%	1.80%	71.60%	26.12%
7	None			69.34%	16.02%	10.37%	2.45%	41.27%	56.54%
8	None			66.72%	17.22%	8.29%	3.33%	40.63%	57.08%
9	Alma Adams	Black	Democratic	40.09%	37.95%	14.87%	1.95%	71.61%	25.72%
	Dan Bishop	White	Republican						
10	Ted Budd	White	Republican	68.88%	16.97%	8.02%	2.22%	38.26%	59.29%
	Richard Hudson	White	Republican						
11	Virginia Foxx	White	Republican	69.11%	19.97%	6.67%	2.06%	42.83%	54.92%
	Kathy Manning	White	Democratic						
12	Patrick McHenry	White	Republican	67.88%	17.86%	9.80%	2.25%	42.47%	55.16%
13	None			72.62%	15.43%	7.08%	2.29%	38.67%	59.04%
14	Madison Cawthorn	White	Republican	84.49%	3.96%	6.29%	3.46%	45.10%	52.44%

Exhibit 3 North Carolina Senate Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-219)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP_Bl	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Bob Steinburg	White	Republican	66.87%	28.44%	3.15%	1.01%	42.77%	55.35%
2	Norman W. Sanderson	White	Republican	77.75%	15.83%	3.96%	1.04%	34.77%	63.02%
3	Ernestine Bazemore	Black	Democratic	51.04%	44.36%	3.43%	1.33%	52.88%	45.55%
4	Milton F. 'Toby' Fitch Jr.	Black	Democratic	46.15%	47.46%	4.53%	1.62%	58.31%	40.27%
5	Don Davis	Black	Democratic	59.81%	32.94%	5.17%	0.80%	52.72%	45.22%
6	Michael A. Lazzara	Two or More Races	Republican	71.18%	16.88%	8.55%	1.53%	33.93%	62.77%
7	Jim Perry	White	Republican	57.44%	33.93%	7.04%	0.83%	45.47%	52.81%
8	Bill Rabon	White	Republican	76.89%	16.91%	4.52%	1.45%	37.89%	60.00%
9	Michael V. Lee	White	Republican	79.69%	13.85%	4.35%	1.00%	48.71%	48.28%
10	Brent Jackson	White	Republican	64.14%	21.85%	12.50%	1.53%	36.12%	62.26%
11	Lisa S. Barnes	White	Republican	62.30%	28.04%	8.36%	1.02%	45.90%	52.09%
12	Jim Burgin	White	Republican	67.67%	19.67%	10.60%	1.63%	39.05%	58.61%
13	Danny Earl Britt Jr.	White	Republican	40.43%	26.37%	5.73%	27.42%	42.30%	56.20%
14	Dan Blue	Black	Democratic	49.07%	37.19%	9.69%	1.17%	72.87%	24.50%
15	Jay J. Chaudhuri	Asian	Democratic	67.14%	19.39%	9.62%	0.90%	59.66%	37.87%
16	Wiley Nickel	White	Democratic	69.12%	13.14%	7.60%	0.97%	64.24%	33.04%
17	Sydney Batch	Black	Democratic	76.71%	10.03%	5.62%	0.88%	53.48%	43.78%
18	Sarah Crawford	Undesignated	Democratic	65.34%	24.47%	7.94%	1.16%	51.32%	46.23%
19	Kirk deViere	White	Democratic	57.08%	31.69%	6.52%	3.19%	50.32%	47.24%
20	Natalie S. Murdock	Black	Democratic	41.30%	40.35%	12.10%	1.15%	82.11%	15.80%
21	Ben Clark	Black	Democratic	41.92%	42.15%	10.14%	4.12%	65.70%	31.47%
22	Mike Woodard	White	Democratic	59.74%	30.80%	7.13%	0.98%	58.50%	39.45%
23	Valerie P. Foushee	Black	Democratic	73.73%	12.81%	7.81%	0.99%	67.12%	30.89%
24	Amy S. Galey	White	Republican	71.30%	19.63%	7.27%	1.07%	45.73%	52.29%
25	Tom McInnis	White	Republican	66.34%	25.89%	3.79%	3.35%	41.45%	56.68%
26	David W. Craven Jr.	White	Republican	76.55%	12.19%	8.24%	1.17%	29.99%	67.86%
27	Michael Garrett	White	Democratic	68.44%	22.39%	4.78%	0.87%	52.01%	45.69%
28	Gladys A. Robinson	Black	Democratic	45.63%	43.64%	6.58%	1.24%	74.06%	23.69%
29	Steve Jarvis	White	Republican	82.13%	10.24%	5.64%	0.87%	27.86%	69.99%
30	Phil Berger	White	Republican	80.13%	15.22%	3.55%	0.82%	31.59%	66.27%
31	Joyce Krawiec	White	Republican	67.38%	22.08%	9.19%	0.91%	45.18%	52.50%
32	Paul A. Lowe Jr.	Black	Democratic	63.69%	25.50%	8.26%	0.82%	57.93%	39.60%
33	Carl Ford	White	Republican	79.12%	14.25%	4.90%	0.76%	29.98%	67.62%
34	Vickie Sawyer	White	Republican	82.06%	10.12%	5.86%	0.72%	30.57%	66.94%
35	Todd Johnson	White	Republican	76.06%	12.31%	9.29%	0.87%	36.36%	61.28%
36	Paul Newton	White	Republican	76.38%	14.10%	7.19%	0.75%	41.80%	55.62%
37	Jeff Jackson	White	Democratic	74.43%	14.09%	6.96%	0.72%	55.66%	41.68%
38	Mujtaba A. Mohammed	Asian	Democratic	36.74%	50.03%	7.42%	1.07%	77.85%	19.47%
39	DeAndrea Salvador	Black	Democratic	58.05%	20.38%	14.26%	0.92%	60.28%	37.01%
40	Joyce Waddell	Black	Democratic	37.68%	40.34%	18.27%	1.40%	71.06%	26.31%

Exhibit 3

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
41	Natasha R. Marcus	White	Democratic	63.55%	25.90%	6.39%	0.96%	59.99%	37.43%
42	Dean Proctor	White	Republican	82.98%	8.03%	5.95%	0.68%	29.45%	68.18%
43	Kathy Harrington	White	Republican	78.37%	14.75%	4.93%	0.89%	35.58%	62.12%
44	W. Ted Alexander	White	Republican	81.82%	13.30%	3.62%	0.66%	30.64%	67.28%
45	Deanna Ballard	White	Republican	91.31%	2.64%	4.87%	0.68%	32.49%	65.06%
46	Warren Daniel	White	Republican	88.12%	5.82%	3.78%	0.79%	27.57%	70.15%
47	Ralph Hise	White	Republican	90.41%	5.33%	3.08%	0.83%	30.14%	67.81%
48	Chuck Edwards	White	Republican	89.65%	3.16%	5.43%	0.99%	41.36%	56.30%
49	Julie Mayfield	White	Democratic	85.57%	7.12%	5.15%	1.04%	61.00%	36.31%
50	Kevin Corbin	White	Republican	90.20%	1.38%	3.15%	4.87%	34.28%	63.43%

North Carolina Senate Districts enacted by the North Carolina  
Exhibit 4 Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-173)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Ernestine Bazemore	Black	Democratic	63.29%	29.49%	3.97%	2.16%	45.48%	52.72%
2	Norman W. Sanderson	White	Republican	63.13%	30.01%	3.14%	2.99%	44.73%	53.53%
	Bob Steinburg	White	Republican						
3	Jim Perry	White	Republican	63.59%	26.66%	6.00%	1.86%	41.36%	56.65%
4	Milton F. 'Toby' Fitch Jr.	Black	Democratic	52.04%	35.02%	10.02%	2.04%	47.24%	51.11%
5	Don Davis	Black	Democratic	50.59%	40.35%	6.02%	1.66%	56.05%	41.97%
6	Michael A. Lazzara	Two or More Races	Republican	65.71%	15.33%	12.50%	3.11%	33.38%	63.19%
7	Michael V. Lee	White	Republican	77.33%	12.19%	6.13%	1.97%	49.06%	47.94%
8	Bill Rabon	White	Republican	77.25%	14.38%	4.41%	2.87%	37.77%	60.24%
9	Brent Jackson	White	Republican	61.22%	23.76%	11.97%	3.03%	39.16%	59.10%
10	None			66.76%	16.73%	13.18%	2.47%	36.94%	60.71%
11	Lisa S. Barnes	White	Republican	53.77%	36.65%	7.05%	2.02%	50.30%	47.96%
12	Jim Burgin	White	Republican	62.08%	20.74%	13.25%	2.97%	39.93%	57.77%
13	None			66.35%	21.29%	7.78%	1.89%	47.75%	49.95%
14	Dan Blue	Black	Democratic	37.44%	43.25%	15.41%	2.26%	72.04%	25.61%
15	Jay J. Chaudhuri	Asian	Democratic	67.68%	14.91%	7.55%	1.59%	67.19%	30.04%
16	Wiley Nickel	White	Democratic	55.90%	8.82%	7.00%	1.34%	62.24%	35.15%
17	Sydney Batch	Black	Democratic	72.99%	10.86%	8.55%	1.93%	48.81%	48.38%
18	Sarah Crawford	White	Democratic	58.66%	22.83%	11.94%	1.90%	63.57%	33.74%
19	Kirk deViere	White	Democratic	35.69%	48.07%	10.23%	3.73%	64.71%	32.66%
20	Natalie S. Murdock	Black	Democratic	54.99%	27.34%	10.32%	1.91%	70.77%	27.18%
21	None			66.07%	19.56%	8.60%	3.47%	39.03%	58.79%
22	Mike Woodard	White	Democratic	44.71%	34.45%	14.37%	2.18%	77.50%	20.47%
23	Valerie P. Foushee	Black	Democratic	66.84%	16.73%	7.51%	2.02%	64.73%	33.26%
24	Danny Earl Britt Jr.	White	Republican	33.85%	29.63%	8.35%	28.23%	48.56%	49.56%
	Ben Clark	Black	Democratic						
25	Amy S. Galey	White	Republican	67.42%	17.93%	10.89%	2.59%	39.84%	58.17%
26	Phil Berger	White	Republican	73.04%	17.44%	5.13%	2.10%	36.73%	61.13%
27	Michael Garrett	White	Democratic	56.15%	27.32%	7.84%	1.95%	59.36%	38.25%
28	Gladys A. Robinson	Black	Democratic	33.55%	51.45%	9.72%	2.17%	75.05%	22.81%
29	David W. Craven Jr.	White	Republican	68.82%	17.86%	9.20%	2.80%	32.72%	65.17%
	Tom McInnis	White	Republican						
30	Steve Jarvis	White	Republican	80.42%	9.21%	6.44%	2.43%	26.69%	71.12%
31	Joyce Krawiec	White	Republican	76.75%	12.11%	6.74%	2.27%	36.92%	60.72%
32	Paul A. Lowe Jr.	Black	Democratic	46.63%	35.30%	14.28%	2.22%	68.06%	29.49%
33	Carl Ford	White	Republican	74.09%	14.88%	7.18%	2.44%	29.98%	67.62%
34	Paul Newton	White	Republican	62.84%	20.02%	10.20%	2.24%	43.47%	53.88%
35	Todd Johnson	White	Republican	70.65%	11.79%	11.05%	2.00%	36.09%	61.58%
36	None			85.61%	4.48%	7.17%	2.05%	23.26%	74.60%

Exhibit 4

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
37	Natasha R. Marcus	White	Democratic	77.15%	11.19%	6.72%	1.88%	34.88%	62.62%
	Vickie Sawyer	White	Republican						
38	Mujtaba A. Mohammed	Asian	Democratic	47.38%	34.95%	9.72%	1.75%	63.84%	33.48%
39	DeAndrea Salvador	Black	Democratic	34.02%	40.75%	17.55%	2.22%	71.02%	26.31%
40	Joyce Waddell	Black	Democratic	25.47%	49.54%	18.92%	2.14%	81.07%	16.36%
41	Jeff Jackson	White	Democratic	69.65%	10.79%	8.12%	1.54%	49.50%	47.92%
42	None			58.43%	21.59%	13.02%	1.81%	63.91%	33.24%
43	Kathy Harrington	White	Republican	69.62%	18.57%	7.59%	2.43%	36.50%	61.19%
44	W. Ted Alexander	White	Republican	78.82%	13.14%	4.64%	2.15%	29.87%	68.05%
45	Dean Proctor	White	Republican	79.30%	7.49%	7.59%	2.46%	28.82%	68.83%
46	Warren Daniel	White	Republican	84.64%	4.85%	5.61%	2.84%	35.35%	62.24%
47	Deanna Ballard	White	Republican	87.62%	3.63%	5.10%	2.17%	36.05%	61.47%
	Ralph Hise	White	Republican						
48	Chuck Edwards	White	Republican	83.02%	5.51%	7.88%	2.20%	35.09%	62.81%
49	Julie Mayfield	White	Democratic	80.61%	7.29%	7.20%	2.37%	63.19%	34.09%
50	Kevin Corbin	White	Republican	85.96%	1.98%	4.67%	6.31%	35.39%	62.35%

Exhibit 5 North Carolina House Districts enacted by the North Carolina Legislature in 2019 (Session Law 2019-220)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Edward C. Goodwin	White	Republican	57.23%	39.71%	1.93%	0.76%	45.25%	53.12%
2	Larry Yarborough	White	Republican	65.76%	27.79%	5.28%	1.12%	41.27%	56.64%
3	Steve Tyson	White	Republican	69.92%	21.24%	5.41%	1.02%	40.95%	56.55%
4	Jimmy Dixon	White	Republican	62.43%	22.93%	13.63%	0.99%	35.16%	63.12%
5	Howard J. Hunter III	Native American	Democratic	51.26%	44.32%	2.75%	1.21%	54.09%	44.35%
6	Bobby Hanig	White	Republican	85.20%	9.20%	4.02%	1.01%	35.06%	62.80%
7	Matthew Winslow	White	Republican	65.95%	25.47%	7.65%	1.05%	41.58%	56.23%
8	Kandie D. Smith	Black	Democratic	51.89%	41.37%	4.63%	0.79%	59.32%	38.67%
9	Brian Farkas	White	Democratic	68.66%	24.69%	4.05%	0.70%	49.66%	48.12%
10	John R. Bell IV	White	Republican	68.98%	21.44%	7.95%	0.88%	32.32%	66.02%
11	Allison A. Dahle	White	Democratic	65.00%	16.51%	9.87%	1.21%	68.43%	28.15%
12	Chris Humphrey	White	Republican	56.88%	36.98%	5.23%	0.73%	47.21%	51.13%
13	Pat McElraft	White	Republican	85.84%	9.41%	2.75%	1.08%	30.17%	67.74%
14	George G. Cleveland	White	Republican	68.84%	17.78%	9.03%	1.56%	38.07%	58.35%
15	Phil Shepard	White	Republican	72.63%	14.93%	9.38%	1.58%	30.59%	66.00%
16	Carson Smith	White	Republican	70.37%	22.22%	4.58%	2.78%	36.49%	61.30%
17	Frank Iler	White	Republican	80.58%	13.16%	4.62%	1.27%	38.86%	59.00%
18	Deb Butler	White	Democratic	66.81%	25.97%	5.26%	1.20%	56.33%	40.30%
19	Charles W. Miller	White	Republican	86.81%	7.79%	3.69%	1.09%	40.55%	57.02%
20	Ted Davis Jr.	White	Republican	89.50%	4.73%	3.36%	0.76%	44.45%	52.76%
21	Raymond E. Smith Jr.	Black	Democratic	48.86%	39.00%	10.08%	1.41%	54.57%	43.66%
22	William D. Brisson	White	Republican	56.85%	31.49%	9.30%	2.42%	41.42%	57.01%
23	Shelly Willingham	Black	Democratic	44.85%	51.83%	2.78%	0.64%	59.44%	39.06%
24	Linda Cooper-Suggs	Black	Democratic	53.16%	38.11%	7.60%	0.64%	52.08%	46.45%
25	James D. Gailliard	Black	Democratic	55.05%	39.96%	3.32%	1.19%	53.90%	44.68%
26	Donna McDowell White	White	Republican	75.15%	14.79%	8.67%	0.92%	40.54%	56.81%
27	Michael H. Wray	White	Democratic	41.54%	53.71%	1.53%	3.11%	61.70%	37.02%
28	Larry C. Strickland	White	Republican	69.28%	16.52%	13.16%	1.09%	33.75%	64.23%
29	Vernetta Alston	Black	Democratic	42.28%	37.49%	12.41%	1.12%	85.98%	12.02%
30	Marcia Morey	White	Democratic	59.09%	28.74%	8.24%	0.88%	71.81%	26.13%
31	Zack Hawkins	Black	Democratic	31.89%	49.56%	14.99%	1.27%	80.31%	17.54%
32	Terry E. Garrison	Black	Democratic	44.97%	49.12%	4.13%	1.96%	61.75%	36.75%
33	Rosa U. Gill	Black	Democratic	41.61%	45.10%	12.01%	1.18%	72.93%	24.63%
34	Grier Martin	White	Democratic	76.66%	13.14%	7.03%	0.73%	57.89%	39.56%
35	Terence Everitt	White	Democratic	74.58%	16.24%	5.26%	0.80%	51.52%	46.06%
36	Julie von Haefen	White	Democratic	81.01%	7.74%	5.99%	0.93%	53.53%	43.73%
37	Erin Paré	White	Republican	76.16%	13.83%	6.76%	1.11%	47.85%	49.22%
38	Abe Jones	Black	Democratic	31.82%	48.30%	16.24%	1.39%	79.47%	18.14%
39	James Roberson	Black	Republican	49.29%	35.45%	12.40%	1.37%	65.66%	31.93%
40	Joe John	White	Democratic	76.23%	9.76%	3.99%	0.76%	55.14%	42.29%

Exhibit 5

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
41	Gale Adcock	White	Democratic	69.66%	7.40%	4.09%	0.69%	60.51%	37.09%
42	Marvin W. Lucas	Black	Democratic	46.66%	39.67%	9.69%	2.05%	66.11%	30.90%
43	Diane Wheatley	White	Republican	57.73%	34.34%	4.25%	2.78%	48.04%	49.69%
44	William O. Richardson	White	Democratic	38.65%	45.91%	10.59%	2.13%	70.31%	26.98%
45	John Szoka	White	Republican	59.67%	27.44%	7.50%	3.96%	49.67%	47.88%
46	Brenden H. Jones	White	Republican	38.99%	27.01%	6.96%	27.31%	41.53%	57.15%
47	Charles Graham	Native American	Democratic	33.92%	24.48%	5.13%	36.00%	43.97%	54.46%
48	Garland E. Pierce	Black	Democratic	46.39%	36.13%	6.42%	10.62%	53.35%	44.34%
49	Cynthia Ball	White	Democratic	75.00%	13.29%	6.49%	0.93%	65.82%	31.52%
50	Graig R. Meyer	White	Democratic	71.28%	21.15%	4.96%	1.12%	56.45%	41.64%
51	John Sauls	White	Republican	64.51%	20.54%	12.94%	1.43%	42.99%	54.46%
52	James L. Boles Jr.	White	Republican	80.41%	12.96%	4.57%	1.23%	36.46%	61.58%
53	Howard Penny Jr.	White	Republican	68.96%	20.79%	7.97%	1.91%	37.42%	60.51%
54	Robert T. Reives II	Black	Democratic	71.96%	15.74%	8.79%	0.93%	60.23%	37.82%
55	Mark Brody	White	Republican	62.17%	28.64%	7.82%	0.94%	41.10%	56.83%
56	Verla Insko	White	Democratic	71.95%	10.30%	7.37%	0.90%	84.08%	13.81%
57	Ashton Wheeler Clemmons	White	Democratic	51.31%	38.36%	5.98%	1.09%	67.53%	30.29%
58	Amos L. Quick III	Black	Democratic	43.28%	39.97%	10.31%	1.41%	73.69%	23.86%
59	Jon Hardister	White	Republican	69.17%	25.17%	3.77%	1.08%	47.76%	50.26%
60	Cecil Brockman	Black	Democratic	50.25%	36.53%	6.99%	1.17%	63.05%	34.68%
61	Pricey Harrison	White	Democratic	54.10%	40.33%	3.39%	1.03%	72.57%	25.19%
62	John Faircloth	White	Republican	79.53%	11.45%	4.38%	0.77%	43.36%	54.26%
63	Ricky Hurtado	Undesignated	Democratic	62.96%	23.90%	11.49%	1.36%	50.02%	47.93%
64	Dennis Riddell	White	Republican	78.67%	13.98%	5.38%	0.81%	40.41%	57.69%
65	Armor Pyrtle	White	Republican	74.93%	19.63%	4.29%	0.86%	35.22%	62.68%
66	Ben T. Moss Jr.	White	Republican	66.01%	24.86%	6.19%	2.09%	40.30%	57.55%
67	Wayne Sasser	White	Republican	88.92%	6.91%	2.36%	0.68%	21.90%	75.81%
68	David Willis	White	Republican	84.13%	7.94%	4.62%	0.70%	36.47%	61.18%
69	Dean Arp	White	Republican	74.90%	11.45%	11.51%	0.93%	34.82%	62.83%
70	Pat B. Hurley	White	Republican	82.13%	6.30%	9.36%	1.06%	24.46%	73.34%
71	Evelyn Terry	Black	Democratic	41.53%	42.12%	15.29%	1.08%	70.03%	27.62%
72	Amber M. Baker	Black	Democratic	50.86%	39.02%	7.96%	0.91%	70.86%	26.75%
73	Lee Zachary	White	Republican	76.36%	13.23%	9.15%	0.72%	35.68%	61.93%
74	Jeff Zenger	White	Republican	81.38%	10.66%	4.56%	0.62%	46.62%	50.95%
75	Donny Lambeth	White	Republican	76.68%	13.13%	8.44%	0.94%	38.59%	59.04%
76	Harry Warren	White	Republican	69.45%	22.26%	6.46%	0.86%	39.97%	57.51%
77	Julia C. Howard	White	Republican	86.25%	7.29%	5.35%	0.73%	25.14%	72.58%
78	Allen McNeill	White	Republican	86.19%	6.51%	5.97%	1.10%	21.31%	76.67%
79	Keith Kidwell	White	Republican	70.17%	24.26%	4.64%	0.88%	36.03%	62.08%
80	Sam Watford	White	Republican	84.92%	8.41%	5.12%	0.92%	25.11%	72.73%

Exhibit 5

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ Wht	% 18+ AP Blk	% H18+ Pop	% 18+ AP Ind	% Dem	% Rep
81	Larry W. Potts	White	Republican	83.73%	9.14%	4.75%	0.86%	28.16%	69.65%
82	Kristin Baker	White	Republican	71.05%	17.78%	8.59%	0.75%	46.43%	50.98%
83	Larry G. Pittman	White	Republican	75.88%	14.05%	7.70%	0.80%	43.97%	53.28%
84	Jeffrey C. McNeely	White	Republican	78.43%	13.85%	6.11%	0.67%	31.15%	66.41%
85	Dudley Greene	White	Republican	91.46%	3.50%	3.70%	0.85%	24.66%	73.35%
86	Hugh Blackwell	White	Republican	85.67%	6.27%	4.43%	0.82%	31.82%	65.77%
87	Destin Hall	White	Republican	90.58%	4.87%	3.45%	0.73%	25.20%	72.50%
88	Mary Belk	White	Democratic	60.09%	21.98%	13.42%	0.86%	61.91%	35.33%
89	Mitchell S. Setzer	White	Republican	82.80%	8.61%	5.47%	0.70%	27.45%	70.33%
90	Sarah Stevens	White	Republican	90.02%	3.43%	5.54%	0.68%	25.08%	72.88%
91	Kyle Hall	White	Republican	90.10%	5.07%	3.88%	0.74%	23.53%	74.20%
92	Terry M. Brown Jr.	Black	Democratic	38.62%	43.03%	12.41%	1.12%	70.56%	26.72%
93	Ray Pickett	White	Republican	93.55%	1.59%	3.27%	0.77%	43.80%	53.25%
94	Jeffrey Elmore	White	Republican	88.84%	5.74%	4.15%	0.63%	23.60%	74.03%
95	Grey Mills	White	Republican	82.22%	9.85%	4.97%	0.84%	33.81%	63.53%
96	Jay Adams	White	Republican	80.04%	8.42%	7.83%	0.64%	35.16%	62.41%
97	Jason Saine	White	Republican	87.67%	5.67%	5.50%	0.68%	26.85%	70.83%
98	John R. Bradford III	White	Republican	83.37%	7.83%	5.53%	0.63%	47.66%	49.74%
99	Nasif Majeed	Black	Democratic	48.51%	35.59%	12.80%	1.27%	63.75%	33.65%
100	John Autry	White	Democratic	40.26%	34.70%	20.67%	1.34%	71.56%	25.49%
101	Carolyn G. Logan	Black	Democratic	40.71%	47.63%	7.48%	1.47%	71.84%	25.59%
102	Becky Carney	White	Democratic	40.46%	45.49%	10.75%	1.11%	77.54%	19.61%
103	Rachel Hunt	White	Democratic	74.36%	13.23%	7.08%	0.78%	52.58%	44.81%
104	Brandon Lofton	White	Democratic	74.55%	12.62%	8.80%	0.75%	53.53%	43.91%
105	Wesley Harris	White	Democratic	71.57%	11.67%	8.24%	0.73%	54.21%	43.15%
106	Carla D. Cunningham	Black	Democratic	35.68%	42.17%	12.13%	1.11%	81.71%	15.65%
107	Kelly M. Alexander Jr.	Black	Democratic	38.54%	49.04%	7.74%	1.04%	77.87%	19.69%
108	John A. Torbett	White	Republican	77.29%	16.47%	4.48%	0.91%	37.04%	60.60%
109	Dana Bumgardner	White	Republican	79.46%	12.76%	5.14%	0.84%	37.68%	59.92%
110	Kelly E. Hastings	White	Republican	81.74%	13.02%	4.04%	0.82%	27.31%	70.71%
111	Tim Moore	White	Republican	73.84%	22.55%	2.26%	0.67%	37.44%	60.71%
112	David Rogers	White	Republican	85.76%	10.23%	2.58%	0.79%	26.89%	71.17%
113	Jake Johnson	White	Republican	91.85%	3.20%	3.71%	0.86%	38.34%	59.62%
114	Susan C. Fisher	White	Democratic	89.34%	3.48%	5.18%	1.08%	57.75%	39.64%
115	John Ager	White	Democratic	86.81%	7.47%	3.67%	1.11%	59.71%	37.64%
116	Brian Turner	White	Democratic	84.53%	8.05%	5.24%	0.98%	58.38%	38.89%
117	Timothy D. Moffitt	White	Republican	85.91%	3.62%	8.35%	1.00%	39.43%	58.18%
118	Mark Pless	White	Republican	95.36%	1.12%	2.33%	0.92%	35.31%	62.41%
119	Mike Clampitt	White	Republican	84.59%	1.80%	3.51%	9.70%	43.80%	53.43%
120	Karl E. Gillespie	White	Republican	93.13%	1.12%	3.21%	2.11%	26.43%	71.63%

North Carolina House Districts enacted by the North  
Exhibit 6 Carolina Legislature in 2021 (Session Law 2021-175)

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
1	Edward C. Goodwin	White	Republican	75.07%	18.16%	3.28%	2.03%	37.28%	60.76%
	Bobby Hanig	White	Republican						
2	Larry Yarborough	White	Republican	64.34%	24.39%	7.03%	2.09%	51.86%	46.07%
3	Steve Tyson	White	Republican	69.04%	20.18%	5.47%	1.97%	39.48%	58.25%
4	Jimmy Dixon	White	Republican	54.09%	25.59%	18.46%	2.15%	40.06%	58.63%
5	Howard J. Hunter III	Native American	Democratic	53.43%	38.59%	4.81%	2.31%	50.22%	48.09%
6	None			61.63%	20.71%	12.83%	3.43%	38.77%	58.54%
7	Matthew Winslow	White	Republican	66.08%	22.94%	7.86%	2.38%	42.48%	55.16%
8	Kandie D. Smith	Black	Democratic	44.26%	45.45%	7.21%	1.62%	62.87%	34.97%
9	Brian Farkas	White	Democratic	64.56%	25.63%	5.69%	1.86%	45.55%	52.34%
10	John R. Bell IV	White	Republican	55.16%	34.27%	6.78%	1.90%	45.31%	52.74%
	Raymond E. Smith Jr.	Black	Democratic						
11	Allison A. Dahle	White	Democratic	60.32%	15.24%	11.19%	1.95%	67.68%	28.98%
12	Chris Humphrey	White	Republican	52.41%	38.48%	7.19%	1.72%	46.58%	51.94%
13	Pat McElraft	White	Republican	82.02%	8.84%	4.50%	2.48%	30.00%	67.76%
14	George G. Cleveland	White	Republican	62.04%	19.93%	11.16%	3.38%	38.07%	58.35%
15	Phil Shepard	White	Republican	66.85%	11.77%	14.95%	2.74%	31.02%	65.55%
16	Carson Smith	White	Republican	74.94%	13.84%	7.08%	2.90%	32.17%	65.25%
17	Frank Iler	White	Republican	80.52%	10.72%	5.15%	2.27%	38.32%	59.60%
18	Deb Butler	White	Democratic	65.36%	22.53%	7.80%	2.41%	58.01%	38.64%
19	Charles W. Miller	White	Republican	86.42%	5.45%	4.09%	2.31%	38.02%	59.61%
20	Ted Davis Jr.	White	Republican	85.16%	5.67%	4.80%	1.42%	44.29%	52.91%
21	None			71.64%	11.58%	8.52%	1.72%	52.74%	44.63%
22	William D. Brisson	White	Republican	54.65%	28.47%	13.31%	3.90%	41.51%	56.96%
23	Shelly Willingham	Black	Democratic	41.67%	53.41%	3.57%	1.39%	59.82%	38.77%
24	Linda Cooper-Suggs	Black	Democratic	50.09%	37.52%	9.84%	2.14%	50.72%	47.84%
25	James D. Gailliard	Black	Democratic	50.87%	41.00%	5.39%	2.04%	51.56%	46.97%
26	Donna McDowell White	White	Republican	67.10%	17.78%	11.36%	2.39%	40.99%	56.36%
27	Michael H. Wray	White	Democratic	41.39%	51.88%	2.36%	4.45%	62.25%	36.39%
28	Larry C. Strickland	White	Republican	64.29%	16.99%	16.18%	2.39%	33.19%	64.97%
29	Vernetta Alston	Black	Democratic	41.70%	39.58%	12.24%	1.91%	84.62%	13.38%
30	Marcia Morey	White	Democratic	43.50%	34.44%	13.38%	1.99%	85.71%	12.34%
31	Zack Hawkins	Black	Democratic	37.01%	39.72%	14.91%	2.33%	79.96%	17.73%
32	Terry E. Garrison	Black	Democratic	47.09%	43.24%	7.91%	1.70%	56.19%	42.19%
33	Rosa U. Gill	Black	Democratic	53.35%	30.91%	9.78%	1.61%	81.27%	16.35%
34	Grier Martin	White	Democratic	64.95%	19.18%	10.87%	1.53%	64.63%	32.70%
35	Terence Everitt	White	Democratic	71.79%	15.68%	6.52%	1.65%	47.12%	50.35%
36	Julie von Haefen	White	Democratic	68.95%	8.78%	7.58%	1.76%	54.76%	42.51%
37	Erin Paré	White	Republican	73.42%	12.62%	9.28%	2.16%	45.06%	52.05%
38	Abe Jones	Black	Democratic	33.91%	45.44%	16.56%	2.18%	73.92%	23.73%

Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP _Blk	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP _Ind	% Dem	% Rep
39	James Roberson	Black	Democratic	47.76%	33.04%	15.03%	2.63%	58.86%	38.73%
40	Joe John	White	Democratic	75.44%	11.53%	5.61%	1.52%	56.32%	41.04%
41	Gale Adcock	White	Democratic	47.61%	8.60%	5.15%	1.12%	64.28%	33.24%
42	Marvin W. Lucas	Black	Democratic	39.90%	40.97%	13.54%	2.90%	65.74%	31.29%
43	Diane Wheatley	White	Republican	50.84%	36.68%	6.42%	4.31%	49.28%	48.41%
44	William O. Richardson	White	Democratic	29.79%	51.68%	12.44%	3.49%	70.35%	26.92%
45	John Szoka	White	Republican	50.27%	32.44%	9.50%	5.25%	48.37%	49.22%
46	Brenden H. Jones	White	Republican	51.15%	29.31%	3.72%	16.09%	40.08%	58.49%
47	Charles Graham	Native American	Democratic	25.08%	22.60%	10.16%	42.65%	45.18%	53.23%
48	Garland E. Pierce	Black	Democratic	42.04%	37.09%	8.59%	11.61%	53.35%	44.34%
49	Cynthia Ball	White	Democratic	61.81%	13.91%	6.43%	1.36%	64.93%	32.54%
50	Graig R. Meyer	White	Democratic	69.09%	18.48%	8.24%	2.39%	56.45%	41.64%
51	John Sauls	White	Republican	65.34%	16.73%	14.43%	2.67%	39.81%	58.01%
52	James L. Boles Jr.	White	Republican	66.24%	23.07%	5.44%	3.83%	42.53%	55.21%
	Ben T. Moss Jr.	White	Republican						
53	Howard Penny Jr.	White	Republican	66.69%	19.65%	10.01%	2.74%	36.71%	61.09%
54	Robert T. Reives II	Black	Democratic	73.26%	11.60%	10.60%	2.14%	52.79%	45.36%
55	Mark Brody	White	Republican	62.10%	24.68%	10.02%	2.03%	39.86%	58.03%
56	Verla Insko	White	Democratic	64.80%	10.94%	8.11%	1.51%	84.08%	13.81%
57	Ashton Wheeler Clemmons	White	Democratic	44.28%	41.34%	7.35%	2.10%	67.53%	30.29%
58	Amos L. Quick III	Black	Democratic	34.62%	44.65%	13.03%	2.53%	72.95%	24.60%
59	Jon Hardister	White	Republican	63.07%	27.68%	5.44%	2.38%	45.99%	52.03%
60	Cecil Brockman	Black	Democratic	44.53%	36.15%	9.99%	2.12%	63.59%	34.16%
61	Pricey Harrison	White	Democratic	47.33%	42.32%	6.53%	1.66%	73.00%	24.78%
62	John Faircloth	White	Republican	70.84%	14.00%	5.86%	1.73%	43.22%	54.40%
63	Ricky Hurtado	Undesignated	Democratic	56.53%	25.45%	14.40%	2.99%	49.38%	48.58%
64	Dennis Riddell	White	Republican	70.80%	16.21%	8.96%	2.09%	40.81%	57.28%
65	Armor Pyrtle	White	Republican	72.79%	19.45%	5.16%	2.02%	34.98%	62.85%
66	None			49.35%	28.89%	14.47%	2.19%	64.52%	33.05%
67	Wayne Sasser	White	Republican	76.62%	13.37%	6.16%	2.13%	28.21%	69.54%
68	David Willis	White	Republican	75.17%	8.70%	6.57%	1.67%	36.86%	60.78%
69	Dean Arp	White	Republican	69.02%	12.24%	13.60%	2.24%	34.82%	62.83%
70	Pat B. Hurley	White	Republican	76.35%	7.38%	11.65%	2.68%	24.02%	73.79%
71	Evelyn Terry	Black	Democratic	38.42%	41.19%	17.77%	2.52%	69.65%	27.99%
72	Amber M. Baker	Black	Democratic	51.06%	34.96%	10.12%	1.88%	68.98%	28.63%
73	None			66.47%	18.13%	8.99%	2.22%	40.09%	57.22%
74	Jeff Zenger	White	Republican	74.60%	12.01%	6.66%	1.95%	44.91%	52.65%
75	Donny Lambeth	White	Republican	69.54%	16.11%	10.67%	2.62%	38.59%	59.04%
76	Harry Warren	White	Republican	66.95%	20.99%	8.38%	2.43%	38.23%	59.28%

## Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+ _Wht	% 18+ _AP_Bl	% H18+ _Pop	% 18+ _AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
77	Julia C. Howard	White	Republican	83.70%	5.80%	7.49%	2.31%	24.14%	73.63%
	Lee Zachary	White	Republican						
78	Allen McNeill	White	Republican	83.21%	5.77%	7.56%	2.21%	25.78%	72.41%
79	Keith Kidwell	White	Republican	74.67%	17.35%	5.51%	1.76%	37.95%	60.11%
80	Sam Watford	White	Republican	79.55%	9.84%	6.87%	2.39%	25.05%	72.75%
81	Larry W. Potts	White	Republican	79.40%	10.00%	6.15%	2.49%	28.27%	69.58%
82	Kristin Baker	White	Republican	61.54%	22.14%	12.85%	2.58%	44.20%	53.10%
	Larry G. Pittman	White	Republican						
83	None			70.28%	12.55%	7.96%	2.17%	34.20%	63.45%
84	Jeffrey C. McNeely	White	Republican	71.29%	16.59%	8.53%	2.07%	33.00%	64.56%
85	Dudley Greene	White	Republican	88.52%	3.46%	4.70%	2.35%	26.86%	71.13%
86	Hugh Blackwell	White	Republican	81.24%	6.41%	6.38%	3.25%	30.75%	66.86%
87	Destin Hall	White	Republican	86.79%	5.23%	4.71%	2.34%	26.75%	70.92%
88	Mary Belk	White	Democratic	63.64%	24.25%	5.96%	1.36%	64.26%	33.13%
89	Mitchell S. Setzer	White	Republican	81.61%	7.02%	5.99%	2.20%	25.41%	72.30%
90	Sarah Stevens	White	Republican	85.10%	3.84%	8.51%	2.07%	24.45%	73.56%
91	Kyle Hall	White	Republican	74.02%	14.74%	7.63%	2.28%	36.80%	60.77%
92	Terry M. Brown Jr.	Black	Democratic	34.49%	40.82%	15.95%	2.07%	68.85%	28.46%
93	Ray Pickett	White	Republican	86.10%	3.53%	6.30%	1.81%	41.66%	55.40%
94	Jeffrey Elmore	White	Republican	86.43%	5.52%	5.15%	1.98%	23.43%	74.30%
95	Grey Mills	White	Republican	79.26%	8.11%	6.16%	1.90%	33.66%	63.66%
96	Jay Adams	White	Republican	72.17%	10.47%	10.56%	2.59%	36.24%	61.36%
97	Jason Saine	White	Republican	84.41%	5.81%	6.23%	2.17%	26.85%	70.83%
98	John R. Bradford III	White	Republican	79.61%	8.06%	6.74%	1.44%	46.78%	50.68%
99	Nasif Majeed	Black	Democratic	24.43%	48.91%	20.76%	2.31%	76.84%	20.63%
100	John Autry	White	Democratic	38.50%	32.80%	20.67%	2.23%	71.72%	25.28%
101	Carolyn G. Logan	Black	Democratic	32.65%	48.79%	13.15%	2.20%	70.99%	26.42%
102	Becky Carney	White	Democratic	39.67%	39.09%	16.31%	1.92%	80.17%	17.07%
103	Rachel Hunt	White	Democratic	70.19%	12.65%	8.80%	1.79%	46.92%	50.50%
104	Brandon Lofton	White	Democratic	77.64%	9.10%	6.16%	1.33%	51.97%	45.47%
105	Wesley Harris	White	Democratic	58.69%	13.17%	10.81%	1.66%	53.84%	43.54%
106	Carla D. Cunningham	Black	Democratic	29.84%	45.47%	11.10%	1.93%	78.96%	18.30%
107	Kelly M. Alexander Jr.	Black	Democratic	34.27%	49.16%	11.36%	1.60%	73.22%	24.27%
108	John A. Torbett	White	Republican	68.24%	20.01%	7.52%	2.58%	37.31%	60.26%
109	Dana Bumgardner	White	Republican	70.08%	17.41%	7.85%	2.26%	38.07%	59.60%
110	Kelly E. Hastings	White	Republican	75.79%	16.19%	4.87%	2.35%	29.42%	68.62%
111	Tim Moore	White	Republican	76.40%	16.90%	3.53%	2.07%	30.73%	67.44%
112	None			37.95%	29.58%	25.20%	2.59%	70.11%	26.91%
113	Jake Johnson	White	Republican	83.23%	7.19%	6.13%	2.36%	33.83%	64.24%
	David Rogers	White	Republican						

Exhibit 6

District	Representative	Race	Party	% NH18+_Wht	% 18+_AP_Bl	% H18+_Pop	% 18+_AP_Ind	% Dem	% Rep
114	Susan C. Fisher	White	Democratic	80.61%	8.00%	6.55%	2.38%	70.43%	26.80%
115	John Ager	White	Democratic	83.57%	6.62%	5.26%	2.36%	59.06%	38.31%
116	Brian Turner	White	Democratic	82.96%	3.95%	8.15%	2.55%	44.94%	52.47%
117	Timothy D. Moffitt	White	Republican	81.75%	3.77%	10.50%	2.05%	39.69%	57.95%
118	Mark Pless	White	Republican	91.24%	1.54%	3.50%	2.58%	37.62%	60.00%
119	Mike Clampitt	White	Republican	80.68%	2.95%	5.10%	10.25%	42.79%	54.59%
120	Karl E. Gillespie	White	Republican	89.02%	1.31%	4.63%	3.95%	26.43%	71.63%

**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1568 – Affidavit of  
Christopher Ketchie, Exhibit 7: Raw North Carolina 2020 VTD-  
election data file (submitted in native format)**

## EXHIBIT 60

**From:** Allison Riggs  
**To:** [Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov](mailto:Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov); [Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov); [Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov](mailto:Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov); [Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov); [Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov); [Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov); [Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov); [Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov](mailto:Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov); [Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov); [Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov); [Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov](mailto:Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov); [Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov); [Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov); [Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov); [Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov); [Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov); [Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov); [Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov); [Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov); [Don.Davis@ncleg.gov](mailto:Don.Davis@ncleg.gov); [Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov](mailto:Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov); [Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov](mailto:Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov); [Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov); [Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov); [Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov); [Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov); [Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov); [Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov); [William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov); [Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov](mailto:Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov); [Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov](mailto:Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov); [Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov); [Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov); [Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov](mailto:Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov); [Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov); [Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov); [Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov); [LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov](mailto:LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov); [Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov); [Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov); [William.Richardson@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Richardson@ncleg.gov); [Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov](mailto:Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov); [Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov); [MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov](mailto:MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov); [John.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Torbett@ncleg.gov); [Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov); [Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov); [Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov](mailto:Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov); [Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov](mailto:Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov); [Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov); [Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov](mailto:Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov); [Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov); [Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov); [Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov); [Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov); [Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov](mailto:Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov); [Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov); [Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov); [Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov); [Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov); [Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov](mailto:Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov); [Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov); [Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov); [Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov); [Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov); [Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov); [Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov); [David.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:David.Rogers@ncleg.gov); [Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov); [John.Szoka@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Szoka@ncleg.gov); [Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov); [Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov](mailto:Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov); [Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov); [Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov); [Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov)  
**Cc:** [Hilary Harris Klein](#); [Mitchell D. Brown](#); [Katelin Kaiser](#)  
**Subject:** 2021 North Carolina redistricting - SCSJ correspondence re: process and cluster maps  
**Date:** Friday, October 8, 2021 4:19:23 PM  
**Attachments:** [SCSJ correspondence NCGA redistricting 2021.10.08.pdf](#)  
**Importance:** High

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Senators and Representatives and NCGA staff,

Please find attached correspondence from the Southern Coalition for Social Justice regarding the redistricting process and the cluster maps released on Tuesday. Please don't hesitate to reach out to me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Allison Riggs  
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Chief Counsel for Voting Rights  
Southern Coalition for Social Justice  
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PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1569**



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October 8, 2021

**VIA EMAIL**

To: Sen. Phil Berger  
President Pro Tempore, North Carolina Senate  
Rep. Tim Moore  
Speaker, North Carolina House of Representatives  
Sen. Daniel, Sen. Hise, and Sen. Newton  
Co-Chairs, Senate Standing Committee on Redistricting and Elections  
Rep. D. Hall, Chair  
House Standing Committee on Redistricting

CC: Sen. Dan Blue, Senate Democratic Leader  
Rep. Robert T. Reives, II, House Democratic Leader  
Members, Senate Standing Committee on Redistricting and Elections  
Members, House Standing Committee on Redistricting

Senators and Representatives,

The undersigned respectfully submit this letter to bring to the attention of the legislative leadership, Members of the Senate Standing Committee on Redistricting and Elections, Members of the House Standing Committee on Redistricting, and, indeed, the entire legislative body, certain areas of concern within the county clustering option maps you introduced on Tuesday, October 5, 2021. The Committee Chairs stated that these maps represent the only legally compliant county clustering options in which ultimate district lines will be drawn. We disagree.

In *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, the North Carolina Supreme Court developed a methodology for how counties should be grouped together to form county clusters.<sup>1</sup> Under *Stephenson*, first, districts must be drawn to satisfy Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (“VRA”) to ensure voters of color have an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect their candidates of choice. Only after that analysis is performed and those districts are drawn may any work be done to harmonize and maximize compliance with North Carolina’s Whole County Provision (“WCP”).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354 (2002); *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 357 N.C. 301 (2003).

<sup>2</sup> We do not concede that your interpretation of the *Stephenson* criteria after the first step—drawing VRA-required districts—is correct.



Although the *Stephenson* criteria outlines a process for how counties are grouped together to create districts, there is still discretion regarding the choices about how and where to group counties. Consequently, these individual choices can result in different county grouping options that directly affect political opportunities and voting power for voters of color. We will be monitoring your choices with respect to county clusters closely, as well as the impact of those choices. But even now, we can identify serious problems with your judgment being used in this redistricting process, including but not limited to gross mischaracterizations of applicable law.

## **I. The North Carolina General Assembly Continues to Flout Well-Established Redistricting Law**

At this point, we have only seen draft district lines for the aforementioned clusters presented by your Committees, which create some (but not all) districts and thus do not constitute full maps. As a result, this letter does not and cannot address all potential violations of the North Carolina Constitution, the federal Voting Rights Act, or the North Carolina Supreme Court’s instructions in the *Stephenson* cases. Our intent here is to bring to your attention the potential problems in the county clustering maps from which you have indicated you intend to choose. We also seek to highlight, once again, the erroneous legal interpretation under which you appear to be operating, just as in last decade’s redistricting cycle. Absent a material change in direction, we may have further critiques or concerns. However, it is not too late to remedy these issues and embark on a redistricting process that will comply with applicable law.

### **1. The North Carolina Legislature Is Already Violating the *Stephenson* Instructions**

Because this body is erroneously avoiding the use of all racial data, you per se cannot comply with *Stephenson*. Without that data, you cannot assess what districts are required under the VRA and draw those districts first as required. The failure to consider racial data is deeply problematic for other legal and policy grounds, but in this letter, we focus on the potential county clusters where it is unlikely that a district that will provide voters of color an equal opportunity to elect their preferred candidates can be produced by the county cluster.

The North Carolina Supreme Court has been unequivocal: *Stephenson* mandates that “districts required by the VRA be drawn first.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the Supremacy Clause of the United States Constitution requires federal law compliance be prioritized. In order to determine whether it is necessary to draw VRA districts, the Legislature must determine the level of racially polarized voting in the relevant geographical area.<sup>4</sup> Without any analysis of racial voting data, you are making it impossible to assess whether VRA districts are required and violating the plain rule in *Stephenson*. Thus, to comply with *Stephenson* and the VRA, we believe the Legislature must conduct a regionally-focused racially polarized voting (“RPV”) study to determine if there is legally significant racially polarized voting. If there is that level of racially polarized voting,

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<sup>3</sup> *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354, 383 (2002).

<sup>4</sup> *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 55 (1986).



and if any cluster which you claim is required under strict compliance with *Stephenson* produces a district in which voters of color would not be able to elect their preferred candidate, then you must draw a VRA district first and only then engage in developing clusters around that district.<sup>5</sup> As discussed below, your claims that RPV studies done in 2011 and the *Covington* court’s ruling in 2016<sup>6</sup> somehow negate the possibility that any VRA districts may be necessary today, in 2021, is plainly wrong.

2. The North Carolina General Assembly Is Grossly Misinterpreting *Covington v. North Carolina* and Other Precedent from Last Cycle

Sen. Hise and Rep. Hall are factually incorrect in representing that courts last decade ruled that racially polarized voting in North Carolina does not exist. In the most relevant case, *Covington v. North Carolina*, the federal court that invalidated 28 North Carolina legislative districts as unconstitutional racial gerrymanders in fact stated the opposite.<sup>7</sup> The court acknowledged that there were two reports before the Legislature indicating there was statistically significant racially polarized voting in the state<sup>8</sup>, but the bipartisan panel of federal judges excoriated the Legislature for “failing to evaluate whether there was a strong basis of evidence for the third *Gingles* factor in any potential VRA district.”<sup>9</sup> That is, the court acknowledged the “general finding regarding the existence of [] racially polarized voting,” but said the Legislature had to do a deeper inquiry, which “is exactly what Defendants did not do.”<sup>10</sup> This body seems bound and determined to make the same legal mistake again this redistricting cycle by once again abdicating its responsibility to do the analysis it is required by law to do. If this Legislature declines to meet its obligations under *Stephenson* to determine and draw districts required by the VRA first, it should be prepared for a court to ultimately draw the maps needed for elections next year.

Second, no case from the last redistricting cycle overturns or otherwise renders null *Stephenson*’s requirement that the Legislature draw VRA districts first. In a meeting of the Joint Redistricting and Elections Committee on August 12, 2021, the Committee Chairs, in response to Senator Clark’s question about complying with the VRA, stated that RPV analysis was not necessary due to “the 2019 decisions.”<sup>11</sup> The 2019 Superior Court decision *Common Cause v. Lewis* found that compliance with the VRA was not a plausible excuse to a charge of partisan

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<sup>5</sup> *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354 (2002) (holding legislative districts required by the VRA be formed prior to the creation of non-VRA districts to ensure redistricting plans “ha[ve] no retrogressive effect upon minority voters.”).

<sup>6</sup> *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F.R.D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016).

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 169-170 (finding that Defendants’ “reports conclude that there is evidence of racially polarized voting in North Carolina [.]”).

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 167.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 167-68.

<sup>11</sup> NCGA Redistricting, 2021-08-12 Committee (Joint), YOUTUBE (Aug. 13, 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSm2OhE7Slk&t=718s>.



gerrymandering.<sup>12</sup> It did *not* hold that the General Assembly may completely ignore racial voting data when drawing districts following the release of U.S. Census data. As a result, *Lewis* in no way alters *Stephenson*’s mandate that the Legislature first draw VRA districts with the assistance of racial voting data analysis.

Lastly, no other federal law or Supreme Court decision compels or even allows this body to ignore racial data in drawing district lines. The Supreme Court decision *Cooper v. Harris* explains that states *can* use racial data in redistricting to comply with the VRA.<sup>13</sup> In 2017, the Supreme Court found that the creation of two North Carolina congressional districts violated the federal Constitution because map drawers had used racial data in ways *not required* by the VRA.<sup>14</sup> *Cooper* found that map drawers were using the VRA as an excuse to pack far more Black voters into a district than was necessary for VRA compliance; it did not state that the use of racial data is unconstitutional in every circumstance.<sup>15</sup> In fact, *Cooper* demonstrates the very necessity of using racial voting data. It is impossible to determine what demographic configuration is sufficient for VRA compliance without analyzing racial voting data.

With these legal deficiencies in your approach explained, we now turn to areas of concern in the county cluster maps introduced on Tuesday. We note at the outset that the authors of the paper presenting possible county clusters explicitly did not look at the first step in *Stephenson* – drawing VRA districts.<sup>16</sup> Thus, while this paper and methodology may be informative, they cannot substitute for the legislative analysis required by North Carolina and federal law. Indeed, it would not be algorithmically possible to do the kind of “intensely local appraisal”<sup>17</sup> necessary to determine whether a district was required under Section 2 of the VRA.

## **II. Certain Areas in the North Carolina Senate Cluster Maps Require Examination for VRA Compliance**

### **a. Cluster in Greene/Wayne/Wilson**

One of the Senate county clusters that you designate as required under an “optimal” county grouping map for the Senate districts appears to violate the VRA. Cluster “Q1” is a district comprised of three counties that would likely deprive voters of color of the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice. In the current Senate map, Senate District 4 is comprised of Halifax, Edgecombe and Wilson Counties, and the Black voting age population (“BVAP”) in

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<sup>12</sup> *Common Cause v. Lewis*, No. 18 CVS 014001, at \*345 (N.C. Sup. Ct. Sept. 3, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> *Cooper v. Harris*, 137 S. Ct. 1455, 1464 (2017).

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* at 1472.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 1470-71.

<sup>16</sup> Christopher Cooper, et al., *NC General Assembly County Clusterings from the 2020 Census*, QUANTIFYING GERRYMANDERING (Aug. 17, 2021), <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf> (last visited Oct. 7, 2021).

<sup>17</sup> *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 79 (1986).



that district is 47.46% using benchmark data. Black voters have the ability to elect their candidate of choice in this district.

In a county group analysis where race is not considered at all, we are concerned that you will propose that Senate District 4 be comprised going forward of Green, Wayne, and Wilson Counties. A district comprised of those 3 counties would be only 35.02% BVAP. If Section 5 were still in place, we are certain that such a change to that district would constitute impermissible retrogression and not be approved. We have done some initial analysis of racially polarized voting in those 3 new counties that would comprise Senate District 4. Examining racially contested statewide elections<sup>18</sup> in these counties shows two things: using a number of different analytic approaches, the Black candidate is overwhelmingly supported by Black voters and white voters offer very little support for Black candidates. That is, voting is racially polarized. And most importantly, in those counties, were the electoral outcomes to be determined just by voting there, the Black candidates would have been defeated. Thus, the racially polarized voting is legally significant. We urge you to perform a formal RPV analysis in these counties before dictating that the Senate district must be comprised of these 3 counties.

Moreover, knowing as you do (or certainly do now) that there is a concentration of Black voters who, in concert with a small number of non-Black voters in the original configuration of the district (Wilson, Edgecombe and Halifax) are able to elect their candidate of choice, “if there were a showing that a State intentionally drew district lines in order to destroy otherwise effective crossover district[,],” you would likely be subjecting the State to liability under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.<sup>19</sup>

b. Cluster in Hoke/Robeson/Scotland

We are also concerned that in the absence of racial data analysis, the proposed Senate district comprised of Hoke, Robeson, and Scotland Counties may not be in compliance with the Voting Rights Act. This county cluster would create a new District 21 out of what were previously sections of Senate Districts 13, 21, and 25. In North Carolina’s current map, District 21 is 42.15% BVAP using benchmark data, and Black voters in that district have the ability to elect their candidate of choice.

A district composed of Hoke, Robeson, and Scotland counties would be only 29.63% BVAP. Our initial review of recent racially-contested elections suggests that voting in these counties is highly racially polarized. Drawing a district with such a low BVAP might deprive

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<sup>18</sup> We examined the 2020 race for Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court involving a Black candidate, Cheri Beasley, and a white candidate, Paul Newby. We examined the 2020 race for Commissioner of Labor involving a Black candidate, Jessica Holmes, and a white candidate, Joshua Dobson. We examined the 2016 race for Treasurer involving a Black candidate, Dan Blue III, and a white candidate, Dale Folwell. And we examined the 2016 race for Lieutenant Governor, involving a Black candidate, Linda Coleman, and two white candidates, Dan Forest and Jacki Cole.

<sup>19</sup> *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 24 (2009).



Black voters the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. We urge you to perform a formal RPV analysis for these three counties to determine if a VRA-compliant district is required for the new district in this area.

### **III. Certain Areas in the North Carolina House Cluster Maps Require Examination for VRA Compliance**

#### **a. Cluster in Sampson/Wayne**

Our preliminary data analysis shows that a new House District 21 may be created out of a cluster composed of either Sampson and Wayne counties (“LL2”) or Duplin and Wayne counties (“KK2”). Our initial analysis indicates that the LL2 configuration is particularly problematic. Neither Sampson nor Wayne Counties individually have a high enough population to compose a single district under one person, one vote jurisprudence. However, the North Carolina General Assembly could create two House districts from a Wayne and Sampson County cluster.

Current House District 21 is composed of only portions of both Wayne and Sampson Counties. It is 39.00% BVAP using benchmark data and provides Black voters the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice. Our preliminary analysis was fairly conclusive – based on the statewide elections examined, voting in Sampson and Wayne Counties, together, is highly racially polarized and the Black candidates in statewide elections would not have won had the elections been determined in those counties alone. Thus, we believe this presents substantial evidence that there is legally significant racially polarized voting, and there may be a VRA district required to be drawn in this cluster; or if that is not possible under one-person, one-vote principles, this cluster cannot be used – it would not be compliant with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act or *Stephenson*.

#### **b. Cluster in Camden/Gates/Hertford/Pasquotank**

One of the proposed multi-county single House districts in your proposed clusters is composed of Camden, Gates, Hertford, and Pasquotank Counties (Cluster “NN1” in “Duke\_House\_01,” “Duke\_House\_03,” “Duke\_House\_05” and “Duke\_House\_07”). The current district for this area, House District 5, is 44.32% BVAP using benchmark data, and Black voters have the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. A House district composed of Camden, Gates, Hertford, and Pasquotank Counties would be only 38.59% BVAP. Our analysis indicates that white voters are voting in bloc there and may be doing so in a way that would prevent a Black-preferred candidate from winning (and, thus, legally significant). More analysis must be done on this cluster to determine whether there is legally significant racially polarized voting, and, if so, a district composed of this county cluster might eliminate the ability of Black voters to elect a candidate of their choice and thus violate federal and state law.



#### IV. Conclusion

To be clear, in this letter, we are raising issues with the clusters you released on Tuesday, October 5, 2021. We can identify potential VRA issues where districts are dictated by groupings of whole counties or where, in a small 2-district cluster, we can observe voting patterns with sufficient certainty to identify a potential problem. However, we do not yet know how district lines will be drawn within counties or within multi-county, multi-district clusters. For example, we suspect that the way district lines are drawn in a Nash/Wilson House county grouping or Granville/Vance/Franklin House county grouping could be problematic. In short, this is a non-exhaustive list of concerns, particularly given the lack of draft maps at this moment. But this body should consider itself on notice for the need to perform RPV analysis in certain regions of the state and the need to examine racial data to ensure VRA compliance.

Importantly, we are not saying conclusively that VRA districts are required in the above county groupings; however, it cannot be ascertained without conducting an intensely local appraisal of voting conditions and a targeted RPV analysis, which you are required by law to undertake.<sup>20</sup> Without conducting any RPV analysis prior to grouping counties, the Legislature is departing from the requirements of the *Stephenson* criteria and may ultimately deny voters of color an equal opportunity to participate in North Carolina's elections. Therefore, by allegedly engaging in race-blind drawing, you violate not only the VRA but also *Stephenson* and our State's case precedent. It is neither appropriate nor required to draw districts race-blind. Rather, your current path ensures redistricting will once again be a tool used to harm voters of color, and we implore you to reconsider this path immediately.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Allison J. Riggs

Co-Executive Director for Programs and Chief Counsel for Voting Rights

Hilary Harris Klein

Senior Counsel, Voting Rights

Mitchell Brown

Counsel, Voting Rights

Katelin Kaiser

Counsel, Voting Rights

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<sup>20</sup> *Id.*



## EXHIBIT 61

**From:** Allison Riggs  
**To:** [Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov](mailto:Phil.Berger@ncleg.gov); [Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robin.Braswell@ncleg.gov); [Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov](mailto:Tim.Moore@ncleg.gov); [Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grace.Irvin@ncleg.gov); [Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Warren.Daniel@ncleg.gov); [Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andy.Perrigo@ncleg.gov); [Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ralph.Hise@ncleg.gov); [Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov](mailto:Susan.Fanning@ncleg.gov); [Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Newton@ncleg.gov); [Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Andrew.Stiffel@ncleg.gov); [Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov](mailto:Destin.Hall@ncleg.gov); [Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lucy.Harrill@ncleg.gov); [Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov); [Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov); [Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov); [Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov); [Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov](mailto:Dan.Blue@ncleg.gov); [Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bonnie.McNeil@ncleg.gov); [Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov](mailto:Ben.Clark@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Johnson@ncleg.gov); [Don.Davis@ncleg.gov](mailto:Don.Davis@ncleg.gov); [Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov](mailto:Edwin.Woodard@ncleg.gov); [Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov](mailto:Chuck.Edwards@ncleg.gov); [Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Heather.Millett@ncleg.gov); [Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Carl.Ford@ncleg.gov); [Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov](mailto:Angela.Ford@ncleg.gov); [Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kathy.Harrington@ncleg.gov); [Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lorie.Byrd@ncleg.gov); [Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brent.Jackson@ncleg.gov); [William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Kirkley@ncleg.gov); [Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov](mailto:Joyce.Krawiec@ncleg.gov); [Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov](mailto:Debbie.Lown@ncleg.gov); [Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paul.Lowe@ncleg.gov); [Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov](mailto:Corneisha.Mitchell@ncleg.gov); [Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov](mailto:Natasha.Marcus@ncleg.gov); [Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jessica.Bolin@ncleg.gov); [Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov](mailto:Wiley.Nickel@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Cullen@ncleg.gov); [Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jim.Perry@ncleg.gov); [LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov](mailto:LeighAnn.Biddix@ncleg.gov); [Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Bill.Rabon@ncleg.gov); [Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov](mailto:Paula.Fields@ncleg.gov); [William.Richardson@ncleg.gov](mailto:William.Richardson@ncleg.gov); [Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov](mailto:Leigh.Lawrence@ncleg.gov); [Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jason.Saine@ncleg.gov); [MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov](mailto:MaryStuart.Sloan@ncleg.gov); [John.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Torbett@ncleg.gov); [Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov](mailto:Viddia.Torbett@ncleg.gov); [Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cecil.Brockman@ncleg.gov); [Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov](mailto:Matthew.Barley@ncleg.gov); [Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov](mailto:Becky.Carney@ncleg.gov); [Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beth.LeGrande@ncleg.gov); [Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov](mailto:Linda.Cooper-Suggs@ncleg.gov); [Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov](mailto:Caroline.Enloe@ncleg.gov); [Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jimmy.Dixon@ncleg.gov); [Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Michael.Wiggins@ncleg.gov); [Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jon.Hardister@ncleg.gov); [Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jayne.Nelson@ncleg.gov); [Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov](mailto:Pricey.Harrison@ncleg.gov); [Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mary.Lee@ncleg.gov); [Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Kelly.Hastings@ncleg.gov); [Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov](mailto:Sophia.Hastings@ncleg.gov); [Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Zack.Hawkins@ncleg.gov); [Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov](mailto:Anita.Wilder@ncleg.gov); [Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov](mailto:Brenden.Jones@ncleg.gov); [Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov](mailto:Jeff.Hauser@ncleg.gov); [Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov](mailto:Grey.Mills@ncleg.gov); [Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov](mailto:Mason.Barefoot@ncleg.gov); [Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov](mailto:Robert.Reives@ncleg.gov); [Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov](mailto:Veronica.Green@ncleg.gov); [David.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:David.Rogers@ncleg.gov); [Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov](mailto:Misty.Rogers@ncleg.gov); [John.Szoka@ncleg.gov](mailto:John.Szoka@ncleg.gov); [Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov](mailto:Beverly.Slagle@ncleg.gov); [Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov](mailto:Harry.Warren@ncleg.gov); [Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov](mailto:Cristy.Yates@ncleg.gov); [Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov](mailto:Lee.Zachary@ncleg.gov); [Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov](mailto:Martha.Jenkins@ncleg.gov)  
**Cc:** Hilary Harris Klein; Mitchell D. Brown; Katelin Kaiser  
**Subject:** 2021 North Carolina redistricting - SCSJ correspondence re: proposed Senate map  
**Date:** Monday, October 25, 2021 8:14:02 PM  
**Attachments:** [SCSJ Letter Senate Map 10 25 21 FINAL.pdf](#)

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Senators and Representatives and NCGA staff,

Please find attached correspondence from the Southern Coalition for Social Justice regarding the proposed Senate map that we understand will be the subject of public comment tomorrow. Please don't hesitate to reach out to me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Allison Riggs  
Co-Executive Director, Programs  
Chief Counsel for Voting Rights  
Southern Coalition for Social Justice  
1415 West Highway 54, Ste. 101  
Durham, NC 27707  
[919-323-3380 ext. 117](tel:919-323-3380)  
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PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1570**



1415 W. Hwy 54, Suite 101  
Durham, NC 27707  
919-323-3380  
southerncoalition.org

October 25, 2021

**VIA EMAIL**

To: Sen. Phil Berger  
President Pro Tempore, North Carolina Senate  
Rep. Tim Moore  
Speaker, North Carolina House of Representatives  
Sen. Daniel, Sen. Hise, and Sen. Newton  
Co-Chairs, Senate Standing Committee on Redistricting and Elections  
Rep. D. Hall, Chair  
House Standing Committee on Redistricting  
CC: Sen. Dan Blue, Senate Democratic Leader  
Rep. Robert T. Reives, II, House Democratic Leader  
Members, Senate Standing Committee on Redistricting and Elections  
Members, House Standing Committee on Redistricting

Senators and Representatives,

It is disappointing that the State Senate map, “SST-4,” that has been drafted, and apparently will be offered to the committees, has completely ignored important racial considerations. As we raised in our October 8, 2021 letter, the rejection of all racial data in drafting these maps raises serious legal concerns that are illustrated by SST-4.

The selections from clusters that you offered on October 5, 2021 as legal options for county clustering appear to raise further concerns. There were two cluster options for the Senate district in northeastern North Carolina, both of which you asserted were legal clusters. This body appears to be poised to select the map within SST-4 that is obviously worse for Black voters, the “Z1” cluster “Duke\_Senate 02.”

Even without considering racial data, it would have been painfully obvious to anyone with a passing familiarity with North Carolina’s political geography that excluding Warren, Halifax, and Martin from a cluster where the incumbent is the candidate of choice of Black voters – and herself Black – will be fatal to the ability of Black voters to continue electing their candidate of choice. We will provide you the data to confirm that.

The cluster that obviously does not interfere with the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice is comprised of Warren, Halifax, Martin, Bertie, Northampton, Hertford, Gates, Camden, Currituck, and Tyrell. The Black Voting Age Population (“BVAP”) in that

**About Us:** The Southern Coalition for Social Justice partners with communities of color and economically disadvantaged communities in the South to defend and advance their political, social, and economic rights through the combination of legal advocacy, research, organizing, and communications.



district is 42.33%. It is a district where the Democratic candidate, in the last two presidential elections and last two gubernatorial elections, would have won. While there is racially polarized voting in these counties, collectively, using reconstituted election results, this one-district cluster would have elected the Black-preferred candidate in each of the statewide, racially contested elections we mentioned in our October 5 letter. That is, racially polarized voting is not legally significant in this cluster, and therefore, it is the obvious choice unless one wanted to undermine Black voting strength.

The cluster that the committee chair and presumably legislative leadership selected in SST-4 is comprised of Northampton, Hertford, Bertie, Gates, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Camden, Currituck, Tyrell, and Dare, and most certainly destroys the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice. While Senate District 3 is not majority-Black in its current form, it is an effective crossover district that is electing the candidate of choice of Black Voters. The BVAP in District 1 (the analog to SD 3 in the current map) with the cluster you have chosen is only 29.49%. It is a district where the Republican candidate won in the last two presidential elections, the last two gubernatorial elections, and the 2020 state supreme court election. Not only is there racially polarized voting in the counties comprising this district, collectively, using reconstituted election results, this one-district cluster would not have elected the Black-preferred candidate in any of the statewide, racially contested elections we mentioned in our October 5 letter. That is, racially polarized voting is legally significant. The selection of this cluster, therefore, is inexplicable absent discriminatory intent.

This letter is being submitted as an addendum to our October 5 letter. To our understanding, none of the concerns raised in our October 5 letter have been addressed in any capacity. If the North Carolina General Assembly proceeds with the SST-4 proposed map, this body will ensure that two of the three representatives of choice of Black voters in northeastern North Carolina will not be re-elected, nor any candidate of choice of Black voters within those two districts. This extremely discriminatory result—especially in the face of the information being provided to this body—strongly suggests that such a result is intentional. Once again, we urge you to reconsider your actions and to enact a redistricting plan that is legal and fair to all voters of North Carolina.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Allison J. Riggs

Co-Executive Director for Programs and Chief Counsel for  
Voting Rights

Hilary Harris Klein

Senior Counsel, Voting Rights

Mitchell Brown

Counsel, Voting Rights

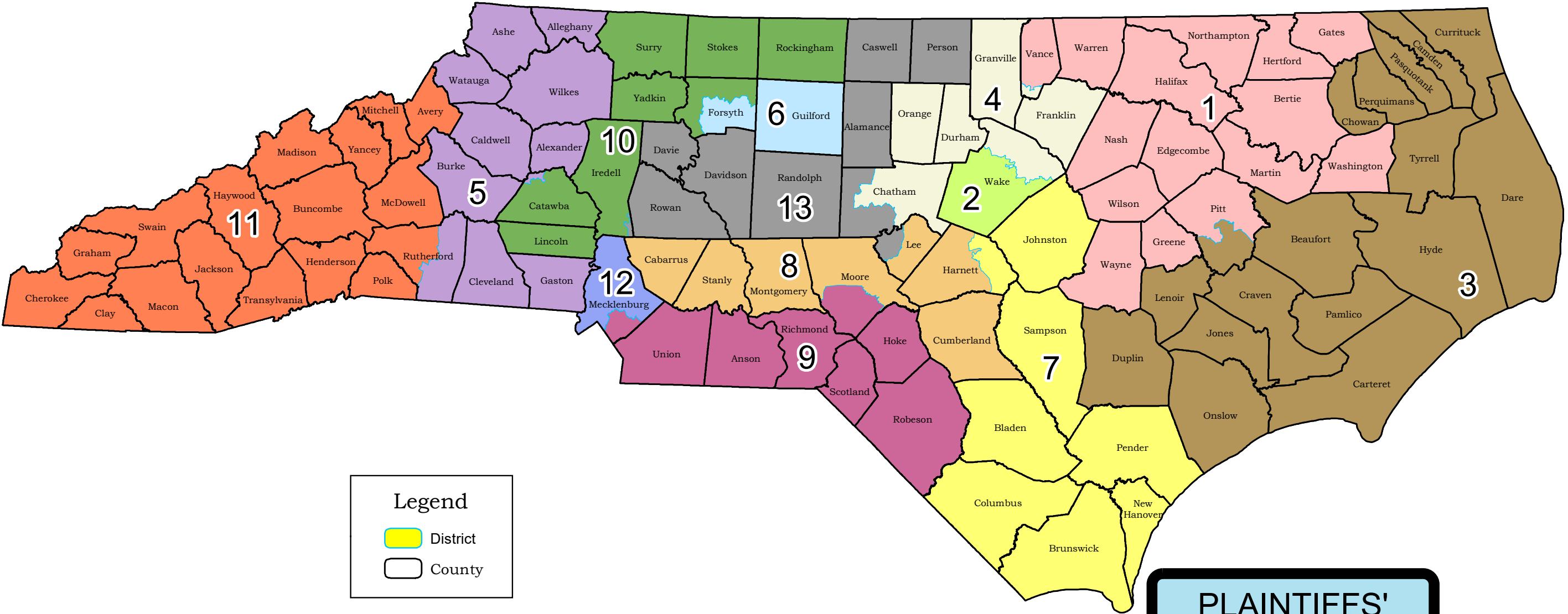
Katelin Kaiser

Counsel, Voting Rights



EXHIBIT 64

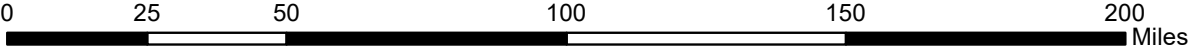
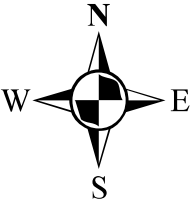
HB1029 3rd Edition



Legend

District

County



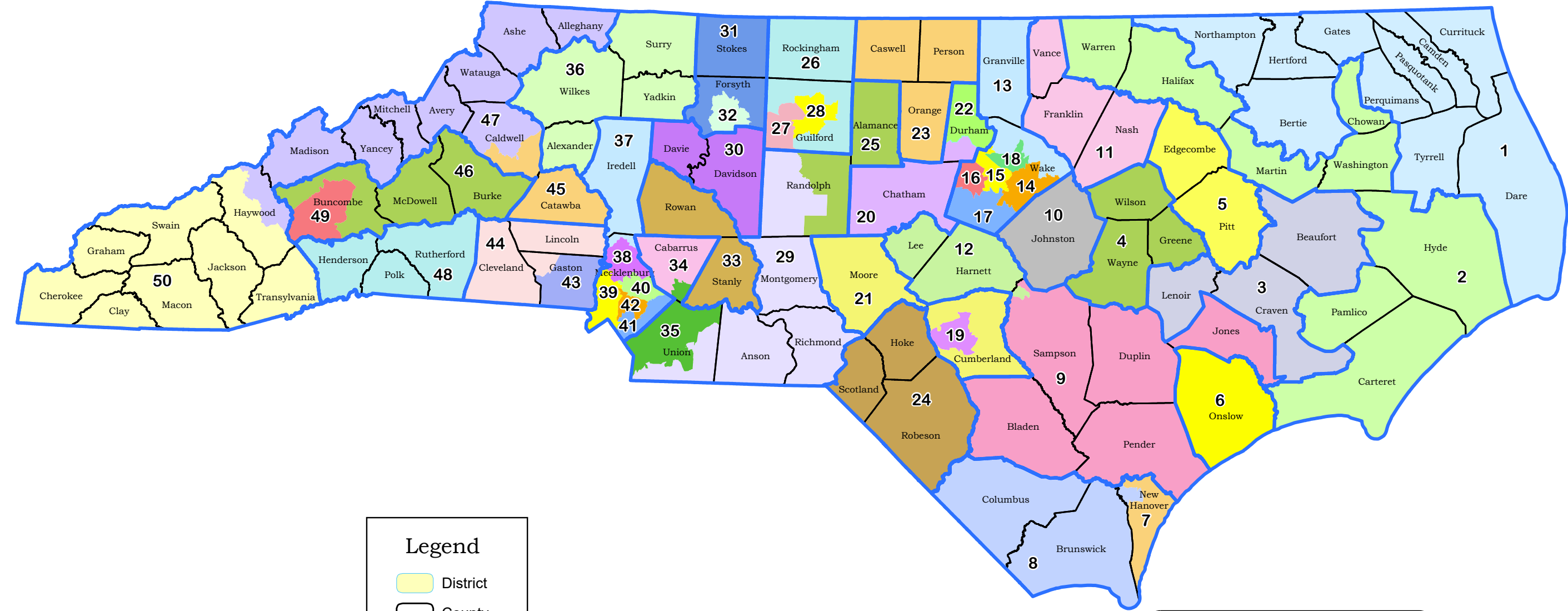
PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT

**1571**



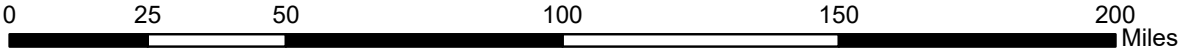
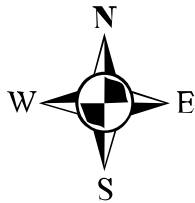
EXHIBIT 67

S.L. 2021-173 Senate



Legend

- District
- County
- Groupings



PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT

1572



Source: SL 2021-173 Senate

Printed by the NC General Assembly, November 4, 2021

– Ex. 6867 –



PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1573**



PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1574**



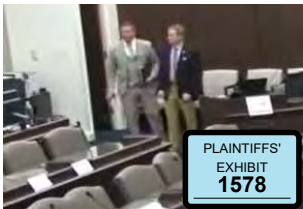
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**1575**





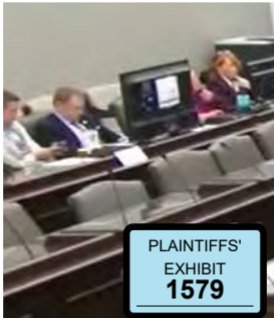
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EXHIBIT  
**1577**

– Ex. 6872 –

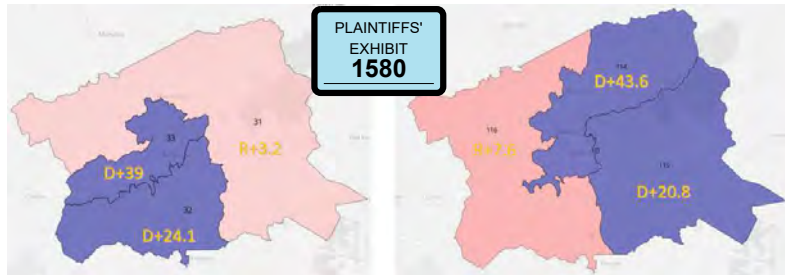


PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1578**

– Ex. 6873 –



– Ex. 6874 –



List of Video Files referencing “Map Drawing” on <https://ncleg.gov/Documents/493#Video:Å>

1. 2021-10-06\_544\_Map\_Drawing-Station\_01
2. 2021-10-06\_544\_Map\_Drawing-Station\_03
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188. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
189. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
190. 2021-11-01\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
191. 2021-11-01\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
192. 2021-11-01\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
193. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
194. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01\_Part-2
195. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
196. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
197. 2021-11-02\_544\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
198. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
199. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
200. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
201. 2021-11-02\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
202. 2021-11-02\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
203. 2021-11-02\_Senate\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
204. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
205. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
206. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
207. 2021-11-03\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
208. 2021-11-03\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing
209. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_01
210. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_02
211. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_03
212. 2021-11-04\_643\_Map\_Drawing\_Station\_04
213. 2021-11-04\_House\_Redistricting\_Map\_Drawing

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### Shapes

DRA 2020 has 2020 Shapes. For most states, maps that use 2020 Shapes allow you to work with *Precincts (Voting Districts or VTDs)*, as the main unit for making redistricting maps. For four states (CA, HI, OR and WV), you use *Block Groups* instead. For all states, you can *shatter* a precinct or block group into census blocks, and work with them individually.

DRA 2020 also has 2010 Shapes. These are *Precincts* for most states, and *Block Groups* for CA, MT, OR and RI. Census block editing is **not** available with 2010 Shapes. Maps that use 2010 Shapes can be converted to 2020 Shapes, yielding an approximation of the source map.

Precinct-level demographic and election data can be downloaded from our public repository [vtd\\_data](#).

### Demographic Data

DRA 2020 has demographic data from the 2020 and 2010 Censuses and from the 2018 and 2019 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates. The 2020 and 2010 data include total population and voting age population data (VAP), and was obtained directly from the Census Bureau. The 2018 and 2019 data include total population and citizen voting age population data (CVAP).

For 2020 Shapes, 2010, 2018 and 2019 data was disaggregated using [Voting and Election Science Team's](#) method as described [here](#). More detail is in the *Disaggregation* section below. All data that has been disaggregated contains some margin of error, and should be treated accordingly.

For all years the following ethnic and racial categories are included. **Because the categories overlap, their sum will be greater than the total population for the same area.** Note that for CVAP data, the racial categories are estimates calculated from other fields, because the Census Bureau does not provide them directly in those datasets, and they tend to underrepresent the Asian and Pacific categories.

- White (alone, not Hispanic)
- Hispanic (all Hispanics regardless of race)
- Black (Black alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Asian (Asian alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Native (American Indian and Alaska Native alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)
- Pacific (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander alone or in combination with other races, including Hispanic)

For some states we provide additional 2020 VAP data with Non-Hispanic Race Alone categories.

- White (alone, not Hispanic)
- Hispanic (all Hispanics regardless of race)
- Black (Black alone, not Hispanic)
- Asian (Asian alone, not Hispanic)
- Native (American Indian and Alaska Native alone, not Hispanic)
- Pacific (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander alone, not Hispanic)
- Other (Other race alone, not Hispanic)
- TwoOrMore (Two or more races, not Hispanic)

Some states adjust their 2020 Total Population numbers to count incarcerated individuals in their home precincts, to be used for congressional and/or legislative redistricting. See [Reallocating Inmate Data for Redistricting](#), [Prison Gerrymandering Project](#) and state pages for more details. Adjusted data can have negative population values for some blocks.

### Election Data

DRA 2020 has election data for a range of elections, varying by state.

In addition to data for individual elections, we construct an Election Composite of two or more elections. The Composite gives a measure of partisanship over different contests and years, which we prefer, because individual elections can be skewed by various factors. We use the latest available elections, and those not available are simply left out. We also exclude uncontested elections and those that have a significant third-party vote percentage (usually > 10%). The formula is the following:

Composite = Mean(Pres, Sen, GovAg), where  
 Pres = Mean(1 or 2 Presidential elections),  
 Sen = Mean(1 or 2 Senate elections) and  
 GovAg = Mean(Governor and Attorney General elections).

All of our election data has come from partners who have done the work to obtain the data, marry it to some geography (e.g. precincts), and process necessary changes, such as distributing absentee votes that are not allocated to precincts. We thank them for their valuable work. The following table shows the data we have for each state, along with attributions for each election dataset. We continue to add election data as it becomes available.

- CSDB=[California State Database](#)
- MGGG=[Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group](#)
- MIT=[MIT Election Data Science Lab](#)
- OP=[Open Precincts](#)

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- PVI=Cook PVI data from Ryne Rohla/Decision Desk HQ; See also [Atlas of Redistricting](#).
- SA=[Stephen Ansolabehere](#), [Jonathan Rodden](#)
- SG=Steve Gerontakis, with John Mifflin
- TC=Tyler Chafee
- VE=[Voting and Election Science Team](#)
- ★ This election is part of the Election Composite.

### Election Data By State/Shapes

State	2020 Shapes	2010 Shapes
Alabama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2017 Senator (Special) (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Alaska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>
Arizona	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Arkansas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (OP) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (OP) *</li> </ul>
California	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (CSDB) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (CSDB) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (CSDB) *</li> </ul>
Colorado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (TC)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (MGGG,OP) *</li> </ul>
Connecticut	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Delaware	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>



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District of Columbia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li></ul>
Florida	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Georgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Special) (VE)</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Runoff) (VE)</li><li>• 2020 Senator (Special Runoff) (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>
Hawaii	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Idaho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
Illinois	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Indiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SA)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
Iowa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li></ul>

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Kansas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Kentucky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Louisiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (Runoff) (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2019 Governor (Runoff) (VE)</li> <li>• 2019 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Maine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE)</li> </ul>
Maryland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Massachusetts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Michigan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Minnesota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2014 Attorney General (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2014 Attorney General (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>



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2020 Senator (VE)		
Mississippi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
Missouri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li></ul>
Montana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
Nebraska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li></ul>
Nevada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (OP) *</li><li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (OP)</li></ul>
New Hampshire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li></ul>
New Jersey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li></ul>
New Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SA)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li><li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>
New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li><li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li><li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li><li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 2008 President (SG)</li><li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li></ul>

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New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
North Carolina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SA)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>
North Dakota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Ohio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (MGGG) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (MGGG) *</li> </ul>
Oklahoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Oregon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li> </ul>
Pennsylvania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>
Rhode Island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>

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Rhode Island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
South Carolina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
South Dakota	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Tennessee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> </ul>
Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG,OP)</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG,OP)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SA)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2014 Senator (MGGG,OP) *</li> <li>• 2014 Governor (MGGG,OP) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> </ul>
Utah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Vermont	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>

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Vermont	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2017 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>
Washington	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE)</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (MIT,OP) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Lt. Governor (VE)</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (MIT,OP) *</li> </ul>
West Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (PVI) *</li> </ul>
Wisconsin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2012 President (PVI)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2012 President (PVI) *</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2016 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Attorney General (VE) *</li> </ul>
Wyoming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2020 Senator (VE) *</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 President (SG)</li> <li>• 2016 President (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Senator (VE) *</li> <li>• 2018 Governor (VE) *</li> </ul>

### Disaggregation

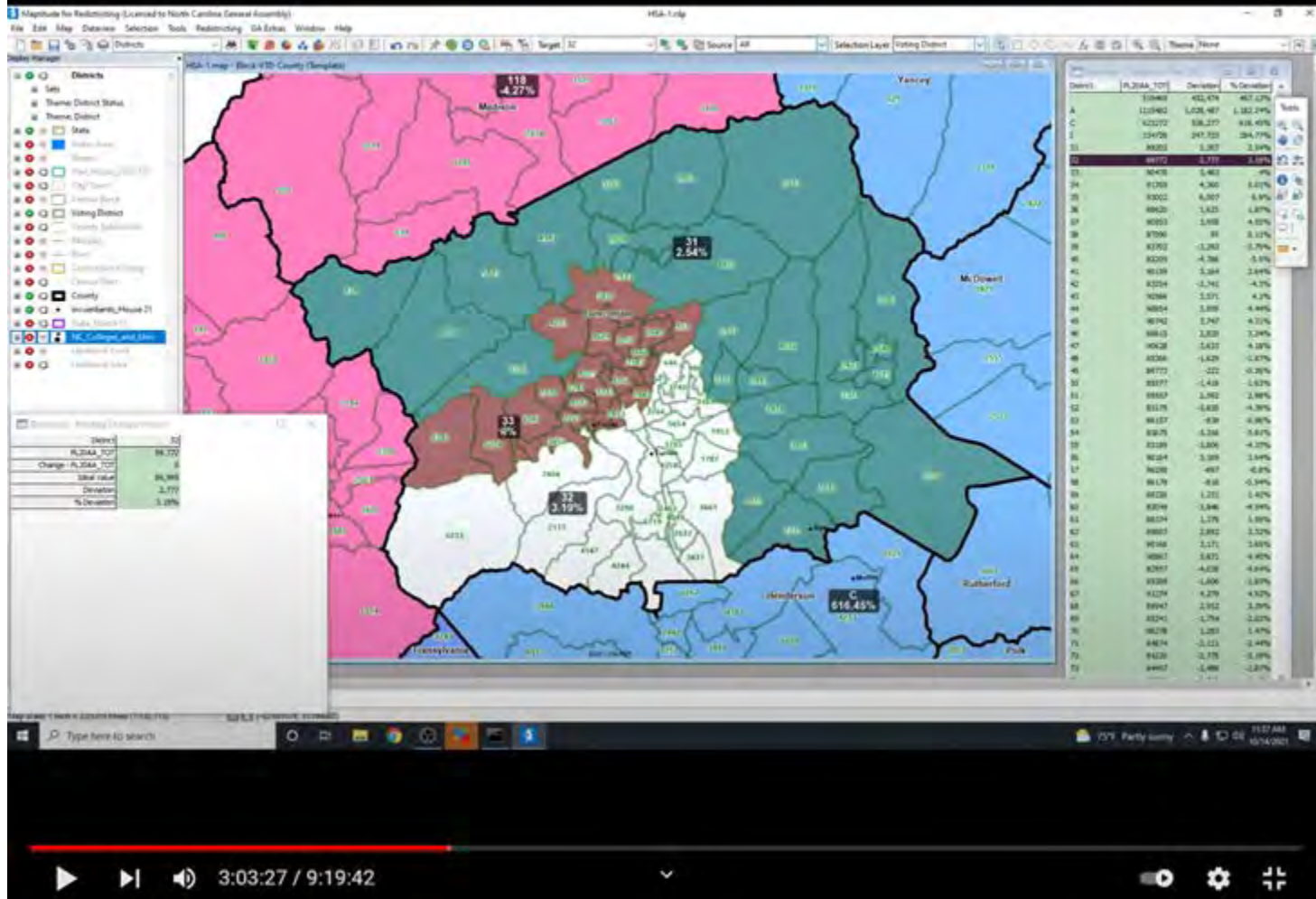
To map election results and demographic data from a source geography (shape set) to a destination geography (shape set), we disaggregate the data from the source geography to census blocks and then aggregate from those to the destination geography. For example, 2016 election data for many states is presented in terms of each state's 2016 precincts (or voting districts), which typically differ from their 2010 and 2020 precincts. Our algorithm determines the geographic mapping between the source geography and 2010 or 2020 census blocks and then distributes the results for each precinct among the blocks in that precinct, according to the population of each block. (That's disaggregation.) The Census Bureau provides the geographic mapping between 2010 census blocks and 2010 precincts, and between 2020 census blocks and 2020 precincts. Using that we add the results from all the blocks in each precinct. (That's aggregation.)

For 2020 shapes, all demographic data (2010, 2018 and 2019) has been disaggregated using [Voting and Election Science Team's method](#). All 2020 block population estimates were calculated by VEST using their method. To disaggregate we used these block population numbers and the Hare Quota (Hamilton) largest remainder method.

All election data presented in DRA 2020 has been disaggregated to census blocks, because election results are never reported to the block level. For 2020 shapes, for states having 2020 election data, disaggregation of 2016-2020 data uses VEST's method. For other states our older method was used; when we get 2020 election data, we will update all 2016-2020 election data to use VEST's method. Disaggregation necessarily introduces some error. In addition, ACS/CVAP data are estimates and thus have some error even before disaggregation.

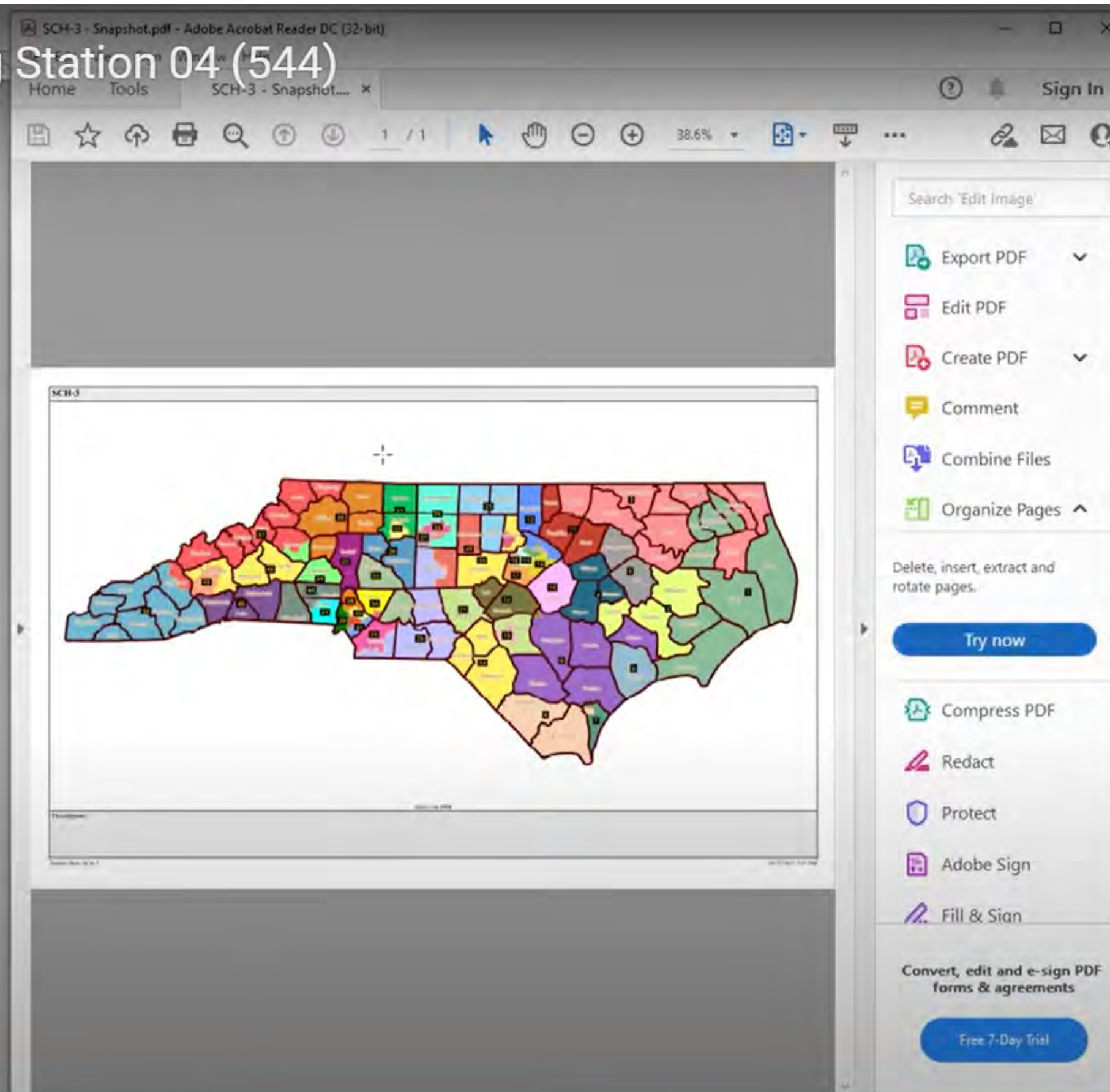
All election data and all ACS/CVAP data contain some margin of error at both the census block and precinct levels, and should be treated accordingly.

## 2021-10-14 Map Drawing Station 01 (643)

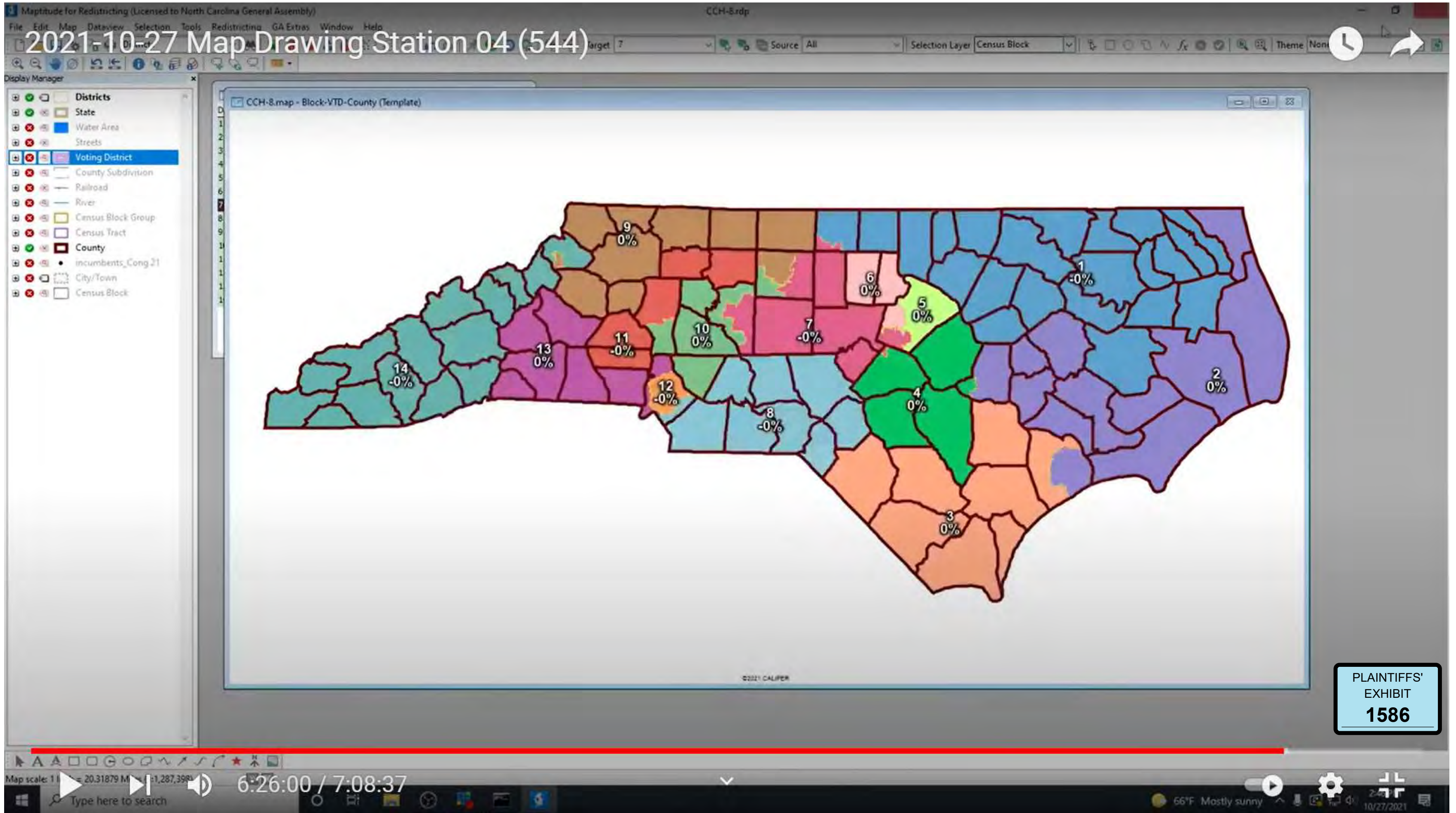


PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1583**

# 2021-10-27 Map Drawing Station 04 (544)

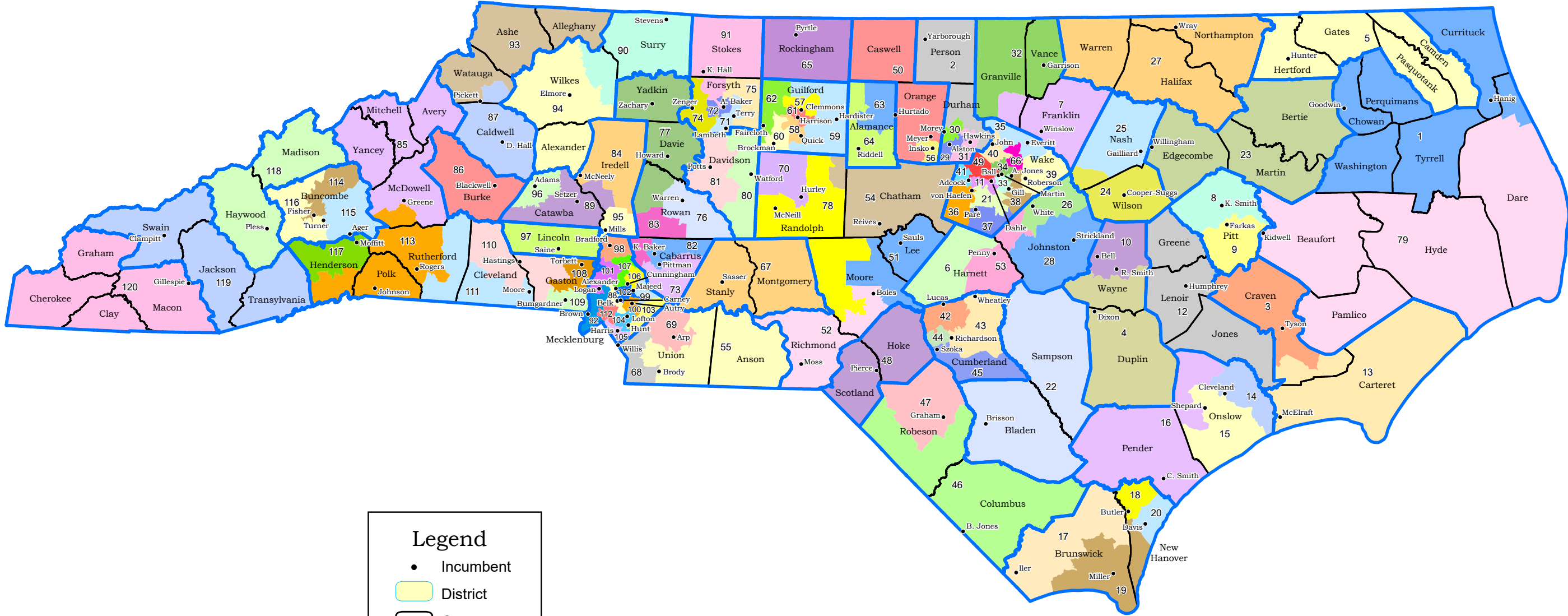


PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
**1585**



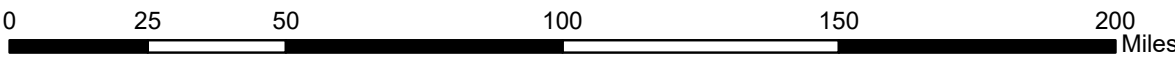
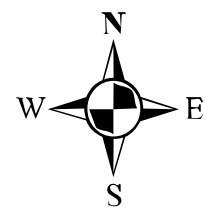
**Common Cause Trial Exhibit PX1587 – Video of October 7, 2021 Map  
Drawing Station 01 (544) (submitted in native format)**

# S.L. 2021-175 House



**Legend**

- Incumbent
- District
- County
- Groupings



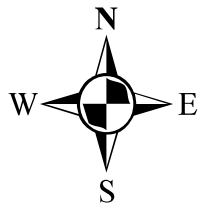
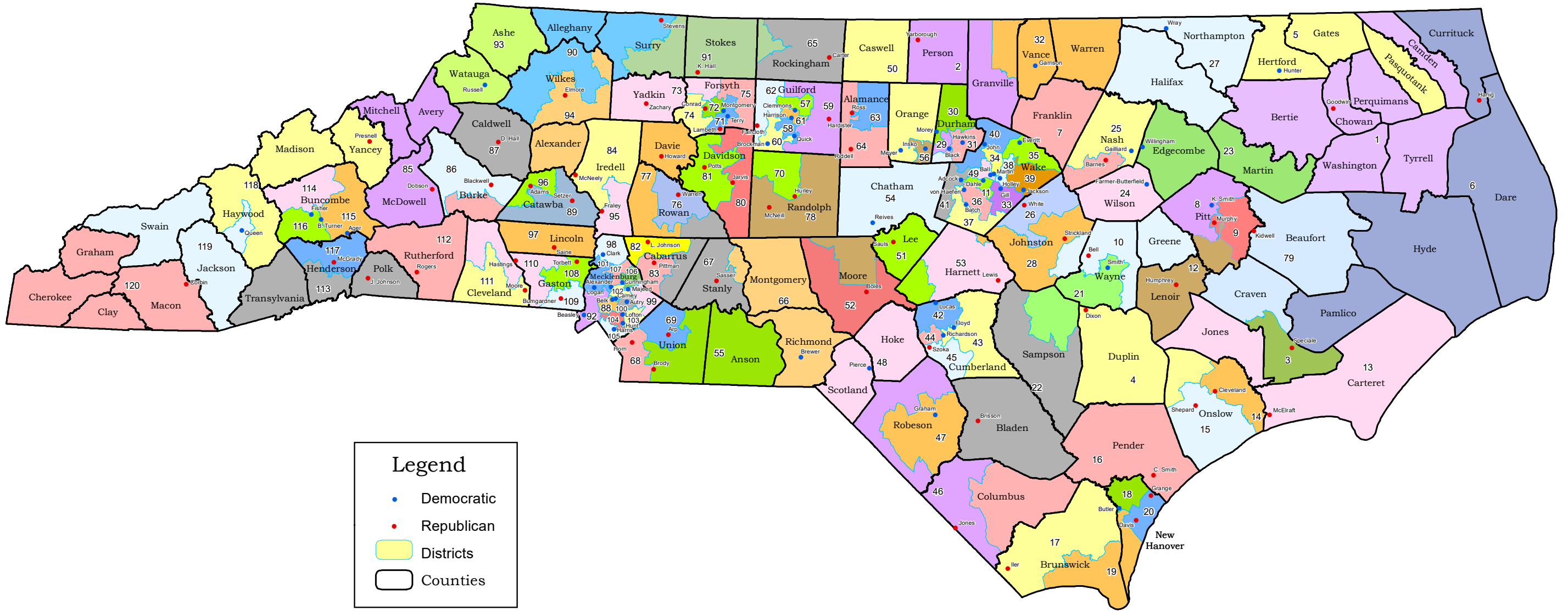
Source: SL 2021-175 House

Printed by the NC General Assembly, November 4, 2021

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT  
**1589**



# HB 1020, 2nd Edition – 2019 House Remedial Map



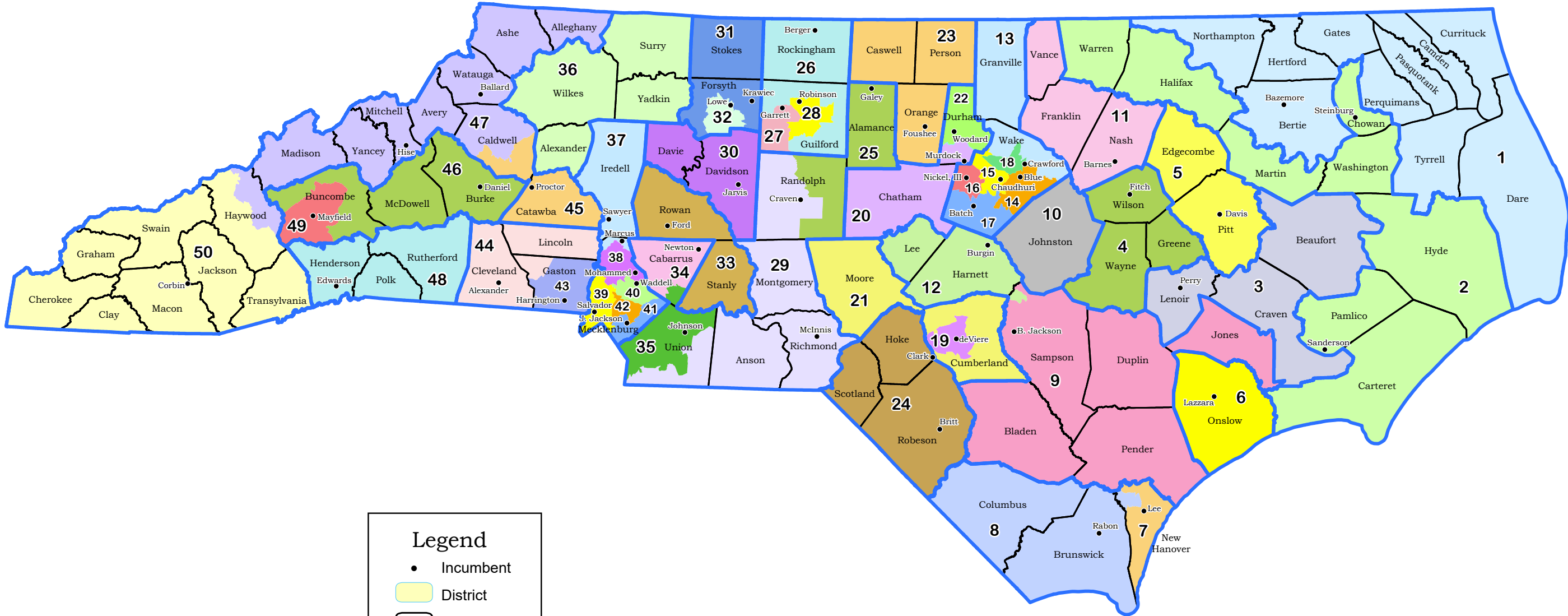
HB 1020 H Red Comm CSBK-25

Printed by the NC General Assembly, September 13, 2019

PLAINTIFFS  
EXHIBIT  
**1590**



# S.L. 2021-173 Senate



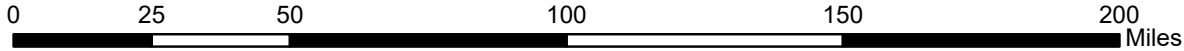
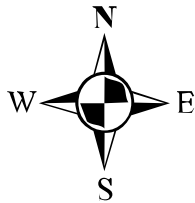
Legend

Incumbent

District

County

Groupings

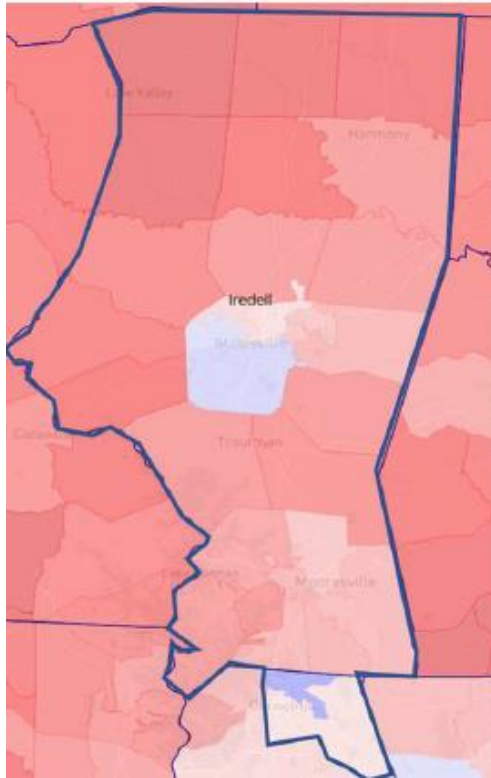


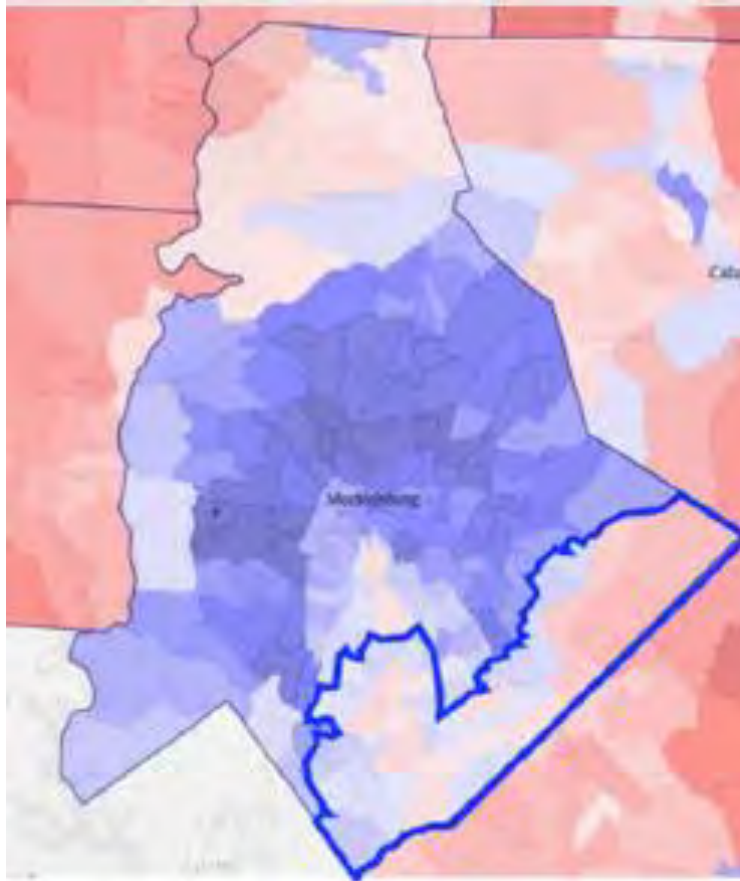
Source: SL 2021-173 Senate

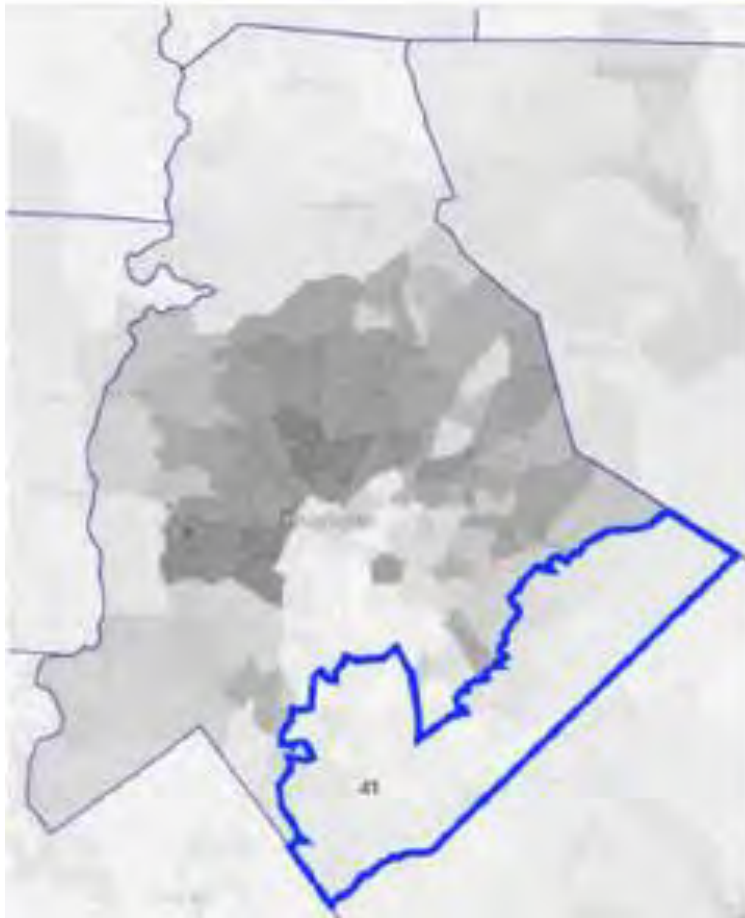
Printed by the NC General Assembly, November 4, 2021

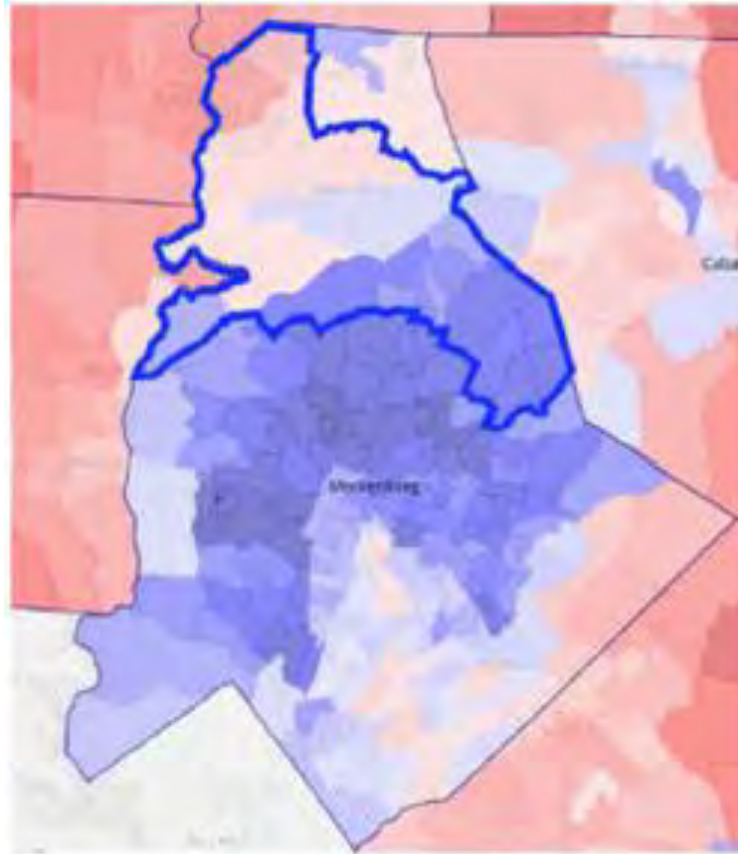
PLAINTIFFS'  
EXHIBIT  
1591

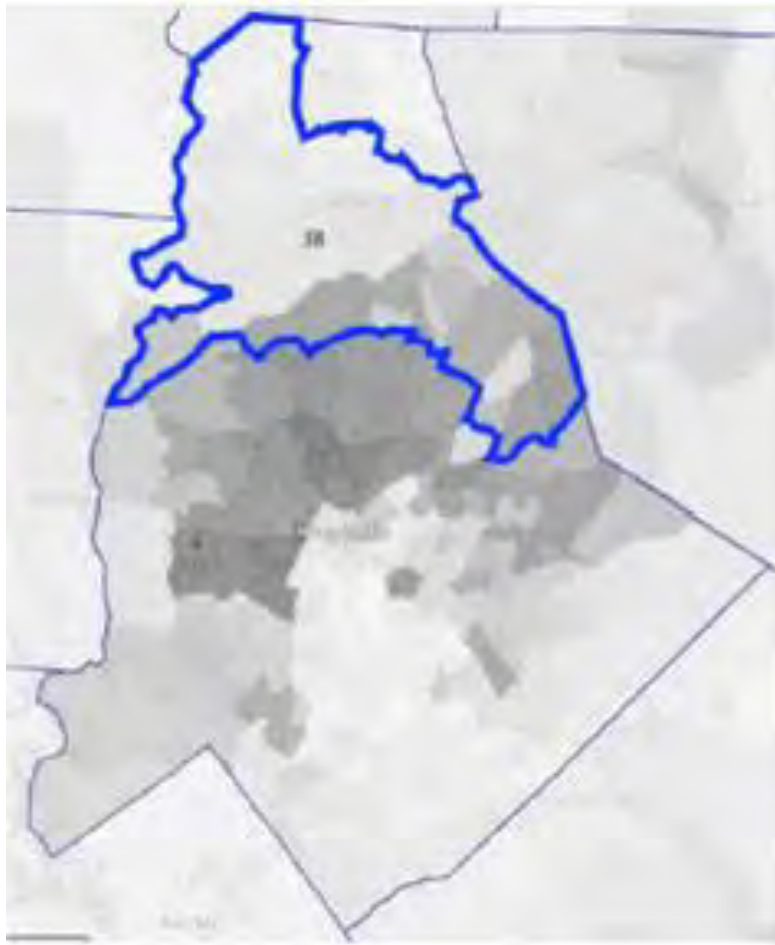


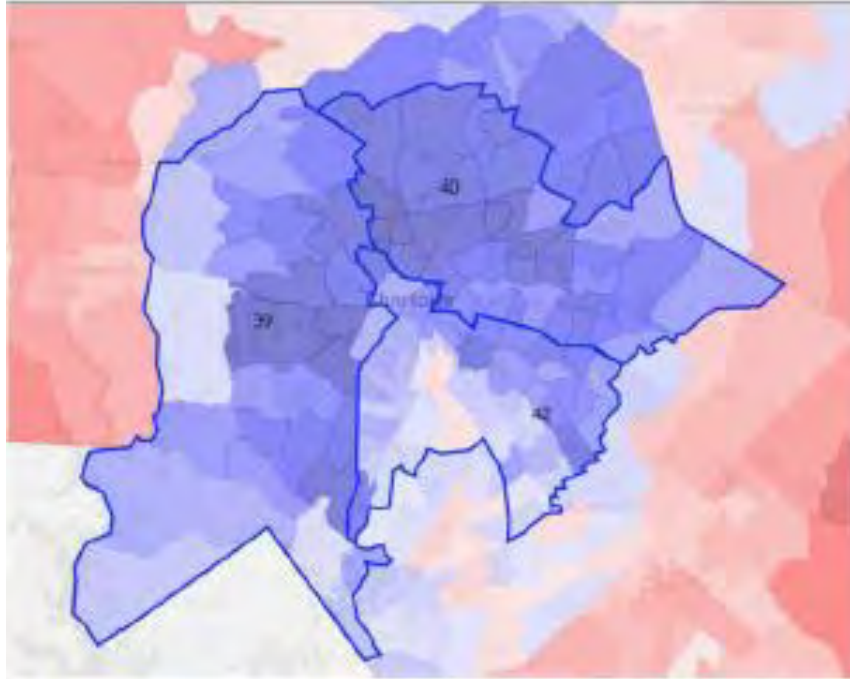




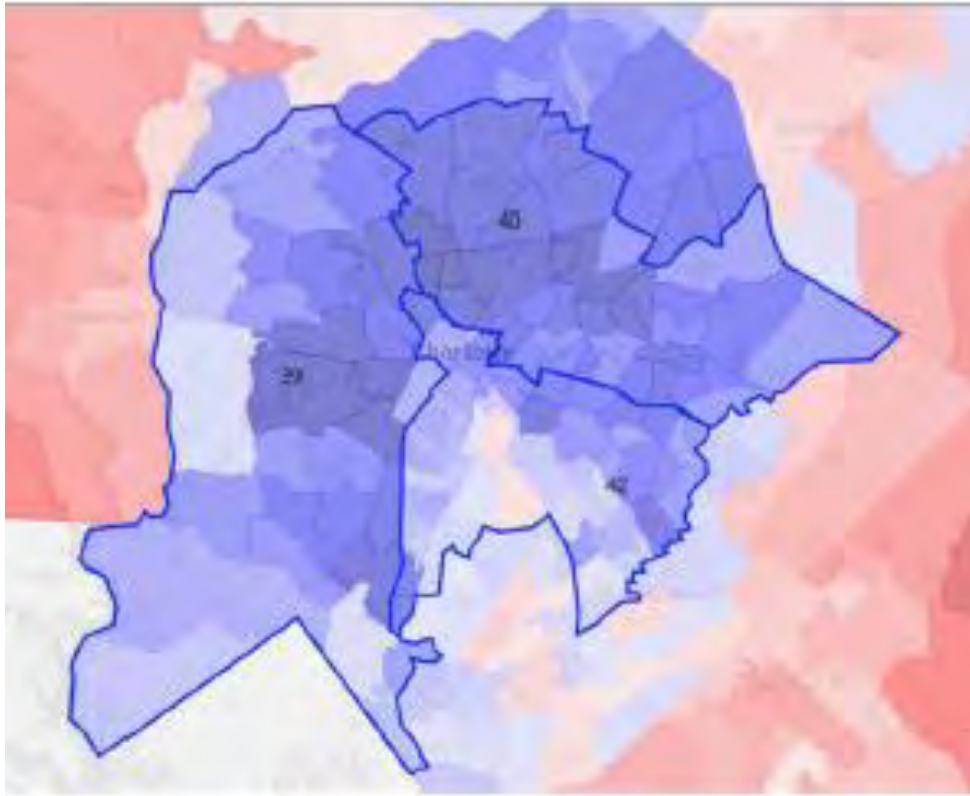




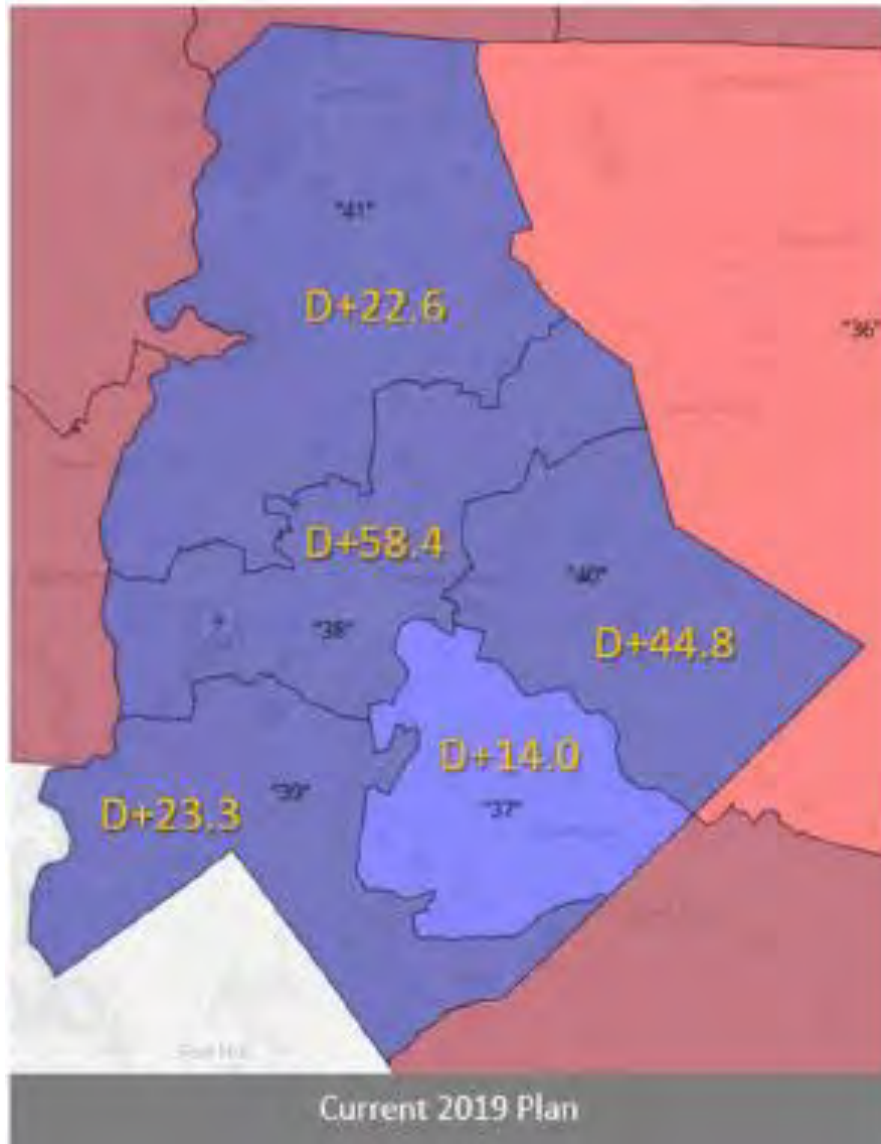


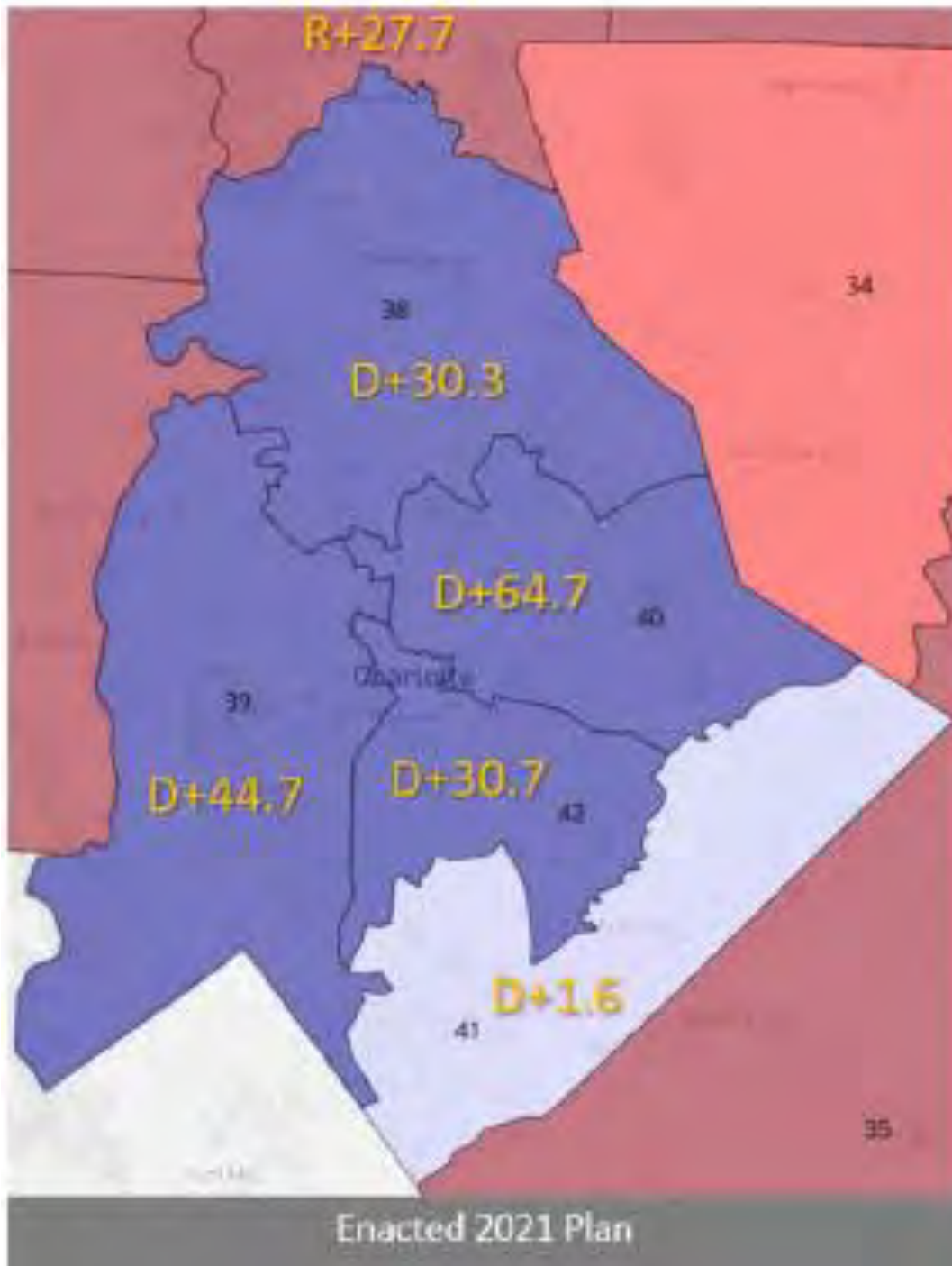


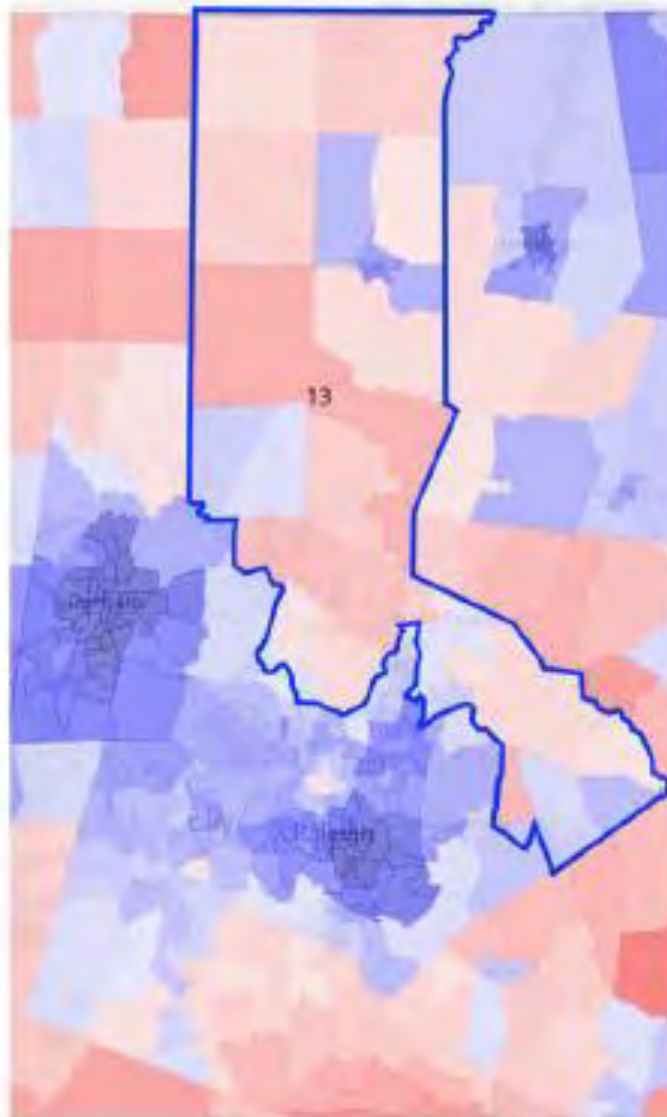


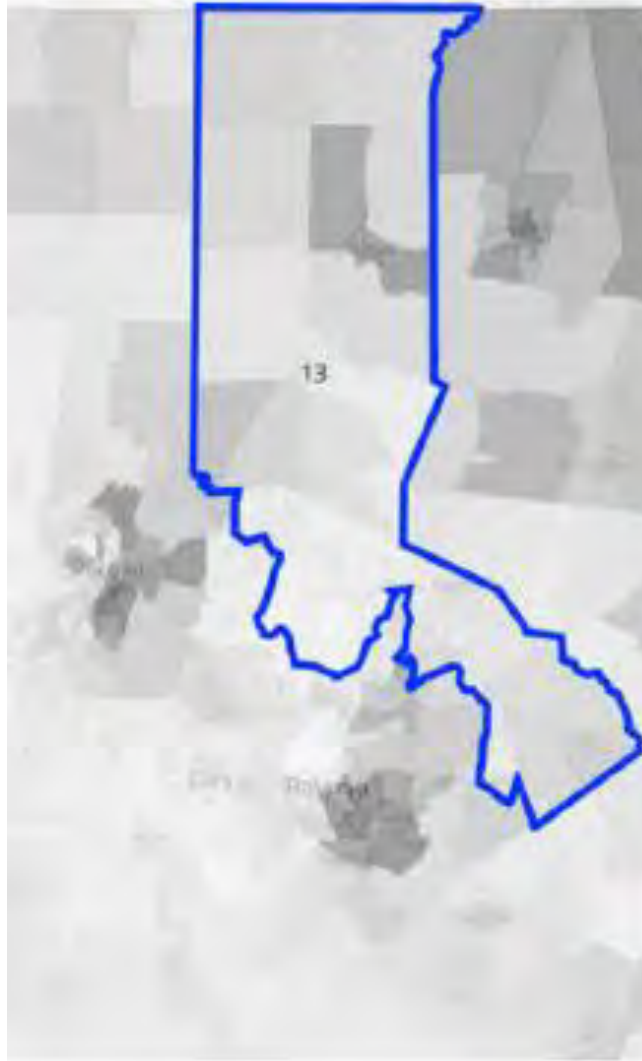


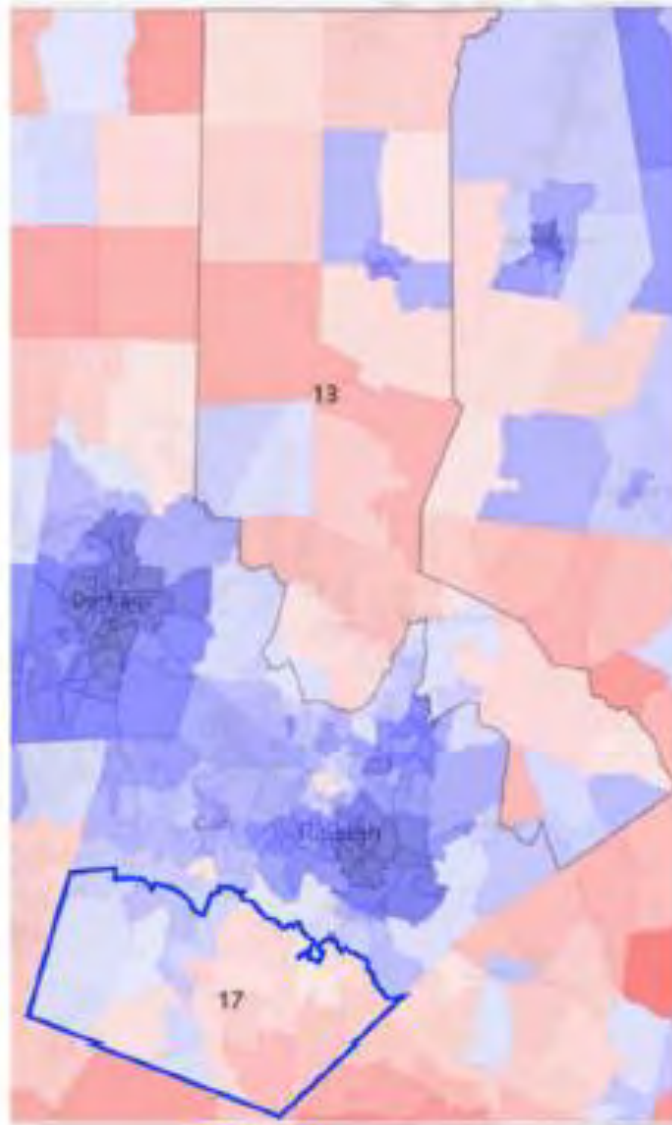


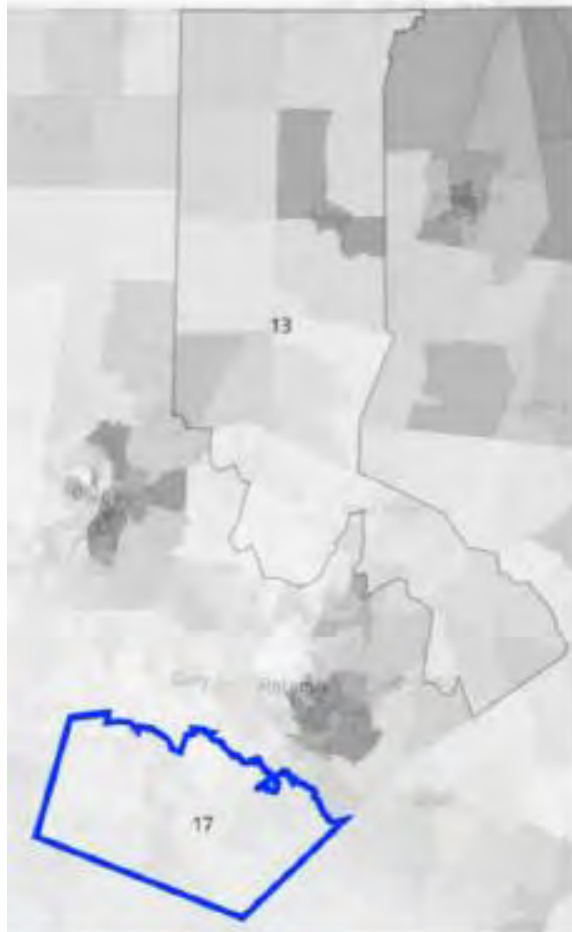


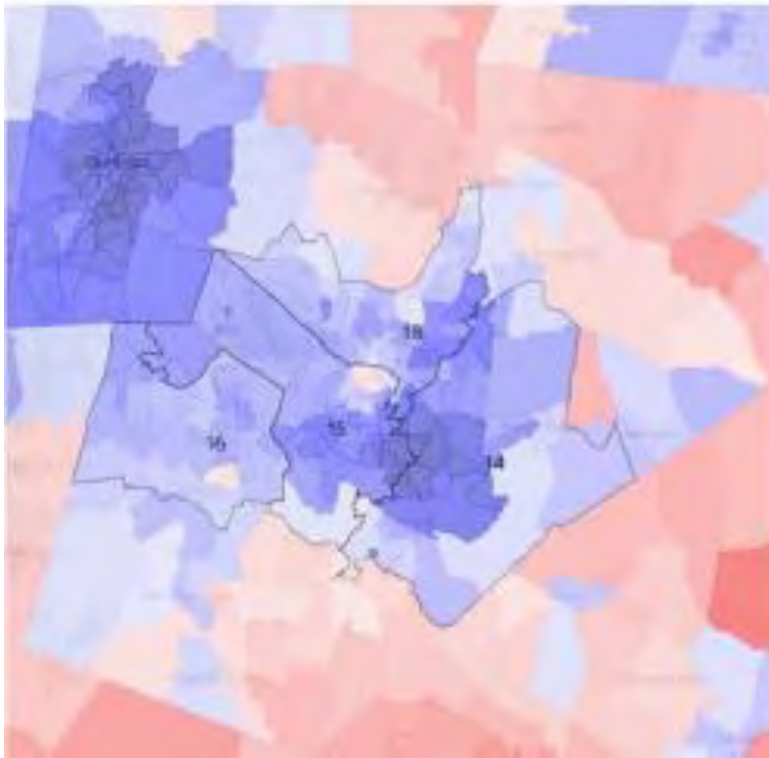




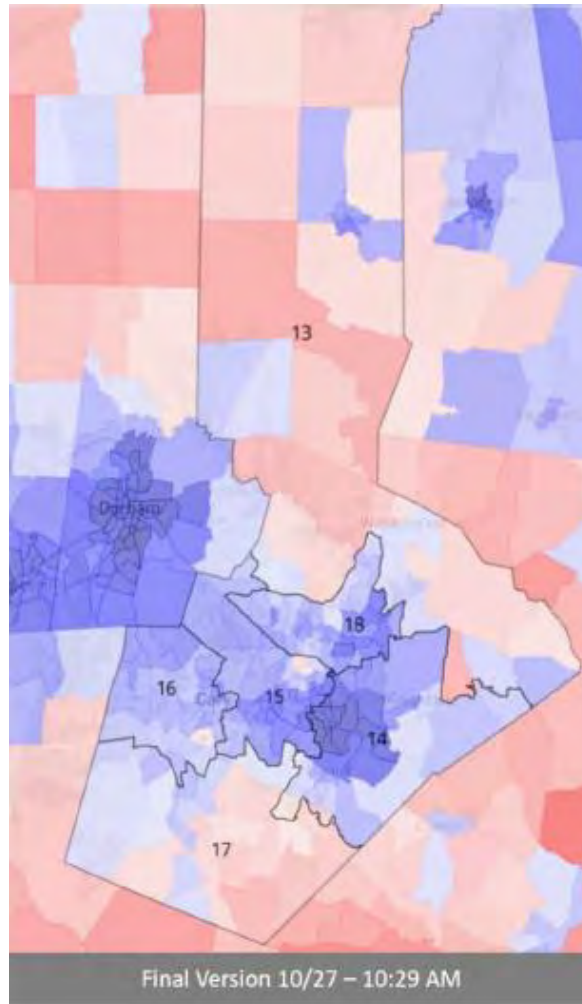


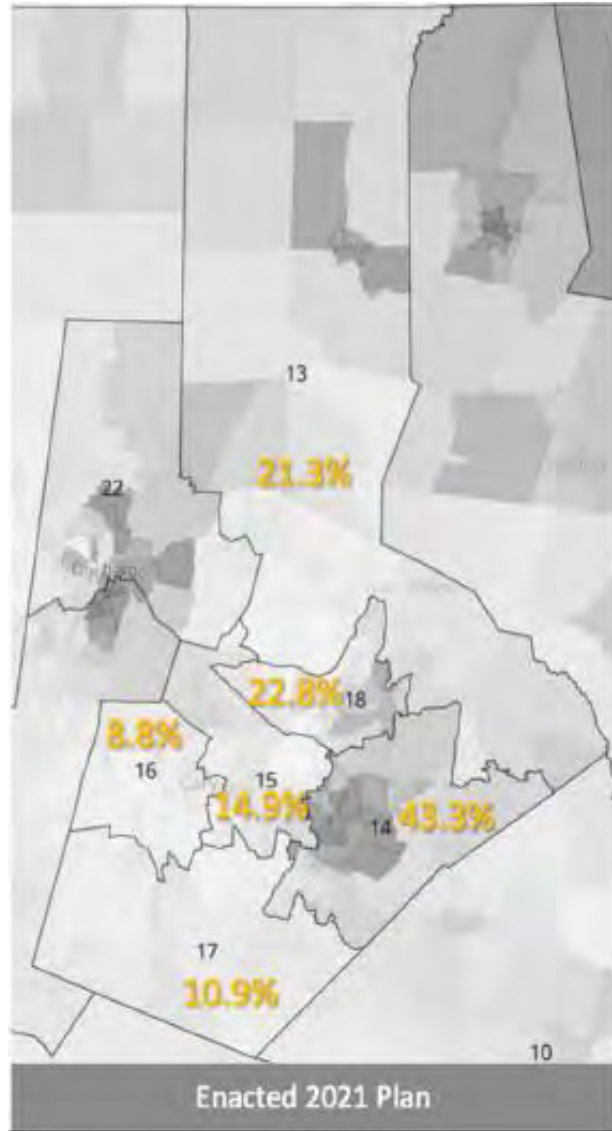


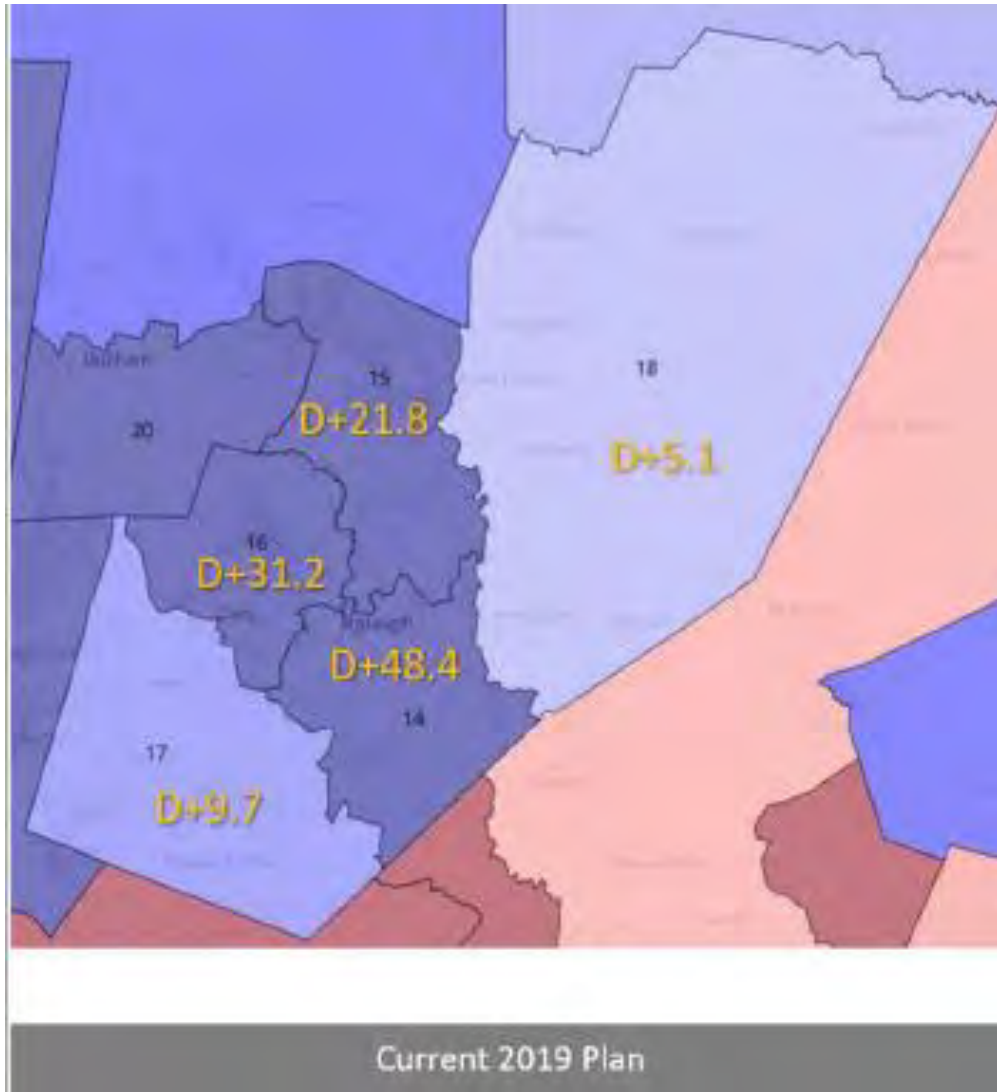


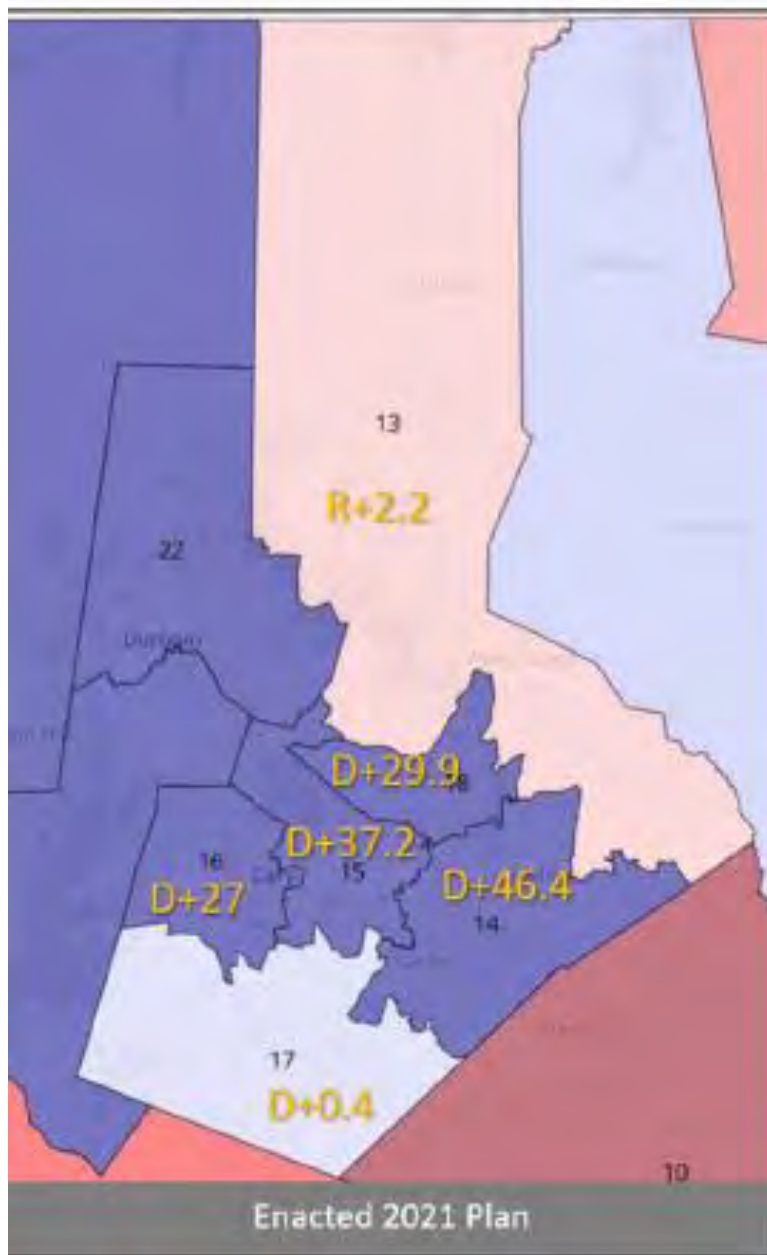


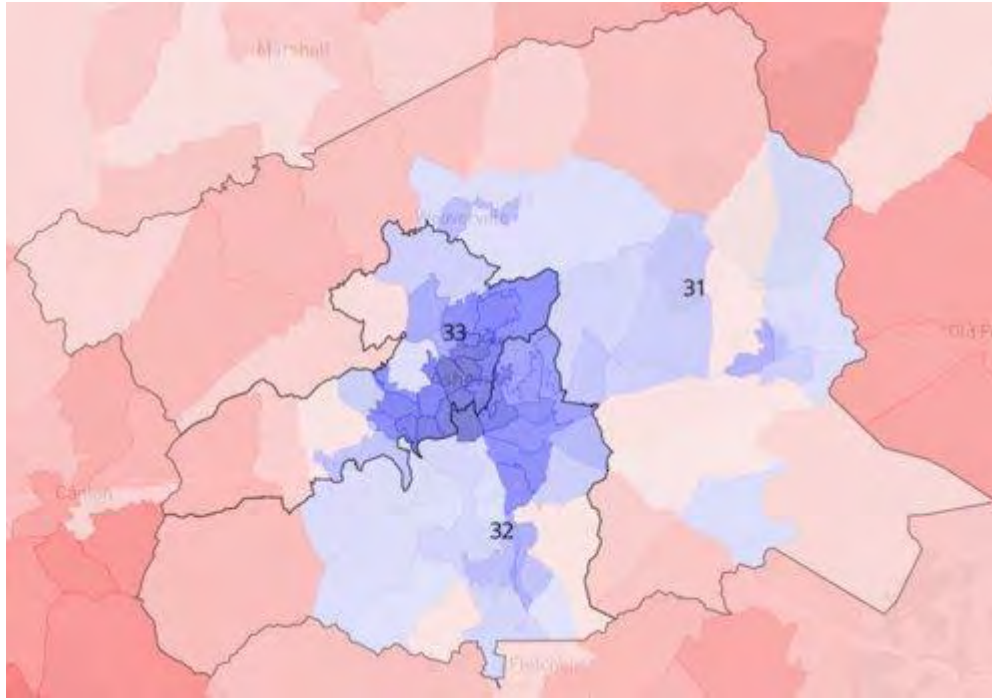


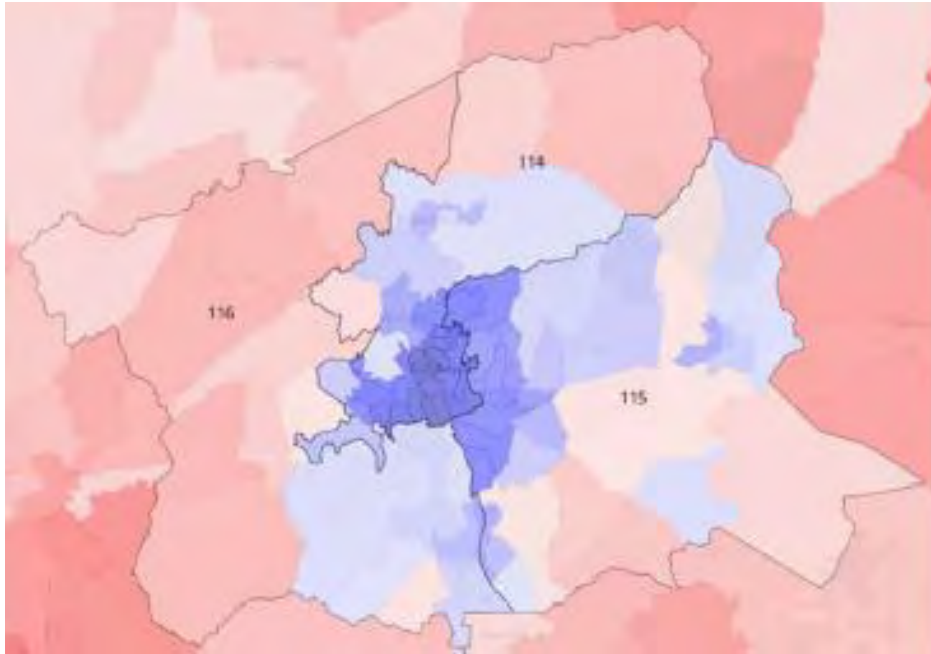


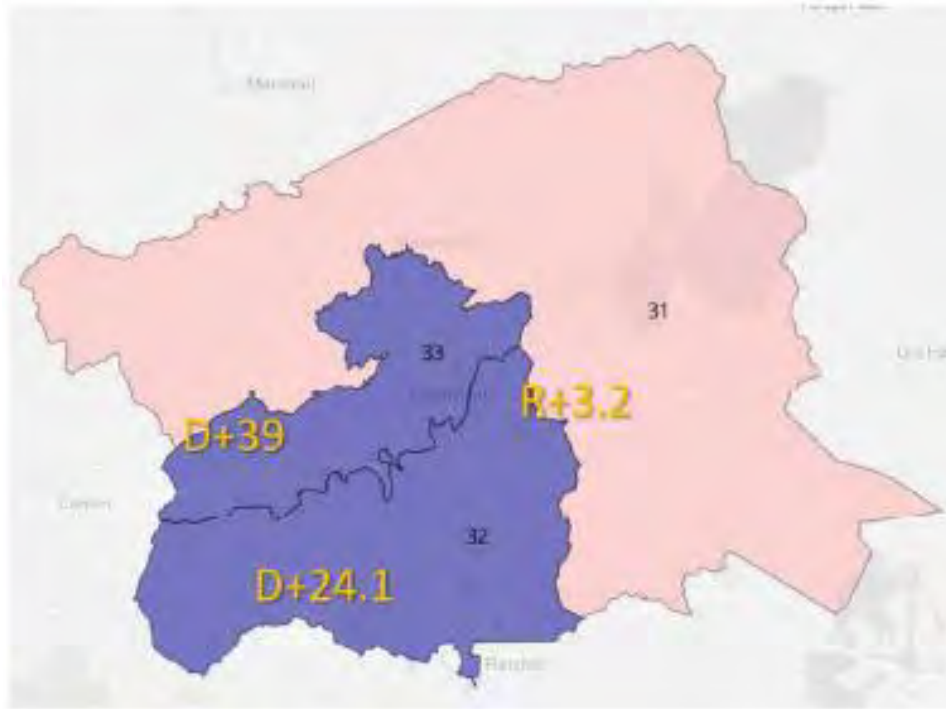


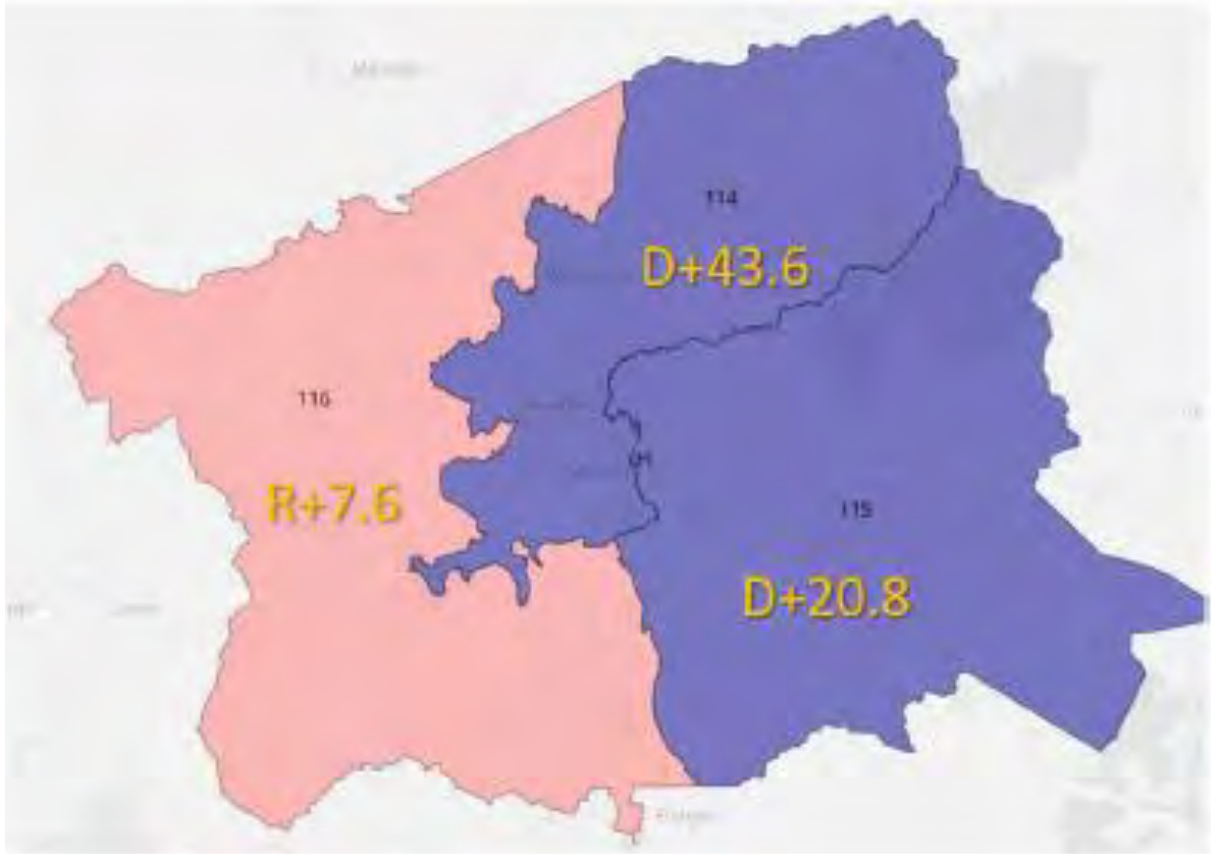




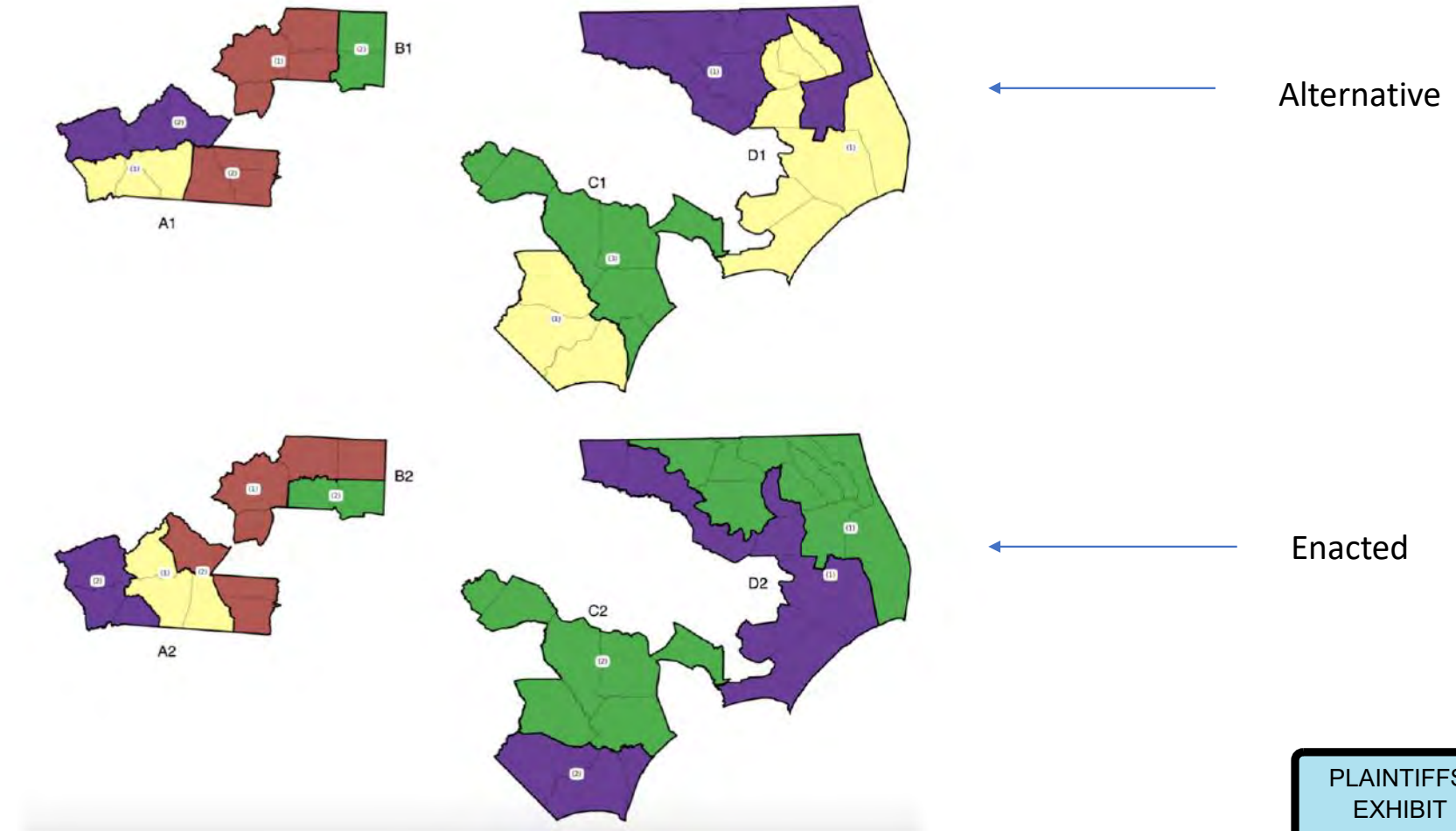








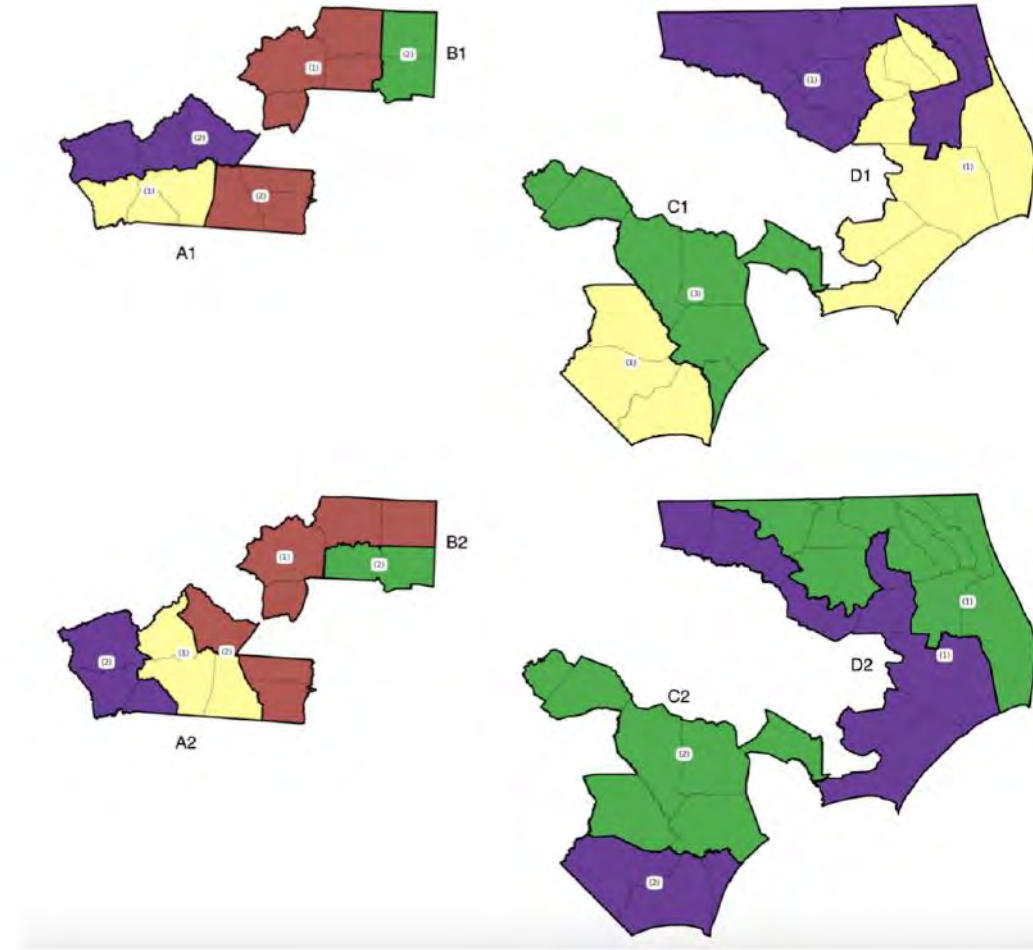
# Variable Senate Clusters



North Eastern Cluster Options

	Enacted Clusters		Alternative Option	
County Clusters (1 district per cluster)	MARTIN WARREN HALIFAX HYDE PAMLICO CHOWAN WASHINGTON CARTERET	GATES CURRITUCK PASQUOTANK DARE BERTIE CAMDEN PERQUIMANS HERTFORD TYRRELL NORTHAMPTON	PASQUOTANK DARE PERQUIMANS HYDE PAMLICO CHOWAN WASHINGTON CARTERET	GATES CURRITUCK CAMDEN BERTIE WARREN HALIFAX HERTFORD TYRRELL NORTHAMPTON MARTIN
<b>BVAP(%)</b>	30.0%	29.49%	17.47%	42.33%
<b>Dem Vote % (LG16)</b>	46.07%	47.74%	38.51%	55.42%
<b>Dem Vote % (PR16)</b>	45.60%	46.70%	37.83%	54.59%
<b>Dem Vote % (CA20)</b>	42.28%	44.47%	36.48%	50.75%
<b>Dem Vote % (USS20)</b>	45.31%	45.36%	38.45%	52.75%
<b>Dem Vote % (TR20)</b>	44.12%	44.58%	37.61%	51.59%
<b>Dem Vote % (GV20)</b>	46.79%	47.56%	40.75%	54.12%
<b>Dem Vote % (AD20)</b>	47.79%	47.72%	41.02%	54.99%
<b>Dem Vote % (SST20)</b>	47.56%	47.85%	41.03%	54.89%
<b>Dem Vote % (AG20)</b>	45.88%	46.11%	39.15%	53.40%
<b>Dem Vote % (PR20)</b>	44.09%	45.54%	38.30%	51.84%
<b>Dem Vote % (LG20)</b>	43.80%	45.12%	37.74%	51.69%
<b>Dem Vote % (CL20)</b>	45.23%	46.42%	39.12%	52.00%

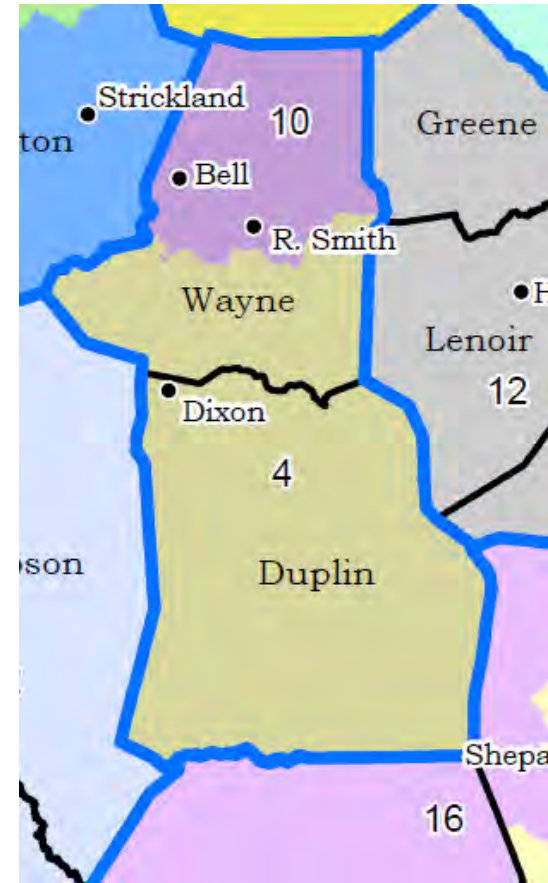
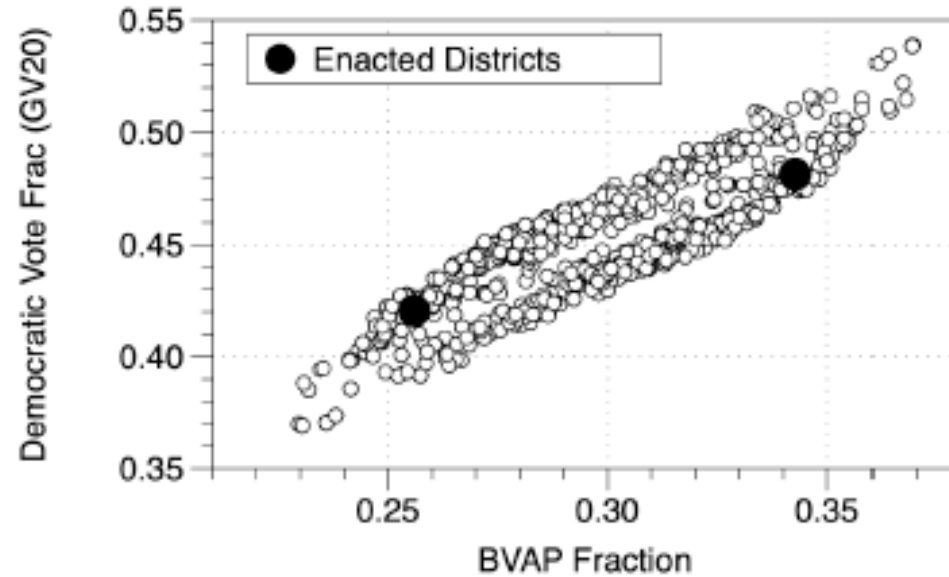
## Political and Racial Impact on Senate Cluster Choices



Alternative Cluster		
District	Partisan Dem Vote %(AG20)	BVAP
Purple	53.40%	42.33%
Yellow	39.15%	17.47%

Enacted Cluster		
District	Partisan Dem Vote %(AG20)	BVAP
Green	46.11%	29.49%
Purple	45.88%	30.0%

## Racial and Political Implications of Districts in Wayne/Duplin Cluster



# A Rebuttal to Michael J. Barber, Ph.D.'s Expert Report

Daniel B. Magleby, Ph.D.

PLAINTIFF'S  
EXHIBIT  
**1618**

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## 1 Introduction

I am an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Binghamton University, SUNY where I also hold a courtesy appointment in the Department of Economics. At Binghamton, I am also the director of the Center for the Analysis of Voting and Elections at Binghamton University. In 2007, I received an M.S. in Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences from Northwestern University. I hold an M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor where I also received a Ph.D in political science in 2011. I have published academic papers on legislative districting and political geography in several political science journals, including *Political Analysis*, the *Election Law Journal*, *American Politics Research*, and *Social Science Quarterly*. My academic areas of expertise include legislative elections, geographic information systems (GIS) data, redistricting, voting rights, legislatures, and political geography. I have expertise in analyzing political geography, elections, and redistricting using computer simulations and other techniques. I have been retained by plaintiff Common Cause to perform the analysis described below at a rate of \$250 an hour. My compensation is not predicated on arriving at any particular opinion.

## 2 Research Question and Summary of Findings

In Dr. Barber’s report, he engages in a cluster-by-cluster analysis of the legislature-drawn plan. He compares the legislature’s plan to a large set of simulations he conducted using a computer-based redistricting algorithm. He concludes that the deviations he observes are not sufficient to deem the legislature-drawn maps “an extreme partisan gerrymander.” In this report, I will explain how Dr. Barber’s solely cluster-based analysis and his exclusive focus on seats carried does not provide a sufficient basis to reach the conclusion he makes in his report.

The legislature-drawn maps are partisan gerrymanders because they exhibit significant partisan bias, and the bias is likely to persist when Democrats increase their vote share in

North Carolina. Bias is present in cluster-by-cluster analysis; however, the consequences of the cluster-level bias are more pronounced when we consider the aggregate effect of cluster-level bias statewide. Finally, because Democrats are capable of carrying a majority of the vote statewide, the legislature drawn map will likely entrench Republicans in power even if only a minority of North Carolina voters support them.

## 2.1 Data

My opinions follow from analysis of the following data:

- Results of computer simulations reported by Michael J. Barber, Ph.D. in his Expert Report dated December 22, 2021.
- VTD boundaries provided as ESRI Shapefiles by the US Census Bureau available on at the following URL. <https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/tiger-line-file.html>
- Census block boundaries and population data provided by the US Census Bureau. These are collected as part of the constitutionally mandated decennial census that most recently concluded in 2020.
- County boundaries as reported by the US Census Bureau.
- County clusterings provided by Christopher Cooper, Blake Esselstyn, Gregory Herschlag, Jonathan Mattingly, and Rebecca Tippet in a report that may be accessed at the following URL. <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf>
- Election returns as reported by the Voting and Election Science Team<sup>1</sup> group and aggregated to Census-provided VTD boundaries and provided on the Redistricting

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<sup>1</sup><https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/electionscience>

Data Hub<sup>2</sup> website. I aggregate statewide elections returns from 2016 and 2020 to the set of legislature drawn districts and to the districts in each of the hypothetical alternative maps. In my analysis, I set aside election returns from 2018 because the only statewide races held that year were judicial elections which follow very different patterns compared to elections for other offices. I prefer to use all statewide elections because it ensures that my analysis captures lower-profile elections in which voters will rely on their partisan preferences rather than the personal appeal of candidates. Thus in all of my analyses, the Democratic two-party vote share is 48.8% in my composite partisan score. This makes my analysis a more conservative evaluation of the legislature-drawn maps, and adds confidence that when I observe a gerrymander it is in fact a gerrymander.

- 1,000 alternative, hypothetical maps of North Carolina’s congressional, Senate, and House districts generated by a neutral, partisan-blind computer algorithm. The redistricting algorithm I use in my analysis was developed by me and a collaborator, Daniel Mosesson (consultant in private practice), and published in *Political Analysis* in 2018. In our published work, we show that the algorithm produces a large number of unique maps of legislative districts without any indication of bias.
- Legislature-drawn boundaries of districts intended to elect representatives to Congress, the North Carolina Senate, and the North Carolina House of Representatives. These data are available on the North Carolina General Assembly website and may be accessed at the following URLs. <https://www.ncleg.gov/Redistricting>

### 3 Mechanics of Gerrymandering

Professor Barber evaluates his simulations relying solely on estimates of the number of seats carried under a composite partisan score that makes the unusual choice to include an election

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<sup>2</sup><https://redistrictingdatahub.org>

from 2014. A deviation from the number of seats carried compared to a neutral counterfactual can be indicative of a gerrymander. It is just one indicator of a gerrymander and by only examining the expected seats carried, Professor Barber misses the dynamics by which the maps drawn by the state legislature effectuate their cumulative and durable gerrymander.

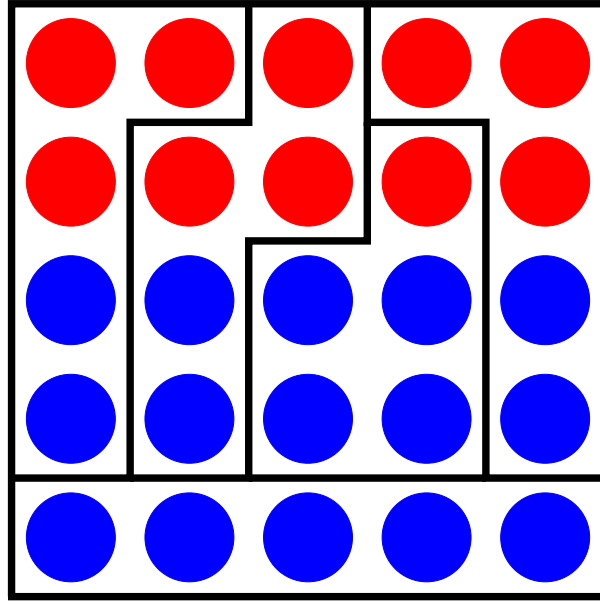


Figure 1: An example of a packing gerrymander in a hypothetical jurisdiction with 25 voters divided into 5 districts.

To understand why it can be problematic to focus exclusively on seats carried, it is helpful to review how gerrymanders work. Consider the example included in Figure 1. For simplicity, suppose each dot corresponds to one voter and that these voters are distributed in “geographic space” as represented in the figure. The voters have preferences that correspond to their voting preference. As I have drawn it, blues constitute a majority and reds are a minority. If a mapmaker was required to divide this space into five districts each with five voters he could do it in a number of ways. Suppose that the mapmaker’s goal was to maximize the number of districts carried by red voters. In this instance, a mapmaker might draw a map with district boundaries that look like those in Figure 1 in which there are three districts carried by reds and two blues. We call this a packing gerrymander.

Packing gerrymanders distort representation. In packed systems, one party receives more representation than they should as in the example of the packing gerrymander in Figure 1. In addition, packing gerrymanders can potentially entrench a group in power even when they receive a minority of votes. In the example I provide in Figure 1, the reds are a minority, yet they carry a majority of seats.

The mechanics by which a packing gerrymander accomplishes distortion in representation reveals the shortcomings of relying solely on seats carried as the metric. Observe that in addition to denying representation, packing gerrymanders serve to underweight the votes of one group of voters. In the example I provide here, blues cast more than 50% of the voters, but they carry fewer than 50% of the seats. The reverse is true for reds in the example I provide in Figure 1. This contrast in outcomes is significant because it indicates a significant difference in the ways that blue and red votes are weighted, with each red vote effectively counting for more than each blue vote. In practical terms, a packing gerrymander accomplishes this differential vote weighting by over-concentrating one group of voters, the blues in the example I provide in Figure 1. Thus, it is not enough to only consider the seats carried in a plan of legislative districts, but it is necessary to consider the margins by which districts are carried (as I did in my median-mean difference analysis).

One way to conceive of the effect of a packing gerrymander is that it treats parties asymmetrically. That is, for a given proportion of the vote, two parties receive different shares of representation. For example, suppose Republicans receive 52% of the vote and receive 54% of the seats. A map treats Democrats symmetrically if Democrats receive 54% of the seats with 52% of the vote. Note that symmetry does not require proportionality. Parties can receive more (or less) than  $x\%$  of the seats when they receive  $x\%$  of the vote so long as the opposing party receives the same number of seats at that voter percentage.

One of the simplest measures of symmetry we can apply to redistricting scenarios is the median-mean difference (see Katz, King and Rosenblatt 2020; McDonald and Best 2015; Best et al. 2017). The median-mean difference is a way of evaluating whether the distribution of

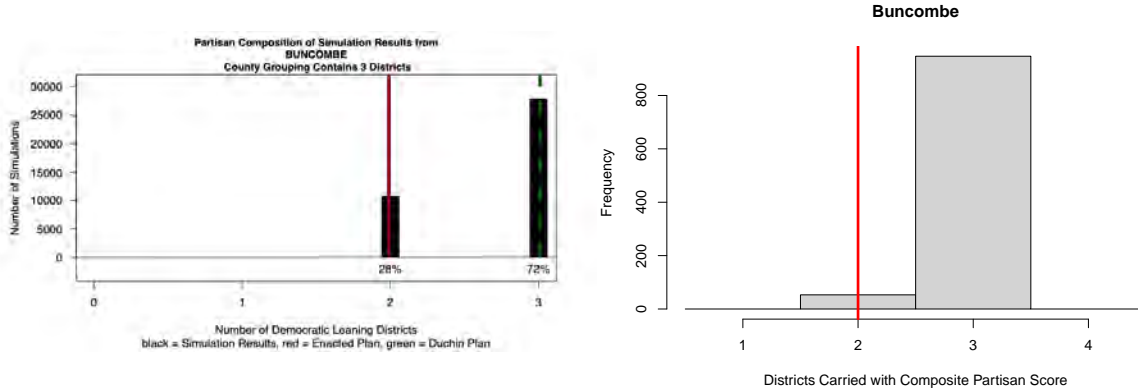
districts in a map is symmetrical. We find it by taking the mean (average) of the district-level vote share and comparing it to the median district-level vote-share, the district-level vote share for which there are an equal number of districts with higher vote shares as there are districts with lower vote shares. When the median and mean are equal, the distribution of districts is symmetrical and the map will treat the parties with symmetry. If the median-mean difference is not zero, it means that map will not treat votes cast for the parties equally.

## 4 County-Based Clusters

In order “to minimize the overall number of county splits while maintaining population balance in the redistricting process” the legislature adopted a set of county clusterings described Cooper et al (2021). One effect of the clustering is that each cluster represents a separate redistricting scenario. In effect, it turned North Carolina into a series of smaller “states” that all needed to be redistricted separately. Barber considers each of these clusters separately. He finds the legislature frequently deviates from most common outcomes of the simulations he conducted, but that the deviations most often fall “often within the range of the non-partisan simulated maps” (Barber, 269).

Barber is not always clear in what he means by “range.” In many places, he seems to mean that the legislature-drawn map is consistent with at least one of the simulations he produced; however, that is an unusual standard to use in statistical analysis. At one point, in evaluating the Cumberland map, he seems to adopt a new standard arguing that the optimal map “falls outside of the 50% range of simulation results and is thus classified as a partisan outlier result” (110).

An example from Professor Barber’s analysis is illustrative of why the legislature-drawn plan is problematic. For clarity, I provide a copy of a histogram of Professor Barber’s results in Figure 2. In Buncombe, 72% of Dr. Barber’s simulations have 3 Democratic leaning



Barber Simulations

Magleby Simulations

Figure 2: A copy of Dr. Barber’s summary of simulations of Buncombe copied from his report dated December 22, 2021 and a summary of 1000 simulations using the algorithm proposed by Magleby and Mosesson (2018).

districts, but the legislature only drew 2. Here, the outcome is consistent with some of the simulations produced by Dr. Barber, but most of his simulations suggest that Democrats should carry 3 of Buncombe County’s districts. In 72% of the simulated maps, Democrats made up a majority in all 3 of the districts. In contrast to the large majority of Dr. Barber’s simulations, the legislature managed to draw a single district carried by Republicans. In order to draw a Republican-majority district, they had to concentrate Democrats in fewer districts than Democrats would naturally carry. As a result, the district carried by Republicans is insulated against any wave in which Democrats might receive more votes than expected based on Dr. Barber’s partisan vote index.

Figure 2 also provides a summary of the 1000 cluster-level redistricting simulations I conducted in Buncombe County as part of my analysis of the House map. The patterns are broadly consistent with what Barber found; however, in the set of simulations I conducted

it was more likely that Democrats carry 3 as opposed to 2 districts. Where Dr. Barber finds that there is a 28% chance that Democrats carry just two districts, I find that Democrats carry 2 districts in 5.3% of the simulations. A shortage of time does not allow me to explore exactly what drives the difference in Barber’s estimates and my estimates, but it is noteworthy that the simulations are broadly similar and show the same outcome is most likely when following a neutral process.

The legislature-drawn map repeats this pattern in several clusters analyzed by Dr. Barber. He finds that in the Forsyth, Stokes cluster, 67% of his simulated maps have 3 or more Democratic districts. In the Forsyth, Stokes cluster, the legislature drew 2 districts carried by Democrats in Barber’s partisan composite. In Guilford County, 99% of Barber’s maps had 5 or more Democratic districts. In Guilford, Democrats carried 4 using Barber’s partisan index. In each of those instances, Democrats carry fewer seats, than Dr. Barber’s simulations indicate they should. Moreover, the legislature drew extra districts carried by Republicans by packing Democrats into relatively fewer districts than they should have carried based on the analysis presented by Dr. Barber. The consequence of the packing present in each of these clusters is a systematic under-weighting of Democratic votes.

In the Senate map, Barber’s analysis again shows that Republicans opted to pack Democratic voters in certain clusters. Consider the distribution represented in Figure 3. On the left side, I provide a copy of the results summarized in Dr. Barber’s analysis. Here he finds that 95% of his simulations yield a map in which Democrats carry more seats than they carry in the legislature drawn map. While that outcome is in the range of outcomes yielded by his simulations, it is not particularly likely and it is far from the most likely outcome. In Figure 3, I also summarize the analysis of Iredell and Mecklenburg County that arises from 1000 simulations using the Magleby-Mosesson Algorithm (2018). As before the patterns are broadly similar. The most likely outcome in Iredell and Mecklenburg counties is that Democrats carry 5 of 6 districts. I find that the algorithm generates maps in which Democrats receive as few as 4 seats, but that only occurs in a minority of simulations

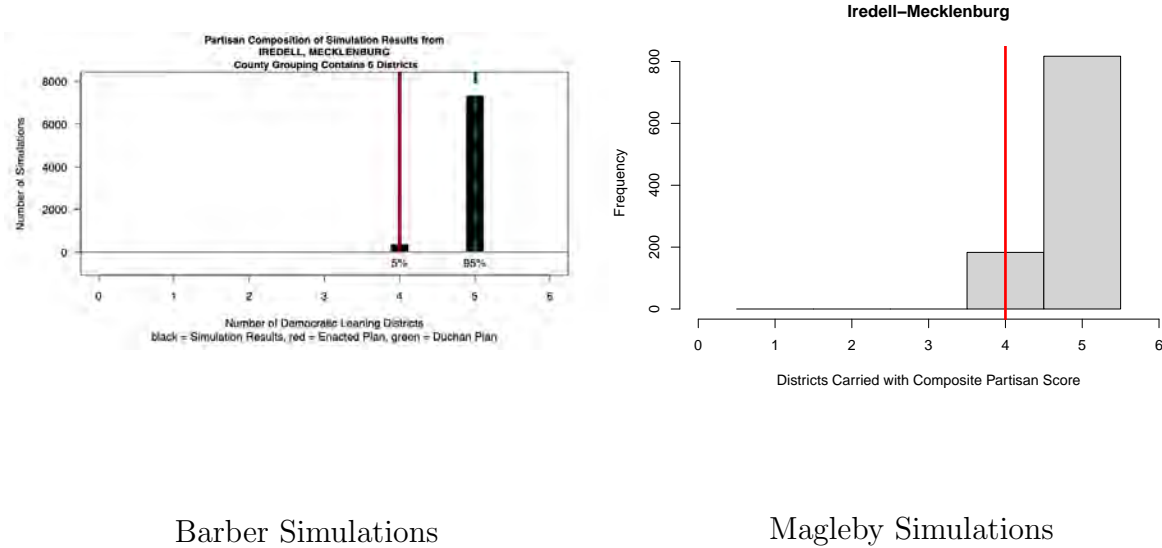


Figure 3: A copy of Dr. Barber’s summary of simulations of the Iredell-Mecklenburg cluster copied from his report dated December 22, 2021 and a summary of 1000 simulations using the algorithm proposed by Magleby and Mosesson (2018).

(18.3%). It is noteworthy again that the simulations yield broadly similar findings and that both Dr. Barber’s simulations and those that formed part of my analysis of the Senate map indicate that Democrats should carry more seats than they do in the legislature-drawn map.

The result of this pattern is the same in the Senate as it was in the House. By opting to pack democrats into fewer districts, the legislature underweights Democratic votes in Iredell and Mecklenburg Counties. By considering one cluster at a time, Barber describes the impact as relatively minor – Democrats receive one fewer seat than we would expect if the legislature engaged in a neutral district-drawing process. However, in reality, because this is repeated in other clusters, the resulting difference in vote-weights state-wide makes it extremely unlikely that Democrats will be able to achieve legislative majorities should they secure a majority of votes for legislative office.

## 5 Conclusion

The data presented in Dr. Barber’s report are inconsistent with his claim that the legislature-drawn maps are not a gerrymanders. One issue with Dr. Barber’s report is that he relies on a metric, seats carried, that does not allow us to directly consider the way the legislature’s maps systematically underweight Democratic votes. Yet in cluster after cluster, he shows that Republicans packed Democrats in ways that would underweight Democratic votes. In my analysis, I calculated the median-mean difference for the legislature-drawn Senate and House maps. I find that both legislature-drawn maps show patterns of treating Democratic and Republican voters asymmetrically with Democratic votes being systematically underweighted. Moreover, the median-mean difference is more extreme in the legislature-drawn maps than what I observe in any of the 1000 simulations of the House and Senate that I analyzed in my report.

The legislature-drawn maps are partisan gerrymanders because they exhibit significant partisan bias, and the bias is likely to persist when Democrats increase their vote share in North Carolina. The consequences of the cluster-level bias are pronounced when we consider the aggregate effect of cluster-level bias statewide.

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- McDonald, Michael D. and Robin E. Best. 2015. “Unfair partisan gerrymanders in politics and law: A diagnostic applied to six cases.” *Election Law Journal* 14(4):312–330.

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

  
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Daniel B. Magleby, Ph.D.

Date: 12/28/21\_\_\_\_\_

DANIEL B. MAGLEBY  
CURRICULUM VITAE  
(Updated December 3, 2021)

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

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BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY (SUNY)

Associate Professor, Political Science, 2019-Present  
Associate Professor (by courtesy), Economics, 2019-Present  
Fellow, Center on Democratic Performance, 2014-Present  
Assistant Professor, Political Science, 2013-2019

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Postdoctoral Fellow, Program in Institutions and Public Choice, 2011-2013

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Visiting Scholar, Center for Political Studies, 2019-2020  
Instructor, Political Science, Summer 2011

EDUCATION

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PhD, Political Science, University of Michigan, 2011

MA, Political Science, University of Michigan, 2008

MS, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences, Northwestern University, 2007

BA, Political Science, Brigham Young University, 2005

PUBLICATIONS

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“Seats, Votes, and Partisanship.” forthcoming. in *Partisanship Reconsidered*, Jeremy C. Pope and Christopher F. Karpowitz eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

“Do Redistricting Commissions Avoid Partisan Gerrymanders?” 2021. *American Politics Research*. with Robin Best, Steve Lem, and Michael D. McDonald.

“Detecting Florida’s Gerrymander: A Lesson for Law and Social Science.” 2020. *Social Science Quarterly*, 101(1): 37–52. with Robin Best, Jonathan Krasno, and Michael D. McDonald.

“Making a Case for Two Paths Forward in Light of *Gill v. Whitford*.” 2018. *Election Law Journal*, 17 (4): 315–327. with Robin Best, Shawn J. Donahue, Jonathan Krasno, and Michael D. McDonald.

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- “Can Gerrymanders Be Measured? An Examination of Wisconsin’s State Assembly.” 2018. *American Politics Research*. Published Online May 14, 2018. with Robin Best, Shawn J. Donahue, Jonathan Krasno, and Michael D. McDonald.
- “A New Approach for Developing Neutral Redistricting Plans.” 2018. *Political Analysis*, 26 (2): 147–167. with Daniel Mosesson.
- “Amendment Politics and Legislative Agenda Setting: A Theory with Evidence from the U.S. House of Representatives.” 2018. *The Journal of Law Economics and Organization*, 34(1): 108–131. with Nathan Monroe and Gregory Robinson.
- “Values and Validations: Proper Criteria for Comparing Standards of Packing Gerrymandering.” 2018. *Election Law Journal*, 17 (1): 82–84. with Robin Best, Shawn J. Donahue, Jonathan Krasno, and Michael D. McDonald.
- “Considering the Prospects for Identifying a Gerrymandering Standard.” 2018. *Election Law Journal*, 17 (1): 1–20. with Robin Best, Shawn J. Donahue, Jonathan Krasno, and Michael D. McDonald.
- “Putting the Brakes on Greased Wheels: The Politics of Weak Obstruction in the United States Senate.” 2017. *Congress & the Presidency*, 44 (3): 344–368. with Molly Reynolds.
- “Popularity, Polarization, and Political Budget Cycles.” 2014. *Public Choice*, 159 (3–4): 457–467. with Marek Hanusch.

#### WORKING PAPERS

---

- “Constituency Size and the Perpetuation of Bias in Single Member Districts.” with Gregory Robinson. Under review.
- “Do Redistricting Commissions Avoid Partisan Gerrymanders?” with Robin E. Best, Steve B. Lem, and Michael D. McDonald. Under review.
- “Counterfactual Apportionment: The Effects of Malapportionment in Hybrid Regimes with Evidence from Malaysia.” with Hilary J. Izatt. Under review.
- “Assessing Wasted Votes as an Indicator of Partisan Gerrymandering.” with Jonathan Krasno and Gregory Robinson. Under review.
- “Polarization as a Function of Constituency Size.” with Gregory Robinson and Matt Walz.

“Vote Buying with Endogenous Agenda Setting”

“Why Do Governments Pay for Your Research? The Political Economy of Science Funding Decisions.”  
with Arthur Lupia.

#### PATENTS UNDER REVIEW

---

“Neutral Redistricting Using a Multi-level Weighted Graph Partition Algorithm.” Patent under review: U.S. Provisional Patent Application No. 62/510,529. May 2017. with Daniel B. Mosesson. Filed by the Research Foundation of the State University of New York.

#### ADDITIONAL EDUCATION

---

Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, Summer Institute, Duke University, 2008

#### FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

---

Dean’s Research Semester, Binghamton University, SUNY, 2018

Transdisciplinary Working Group in Data Science seed grant; Binghamton University, SUNY, 2018

CQ Press Award: best paper on legislative studies that was presented at the 2014 annual meeting of APSA, with Pam McCann for “Taking Turns: Separation of Power and the Nature of Compromise in the United States Congress,” 2015

National Science Foundation, Dissertation Improvement Grant (SES-1023728), “Explaining the Use and Policy Impact of Conference Committees,” 2010-2011

Ford Fellowship (Tuition and Stipend), 2009-2011

Ford Fellowship Research Grant for dissertation research on conference committee frequency and effects, 2008-2011

National Science Foundation, Grant to attend the EITM summer Institute at Duke University, Summer 2008

Northwestern University, Graduate Assistantship, 2006-2007

U.S. Department of Education and the University of Michigan Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, FLAS, Summer 2006

University of Michigan, Graduate Fellowship, Political Science Department, 2005-2006

Pi Sigma Alpha, (Undergraduate Political Science Honors Society), National Member 2004, 2005

INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND SMALL CONFERENCES

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Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference, 2019.  
Partisanship Reconsidered Conference, 2019.  
University of Michigan, Interdisciplinary Workshop on American Politics, 2019.  
Brigham Young University, Romney Institute of Public Service and Ethics, 2018.  
University of Utah, Department of Political Science, 2018.  
Duke University, SAMSI, Conference on Gerrymandering 2018.  
A Better Utah, Roundtable on Redistricting, 2018.  
EITM, University of Michigan, MFR Presentation, 2018.  
Roundtable on Transdisciplinary Working Groups, Binghamton University Research Days, 2018.  
Cornell University, Department of Political Science, 2018.  
Binghamton University, Transdisciplinary Working Group in Data Science, Data Salon, 2017.  
EIP Workshop on Protecting Electoral Security and Voting Rights, 2017.  
PINET: Polinformatics of lawmaking, 2017.  
LDS Scholars Workshop, Brigham Young University, 2017.  
Binghamton University, Department of Economics, 2017.  
University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies, 2016.  
Washington University in St. Louis, Department of Political Science, 2016.  
EITM, University of Michigan, Summer Institute Conference, 2015.  
Cornell University, Department of Political Science, 2015.  
Binghamton University, SUNY, Department of Political Science, 2012.  
University at Buffalo, SUNY, Department of Political Science, 2012.  
University of Toronto, Department of Political Science, 2012.  
University of Idaho, Department of Political Science, 2012.  
Wesleyan University, Department of Government, 2011.  
The Ohio State University, Department of Political Science, 2011.  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Department of Political Science, 2011.  
Conference on Legislative Elections, Process, and Policy; Vanderbilt University, 2009.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2012\*, 2010.  
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meetings, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2008.  
Southern Political Science Association Annual Meetings, 2011.  
State Politics and Policy Conference; 2018, 2016.  
American Association of Public Opinion Research, 2005.

PROFESSIONAL AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

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Professional Service:

Occasional Reviewer for: *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Political Analysis*, *Election Law Journal*  
Member, NSF Political Science Panel, 2018-2019  
Member, Award Committee, *CQ Press Award* (APSA, Legislative Studies Section), 2015 – 2016

University and Departmental Service (Binghamton):

Faculty Senator, 2017 – 2019  
Department Executive Committee, Political Science, 2016 – 2019  
Graduate Committee, Political Science, 2016 – Present  
Award Committee, *Hofferbert Award*, Political Science, 2014 – 2017  
Harpur College Academic Standards Committee, 2014 – 2016

University and Departmental Service (University of Michigan):

Faculty Search Committee, Political Science, Political Economy, 2009  
Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, 2008

TEACHING

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At Binghamton University:

*Formal Theory PhD seminar*, 2019, 2017, 2016  
*American Politics PhD core seminar*, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014  
*Congressional Politics senior seminar*, 2019, 2017, 2016  
*Interest Groups senior seminar*, 2019, 2014, 2013  
*Congress and the Presidency*, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2013, 2011  
*Congressional Institutions and Behavior*, 2016, 2015

At Duke University:

*Campaigns and Elections*, 2012  
*The American Political System*, 2012,  
*Congress and the Presidency*, 2013, 2011

At The University of Michigan:

*Congressional Institutions and Behavior*, 2011

Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, Summer Institute:

Mentoring Faculty in Residence,  
2015, University of Michigan  
2016, Duke University  
2018, University of Michigan

Dissertation Committee Member:

Giovanni Scaringi, Binghamton University, SUNY; 2017  
Eric Walsh, Binghamton University, SUNY; 2018  
Eric Moore, Binghamton University, SUNY; 2018  
Shawn Donahue, Binghamton University, SUNY; 2019  
Allison Bugenis, Binghamton University, SUNY; in process  
Matthew Walz, Binghamton University, SUNY; in process

PERSONAL

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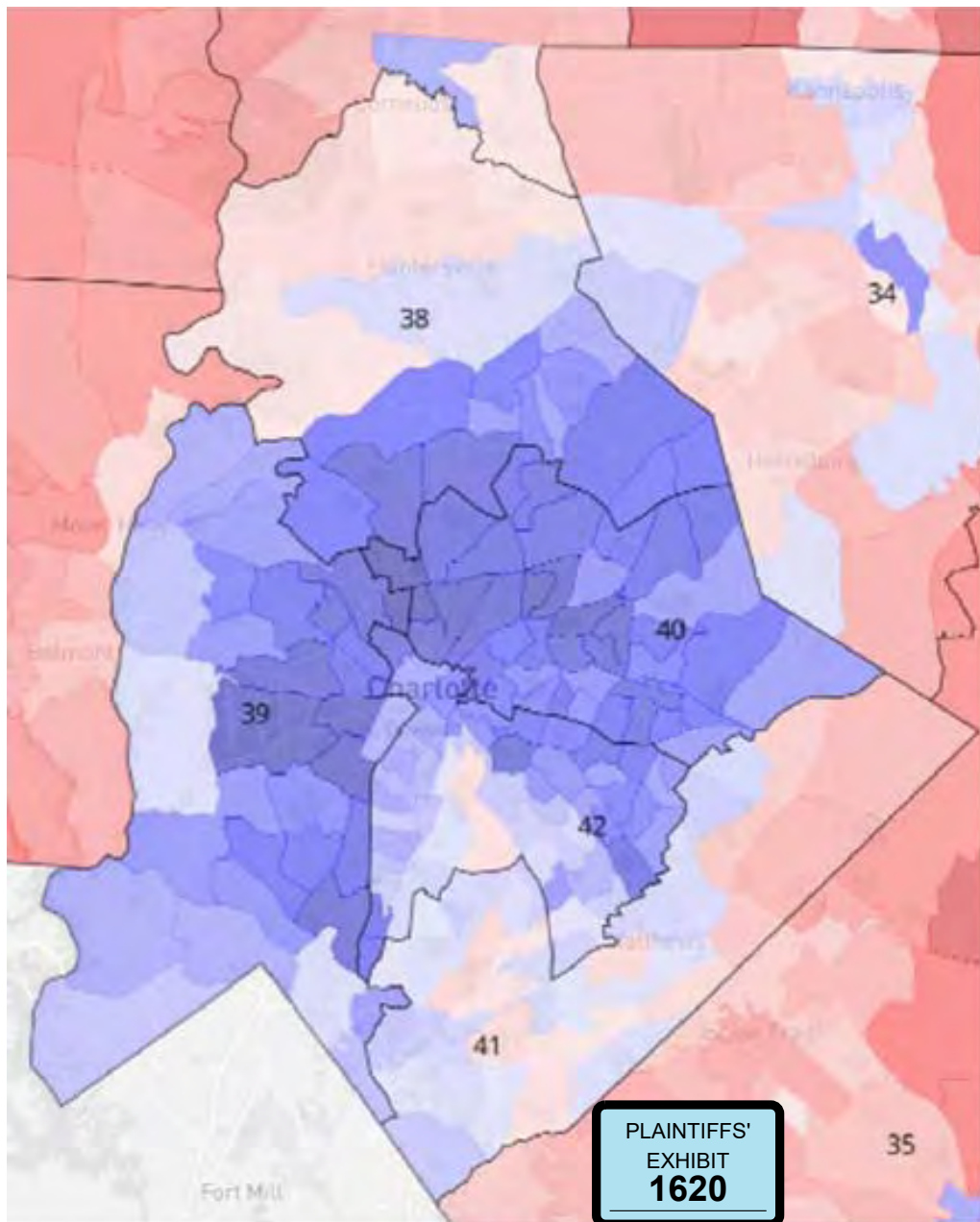
Languages:

Portuguese: Speaking, reading, and writing

ACADEMIC REFERENCES

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Available upon request.



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