

NC BLACK ALLIANCE

# We Paved the Way



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# Our History

## Redistricting & Black Electeds

Only 5 years after the end of slavery Afro-Americans were winning elections across the Nation, namely in North Carolina.

It is recorded that North Carolina elected 187 African Americans.

# In Reconstruction



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We Paved the Way

[Congressional Background](#)

[The Black Second](#)

## The Black Second

Due to the success of Black Americans winning elections, even a Congressional Seat. The party in power determined to redistrict African-Americans into single districts.

Packing the majority of Black residents from the Northeastern and Coastal counties into a single district known as "The Black Second".

Black citizens were gerrymandered in order to quench our rapid ascension to political power shortly after Emancipation. →

# The Fight for Civil & Voting Rights

The Civil Rights Movement was in large part a response to disenfranchisement.



National Museum of African American History & Culture

## Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

(SNCC) was founded at Raleigh's Shaw University in 1960. They used the slogan of 'one man, one vote' as a call for equal representation in redistricting and voting.

## The Voting Rights Act of 1965

Passed following The Civil Rights Act to ensure that African-Americans would not be racially targeted in redistricting. This also offered federal provisions to fight voter suppression.

## Baker v Carr

In this case, the Supreme Court gave protection to the idea of 'one person, one vote' by ensuring states would have to redraw districts based on population changes. Baker v Carr also caused a lasting impact on future state redistricting cases by giving federal courts the right to weigh in on state district cases.

[Baker v Carr](#)

# The Voting Rights Act of 1965

## What Did It Provide?

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a landmark piece of federal legislation in the United States that prohibited racial discrimination in voting.

Allowing state legislatures to create majority-minority districts—a district in which a historically disenfranchised minority comprises the majority population.



# Local Wins by Local Champions



La'Meshia Whittington

ssue:

## Local Highlights: Robeson County & Statesville, NC

Fair maps were achieved in rural communities due to local champions.

Such as Robeson County, the only county in the state to achieve fair redistricting on the local, state and congressional level.

These wins are attributed to the litigation prowess of such litigators as Attorney Angus Thompson, community organizers, NAACP, local organizations, Faith-leaders, and community.

Court case: *Naacp v. City of Statesville, Nc*, 606 F. Supp. 569 (W.D.N.C. 1985)

[Naacp v. City of Statesville, NC](#)



We Paved the Way

# The Black Second Revisited

The Voting Rights Act  
was gutted



[News Release](#)

## **The U.S. South**

Two hours after the court's decision, Texas made the public announcement that it would move forward with its redistricting plans and voter ID law.

## **In 2013**

The Supreme Court struck down a key component of the Voting Rights Act.

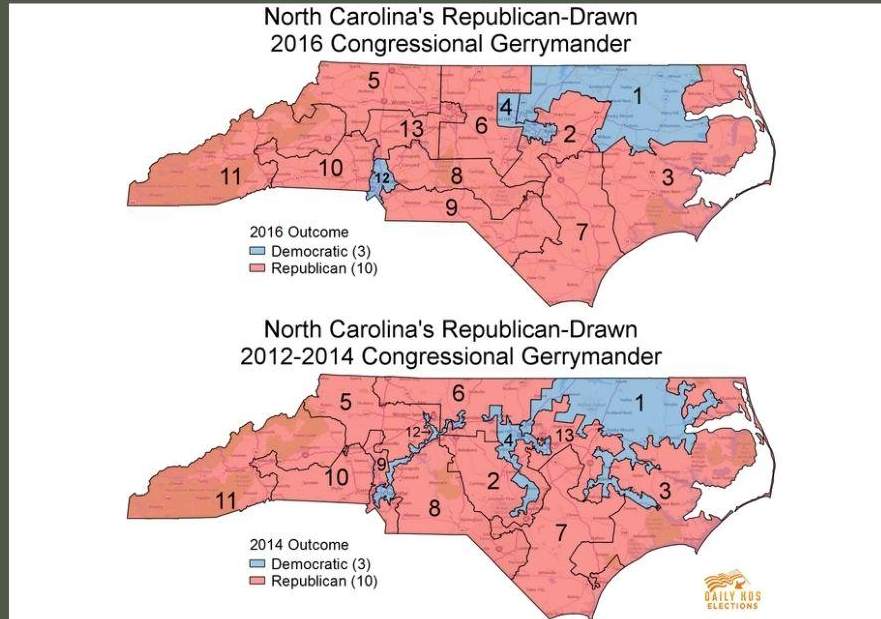
The impact was immediate..

## **North Carolina**

Three weeks later North Carolina followed suit with its own controversial voter ID law.

A foreshadow of what was to come...

# North Carolina



August 2016: Six elections later, federal judges find 28 NC Districts unconstitutional for racial gerrymandering.



# Gerrymander Timeline

**2011**

Lawmakers announce new legislative district maps.

**2015**

North Carolina residents sue the state, leaders of the legislative redistricting committee and the State Board of Elections. Alleging that lawmakers packed African-American voters into 9 Senate districts and 19 House districts.

**2016**

A three-judge panel finds that indeed, 28 state House and Senate districts were racially gerrymandered and ordered new maps to be drawn.

**2017**

After appeals by lawmakers. The U.S. Supreme Court affirms that the 28 districts in question were racially gerrymandered. However, it separately struck down the lower court's order for special elections.



# Lawsuits

## Shaw v Reno

### The Domino Effect

In 1990, the Democratic-led North Carolina General Assembly redistricted the state and created one black majority district, District 1, and another majority-minority district, the now notorious District 12

## Rucho v Common Cause

Partisan  
Gerrymandering  
Lawsuit

## Cooper v Harris

Racial Gerrymandering  
Case

## NC v Covington

Threats

## NAACP v Lewis



**Democrat 2,640,726**  
**Unaffiliated 2,056,294**  
**Republican 2,055,758**

<b>NC House</b>	<b>As of September 2017</b>
<a href="#">Democratic Party</a>	46
<a href="#">Republican Party</a>	73
Vacancies	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>

<b>NC Senate</b>	<b>As of September 2017</b>
<a href="#">Democratic Party</a>	15
<a href="#">Republican Party</a>	35
Vacancies	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>

# Rules to Redistricting - How to Draw

## Map Drawing Guidelines - Terms

1. Compact.
2. Contiguity.
3. Equal population.
4. Preservation of existing political communities.
5. Partisan fairness.
6. Racial fairness.
7. \*Preservation of communities of interest.

## Term Definitions:

1. **"Compactness"** - generally means a **district** in which people generally live near each other.  
*\*Shapes with a smooth perimeter*
2. **Contiguity** - redistricting statutes mandate that districts be contiguous-- that is, they are a single, unbroken shape. *\*Two areas touching at their corners are typically not considered contiguous.*
3. **Equal population** - All districts must have equal population
4. **Preservation of existing counties & political communities:** This refers to not crossing county, city, or town, boundaries when drawing districts.
5. **Communities of interest:** Geographical areas, where the residents have common political interests that do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of a political subdivision, such as a city or county.

## North Carolina

CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



DISTRICTS REDRAWN TO OPTIMIZE COMPACTNESS



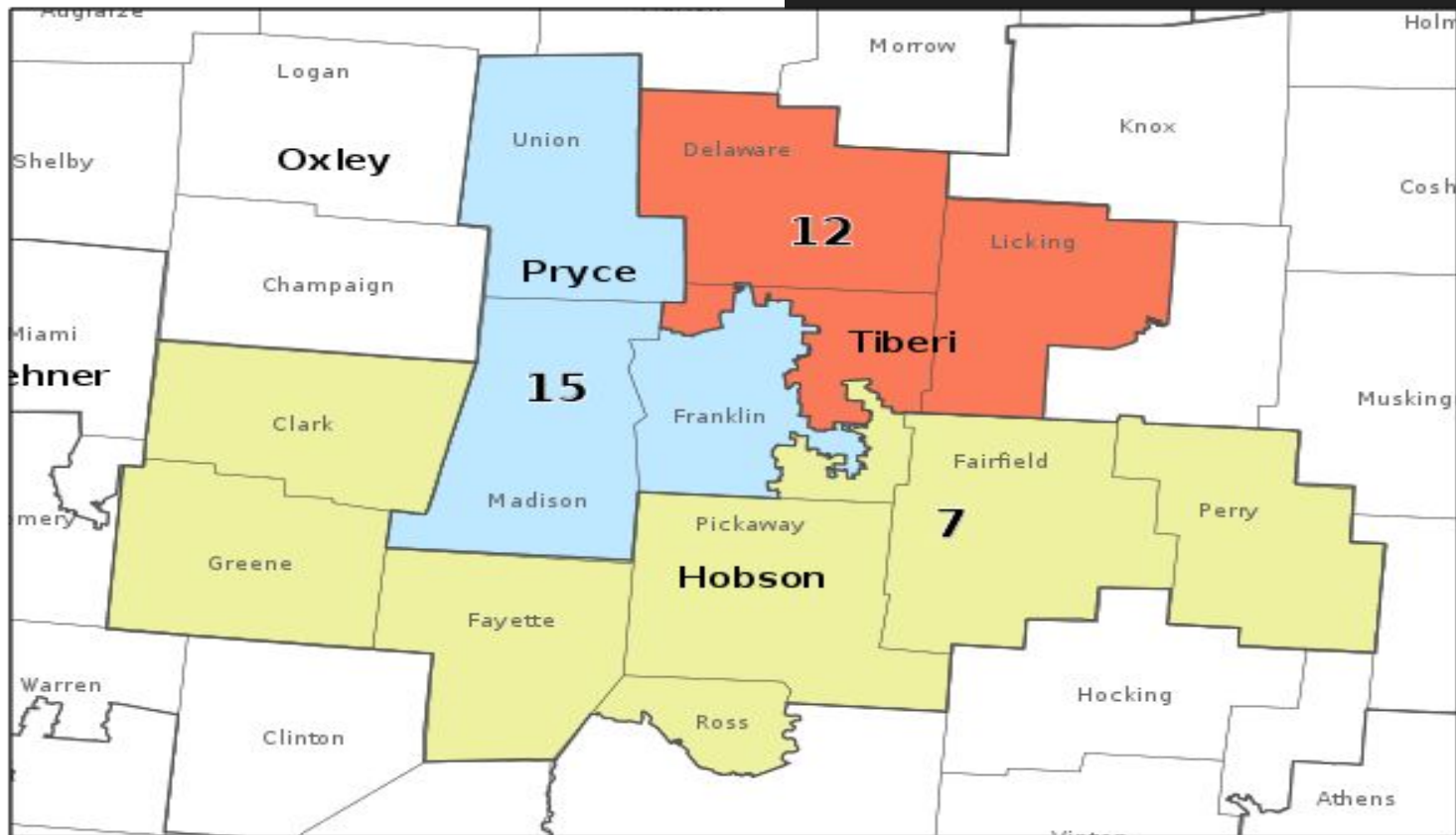
SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau (top), Brian Olson (bottom)  
GRAPHIC: The Washington Post. Published June 3, 2014

# Cracking & Packing

*La'Meshia Whittington,  
Author*

# Cracking

- **Cracking is spreading voters of one type or one party over many districts**
- **This will cause the voters of that party to become minorities in their districts**
- **This dilutes the voting power of these individuals**



“An example of "cracking" style of gerrymandering. The urban (and mostly liberal-Democratic) concentration of [Columbus, Ohio](#), located at the center of the map in [Franklin County](#), is split into thirds, each segment attached to—and outnumbered by—largely conservative [suburbs](#) that vote Republican.”



# Packing

- Packing is the action of placing as many voters of one party in a single district
- This minimizes the number of elections they can influence

# Congressional District 12



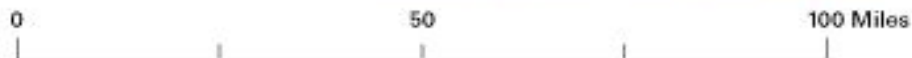
nationalatlas.gov™



**12** Congressional District  
*Rowan* County



North Carolina (13 Districts)



“[North Carolina's 12th congressional district](#) is an example of packing. The district has predominantly African-American residents who vote for Democrats.”

# HOW TO STEAL AN ELECTION

## Activity Time

Examples of cracking and packing districts.

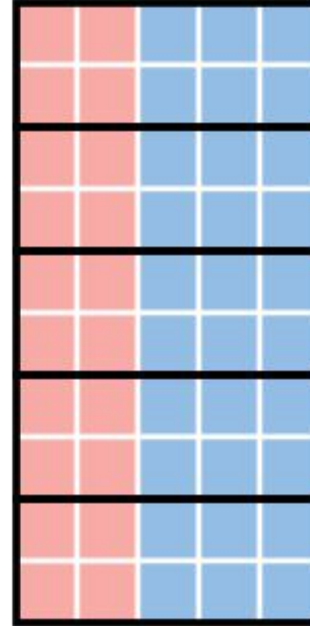
- Cracking
- Packing/Cracking

Activity Time:

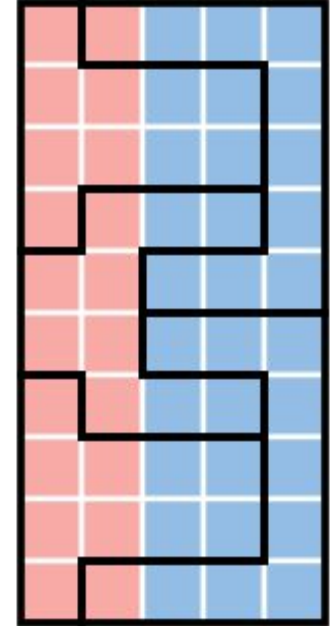
Divide the grids into four equal contiguous districts in as many different ways as possible.



**50 PRECINCTS**  
**60% BLUE**  
**40% RED**



**5 DISTRICTS**  
**5 BLUE**  
**0 RED**  
**BLUE WINS**



**5 DISTRICTS**  
**3 RED**  
**2 BLUE**  
**RED WINS**

# Hijacking & Kidnapping

*La'Meshia Whittington, Author*

# Kidnapping

- Moving a popular incumbent/candidate out of his/her base district into a new unfamiliar district with the opposing party
- The incumbent won't be known in this new district and they will more than likely lose
- The incumbent is "kidnapped" from their reliable voter base and in turn reliable voters are "kidnapped" from their favorite incumbent.

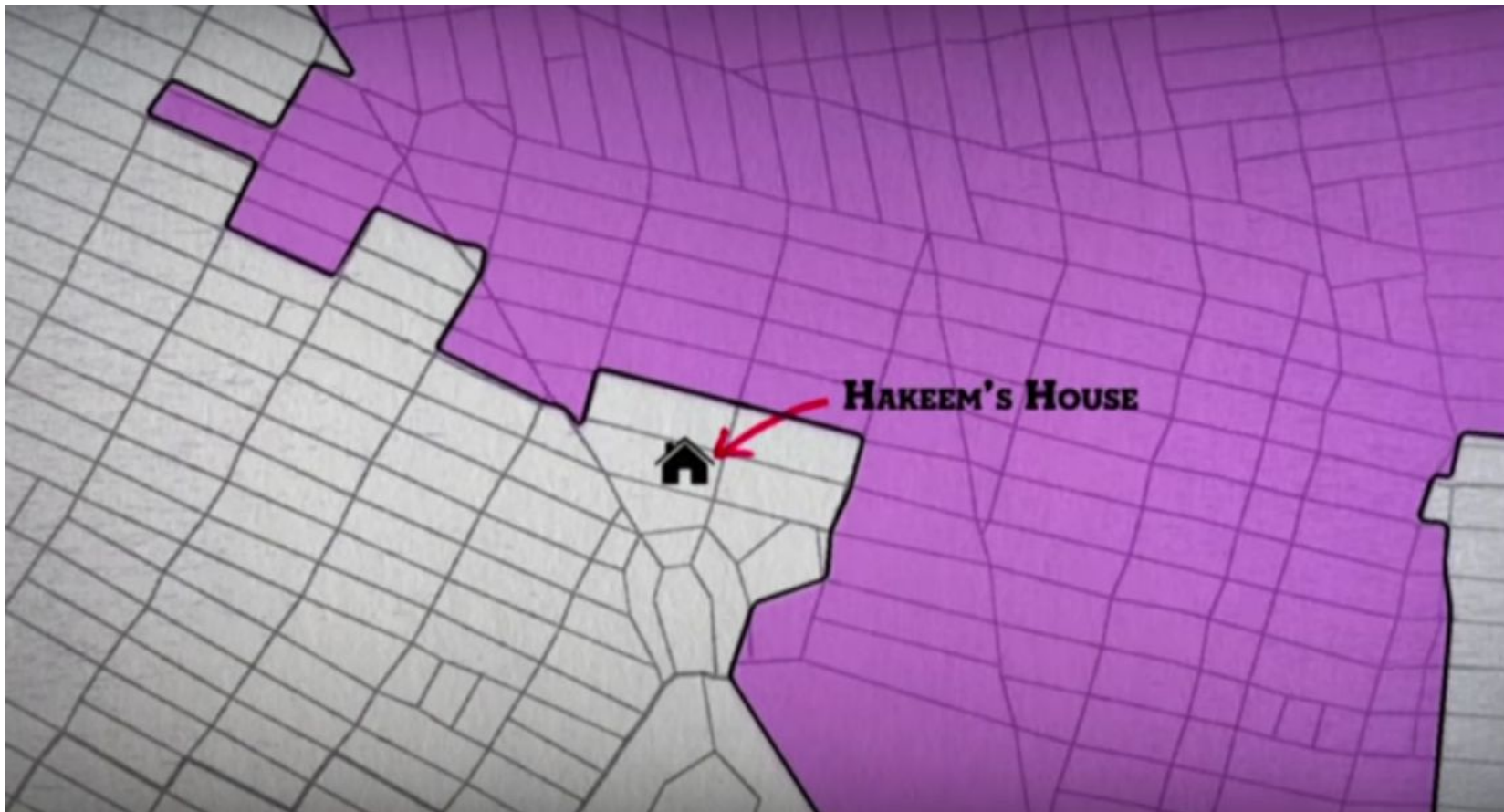


**As a new up-and-coming favorite candidate, Congressman Hakeem Jeffries was “kidnapped” from his home district by a former incumbent. Voters were taken by surprise at the polls when his name was no longer on the ballot.**

**Congressman Hakeem Jeffries lost that race.**

# Hijacking

- **Hijacking is the action of drawing a district to contain two or more incumbents from the same party.**
- **This places two candidates of the same party in direct competition with each other. This is great for the opposing party.**
- **This process eliminates at least one ——— candidate from the opposing party**



**This is an animation highlighting the area of which Congressman Hakeem Jeffries' home was kidnapped from his constituent base district.**

*Picture: Jon Oliver, DS ©*



# The Timeline of Redistricting

Prior to the pandemic, decennial census data are generally released to states by March 31st of the year following the census.

However, on February 12, 2021, the U.S. Census Bureau announced that it would deliver redistricting data to the states by September 30, 2021, requiring states to postpone their redistricting efforts.

North Carolina gained a new seat in the U.S. House, due to a population increase of nearly 1 million new residents.



# Local Governments

Today, Tuesday, May 19th, 2021, Senate Bill 722 was heard in committee.

This bill, if passed into law, will allow municipalities to conduct research and pull data directly after the receipt of federal decennial census information.

Local electeds will use this data to determine if the population has increased substantially which would make it imbalanced to hold elections this year with the previous population and redistricting maps.



# SB 722

## For Local Governing Bodies

1. The governing body will need to adopt a resolution to delay elections if the population imbalances are so significant that it would be not be lawful to hold the next election using current districts.
2. The governing body will be required to afford ample opportunities for public input (implying that “a” public hearing is fine).

## For Communities

1. This bill leaves a potential “open door” for district cities with significant population changes to hold an election that would violate 14th amendment and the Voting Rights Act.
2. However, the data collected during this evaluation can be used for litigation in the event districts violate the 14th amendment and the VRA



# The Intersection of Our Issues and Redistricting

How unfair maps can exacerbate our  
community issues.

## North Carolina

CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

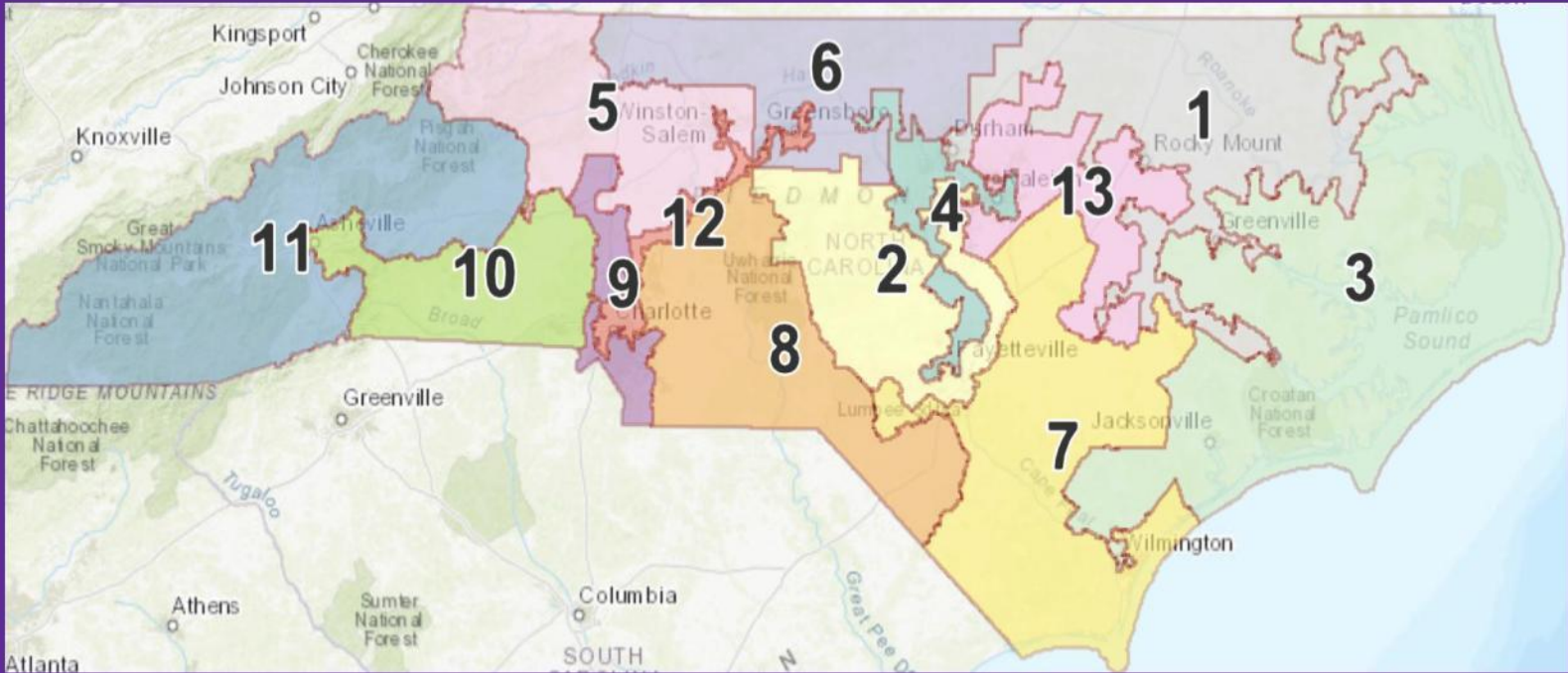


DISTRICTS REDRAWN TO OPTIMIZE COMPACTNESS



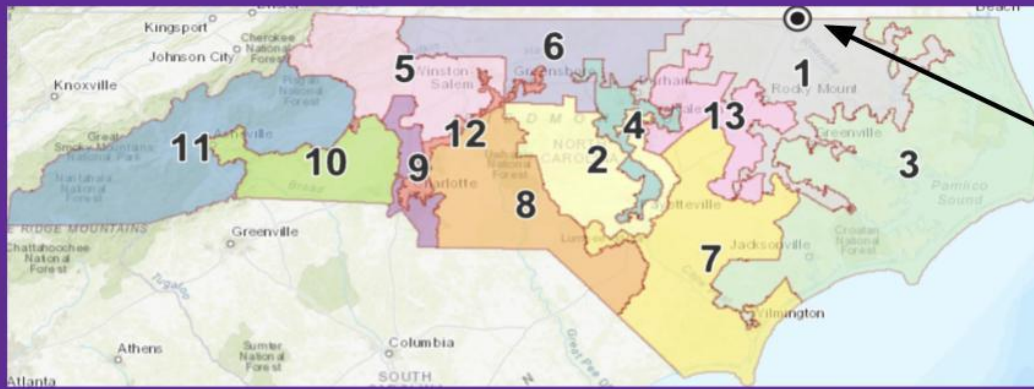
SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau (top), Brian Olson (bottom)  
GRAPHIC: The Washington Post. Published June 3, 2014

# Environmental Injustices in Eastern North Carolina

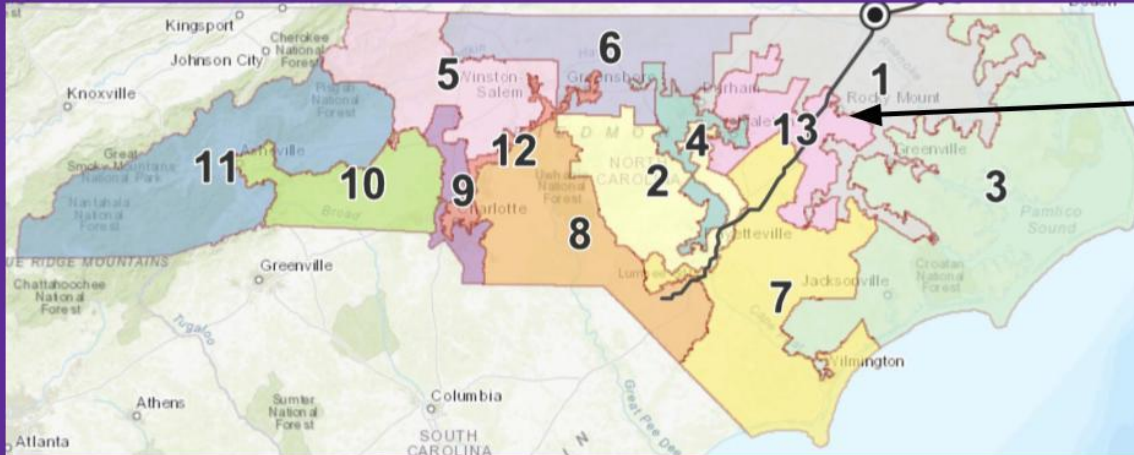


Former NC Congressional Districts

# Environmental Injustices in Eastern North Carolina



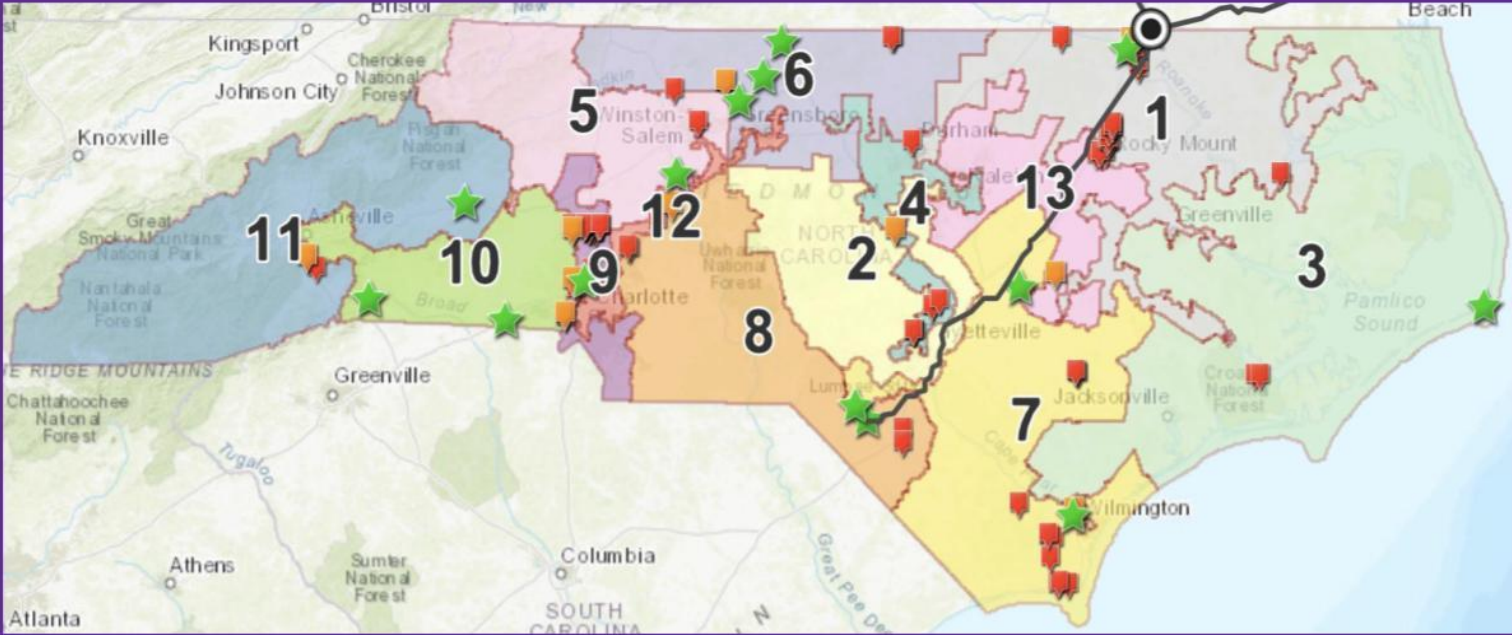
**Northampton  
Compressor  
Station**



**Atlantic  
Coast  
Pipeline**

La'Meshia W. Kaminski

# Environmental Injustices in Eastern North Carolina

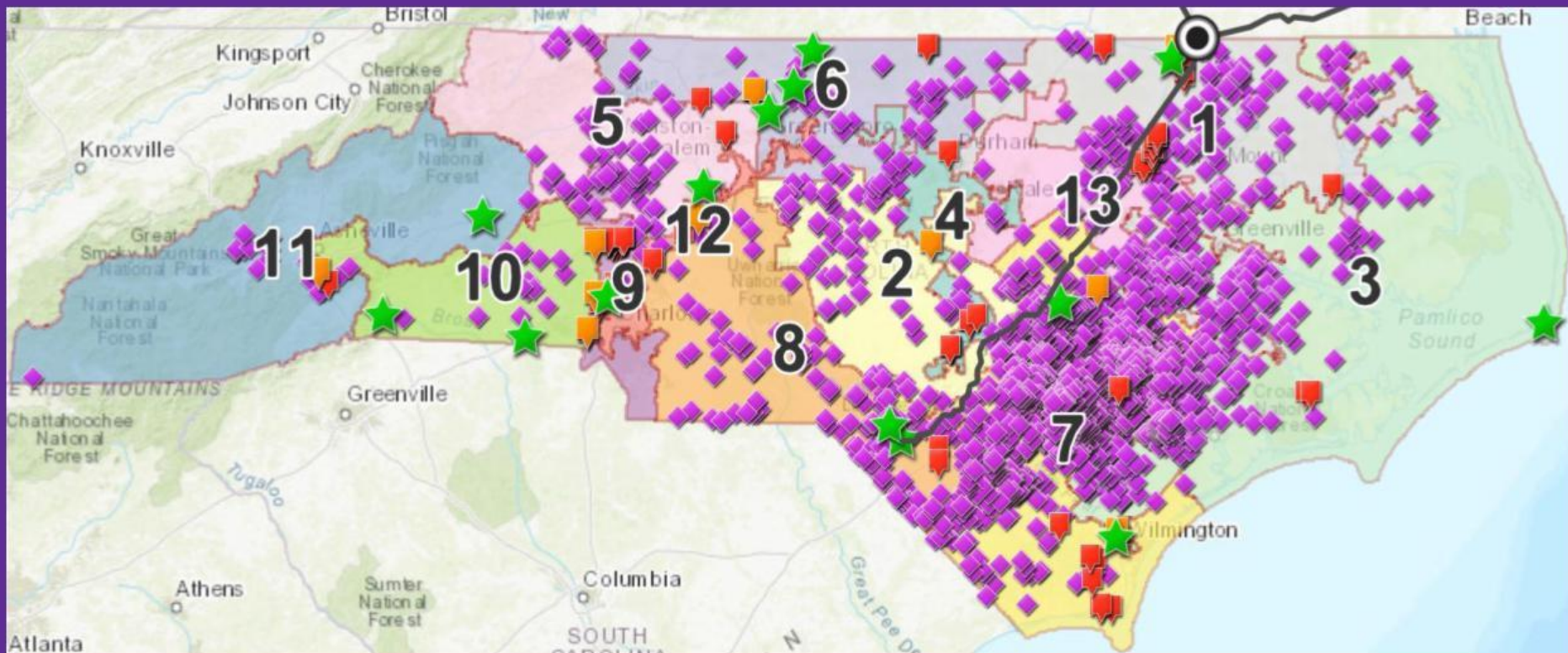


**Coal Ash Sites + LNG**



# CAFOs

## Environmental Justice Mapping



Compressor station + ACP + LNG + Open Coal Ash Sites + Closed Coal Ash Sites + Former Congressional Districts

# What Is the Impact?



# Environmental Injustices in Eastern North Carolina

## Local Impacts

### Farm Bill 467 & Senate Bill 711

- Duplin County elected official responsible for original redistricting committee co-sponsored Farm Bill 467.
- Harnett County elected official senior chairman for redistricting sponsored Farm Bill 467.
- Halifax / Northampton elected official sponsored Farm Bill 467.
- Duplin / Sampson / Johnston / Onslow elected officials voter in favor of Senate Bill 711



*"we're saying, ' We'll close the door to your being sued because you're a favored party. We like you that much.'"*

### Fast Facts:

Harnett County elected official stated:

"I think electing Republicans is better than electing Democrats. So I drew this map to help foster what I think is better for the country."

This same official sponsored Farm Bill 467.

**Fast Facts:** Rainy Day Fund - Funds not released to communities.

### Fast Facts: **NOT GREAT**

Absentee ballots of 833 Hurricane Florence survivors and residents were stolen in NC Congressional District 09

How are local businesses; minority-owned farms; and residences impacted under these Farm Bills, Climate Disasters and Voter Suppression?



During a House floor debate on the nuisance lawsuit bill, Republican Rep. Jimmy Dixon dismissed concerns that large operations were infringing on their neighbors' quality of life or property values.

***“These allegations are at best exaggerations and at worst outright lies. When you talk about spraying a fluid in people’s houses and on their cars, that does not exist.” - The Daily Yonder***

# Senate Passes NC Farm Act of 2018

June 12, 2018



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Tweet on Twitter



Like 43



Tweet

The N.C. Senate voted Monday evening to pass the N.C. Farm Act of 2018 which contains numerous provisions aimed at supporting the state's largest industry and ensuring that farmers have the intended legal protections in the state's right to farm law.

"North Carolina's family farmers are under attack by greedy out-of-state trial lawyers, and recent court rulings have stripped away the legal protections the right to farm law sought to guarantee," said primary bill sponsor Sen. Brent Jackson (R-Sampson.) "The Farm Act of 2018 takes steps to ensure the protections that the right to farm law intended for our farmers still exist and that the industry can continue to feed the world."



# Sampson County Landfill



Located since the 1970s near an African American neighborhood on Chester Road outside of Roseboro, NC, in the community of Snow Hill, ***the landfill behind the swine operations accepts municipal and other kinds of solid waste, including TriFuel Ash, a mix of rubber tires, wood, and coal ash.*** More than 5 of the dozen homes on Chester Road contain a family member with cancer.

Eulis Willis, Mayor of the town of Navassa. There are more brownfield and federal Superfund sites in Navassa than any other municipality in the state.



*"There's been so much cancer, so much kidney problems, a lot of people, young people in their 40s and 50s, have died from cancer here, more than normal for the amount of people that live in this area."*-Ella Beatty, Navassa Community Resident

# Corporate Hog Production



Duplin and Sampson Counties

Hogs outnumber people 40 to 1

Hog operations are 5 times as common in communities-of-color

There are 18.9 times as many hog productions in areas of poverty than not

Hog cesspools are the size of football fields and leach into groundwater

Almost half of all CAFOs are located near homes with well-water

Over 5 million gallons were dumped into NC waterways due to Hurricane Florence



# Hog Waste Cesspool (Lagoon)



# Food Deserts

can be described as geographic areas where residents' access to affordable, healthy food options (especially fresh fruits and vegetables) is restricted or nonexistent due to the absence of grocery stores within convenient travelling distance, more specifically a mile.”



# Food Deserts

## The Impact

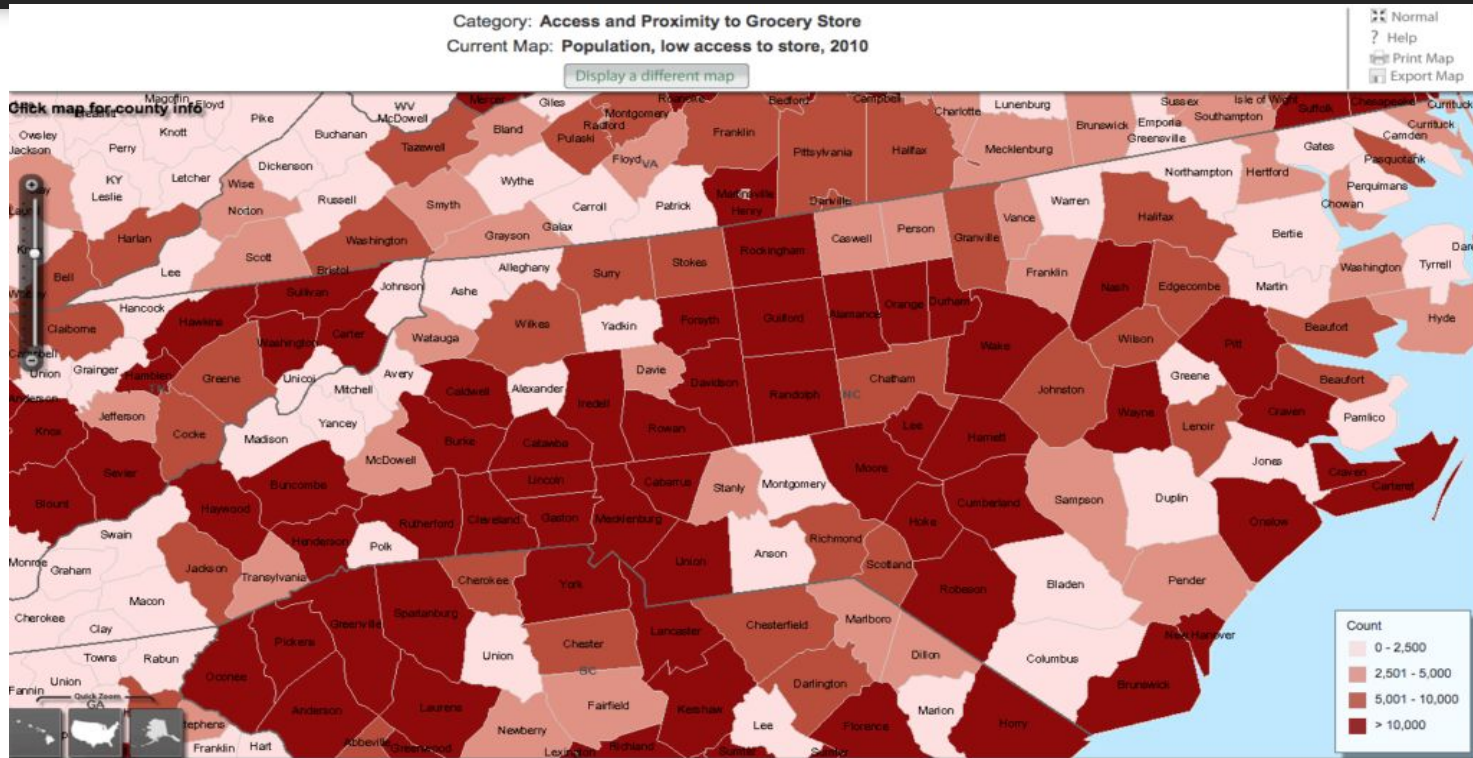
- 2.3 million people (or 2.2 percent of all US households) live more than one mile away from a supermarket and do not own a car.
- Some households are up to 10 miles away from a grocery store.
- North Carolina is 10th in the nation for food insecurity
- North Carolina has at least 349 food deserts across 80 counties, impacting over 1.5 million people



## The Targeted Impact

- Restaurants spend a quarter of their budget marketing to children ages 2-17
- In 2009, \$700 million on such advertising
- \$350 million went to “lures”, such as children’s toys, indoor play areas, sports figures
- Fast food found in middle-income, rural and Black communities.
- Largest food deserts located in ENC, Guilford County and High Point
- Zoning permits, competition clauses, natural disasters and gentrification

# USDA - NC Food Atlas



## Urban Heat Islands

People + asphalt + no green environment =



increased hot temperatures

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# Air Pollution

Gentrification  
Transportation Corridors  
Urban Heat Islands



Urban Heat Island - increases likelihood of strokes, high blood pressure and other diseases

Blacks 52% more likely than whites to live in these islands

Transportation corridors increase these islands

Blacks and Hispanics bear 56% and 63% more air pollution than they caused through consumption

**Forever Chemicals - poisonous chemicals created in a lab. The chemicals cannot be killed, boiled or removed. They are “forever”.**

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# PFAS/GenX

Not the same chemical.  
PFAS is the family  
GenX is a cousin in that family  
There are many many more family  
members...



- DuPont created this chemical in a lab
- This company tested the effects on unsuspecting workers by lacing free cigarettes
- Cumberland, Bladen, Brunswick and New Hanover are sources of high contamination
- Gray's Creek Elementary, Alderman Road Elementary both found contaminated
- Found in Neuse river, drinking water, waterproofing materials and non-stick surfaces



# The Impact

Can You List Other Examples?

Unfair Legislation

Food Deserts

Medical Deserts

Barriers to Disaster Aid

Unequitable  
Zoning Laws

Impacts on Undercounter  
Communities

Bare Minimum Worker's  
Protections

Erasure of Special  
Populations

Impact on Rural  
Communities

Gentrification



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