IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	
v.	Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057
REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his official capacity as Chair of the House Standing Committee on Redistricting, et al.,	
Defendants.	
NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	
V.	Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104
PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,	
Defendants.	

NAACP PLAINTIFFS' MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF THE MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE	OF CONTENTS	I
INTRO	DUCTION	1
STATE	MENT OF FACTS	2
I.	Black Voters File Suit in this Court Challenging 2023 CD1	2
II.	The General Assembly Swiftly Redraws CD1 to Punish Voters	3
III.	SB249 Inflicts Numerous Harms on Black Voters in and around CD1	6
QUEST	TONS PRESENTED	8
LEGAL	STANDARD	8
ARGUI	MENT	8
I.	Plaintiffs are Likely to Succeed on the Merits	8
A.	Defendants' Have Retaliated Against Voters In Violation of the First Amendment.	8
B.	Defendants have Violated Plaintiffs' Right to Petition	20
II.	SB249 Will Cause Irreparable Harm.	23
III.	The Equities and the Public Interest Favor Plaintiffs.	24
CONCI	USION	25

INTRODUCTION

Last week, the North Carolina General Assembly (the "NCGA") redrew the State's congressional districts *again*. In a virtually unprecedented move, the NCGA engaged in mid-decade redistricting entirely on its own initiative. No new Census compelled it. No intervening court order prompted it. No legitimate state interest justified it. The NCGA targeted Congressional District 1 in the redistricting process for one reason alone: to punish the voters in North Carolina's historic Black Belt, including Plaintiffs, who had challenged the previous districting plan in this Court and who exercised their political power to oppose the map-drawers' preferred candidates and policies in 2024.

Senate Bill 249 (S.L. 2025-95) ("SB249") targets the heart of the Black Belt—Congressional District 1 ("CD1"), already challenged in its prior configuration as intentionally discriminatory. SB249 exacerbates the already-demonstrated vote dilution in CD1 by massively reducing the district's Black voting-age population and eviscerating North Carolina's longstanding Black Belt district.

Plaintiffs seek a preliminary injunction on two grounds supported by Defendants' own statements preceding and during the legislative process: retaliation in violation of the First Amendment and frustrating Plaintiffs' right to petition the government for redress of grievances. SB249 is a paradigmatic act of retaliation, punishing Plaintiffs for their protected political expression, association, and petitioning activity, specifically their organizing, voting, and litigating in 2024. And by replacing the challenged 2023 map before this Court could rule in Plaintiffs' pending case, the NCGA has attempted to subvert

judicial review altogether, inviting an endless loop of un-remediable injury in violation of the First Amendment right to petition.

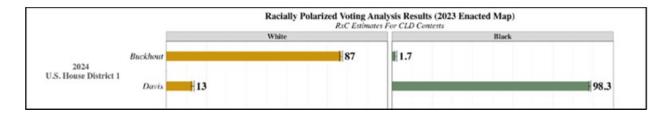
Because the Constitution does not permit the State to convert redistricting into a weapon of retaliation or a mechanism for evading federal judicial review, this Court should preliminarily enjoin SB249.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

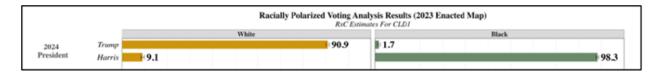
I. Black Voters File Suit in this Court Challenging 2023 CD1

In 2023, the NCGA enacted a congressional plan that shifted the lines of CD1, diluting the voting power of Black voters in North Carolina's historic Black Belt district by removing high Black Voting Age Population ("BVAP") areas and replacing them with predominantly White counties. *See generally* Doc. 165 ¶¶219-41. Plaintiffs challenged this district, alleging intentional dilution in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and intentional discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Doc. 105 (Counts 7 and 9). In June and July 2025, this Court presided over a full trial on the merits.

As the trial record demonstrates, CD1 and northeastern North Carolina are characterized by extreme racially polarized voting. *E.g.*, Doc. 165 ¶¶273-85. These voting patterns reflect *racial*, and not merely partisan, divides. *See id.*; NAACPPX195 ¶¶4, 130-31. This extends to CD1 and the 2024 election in particular, as the expert analysis showed:



NAACPPX208 at Figure 9



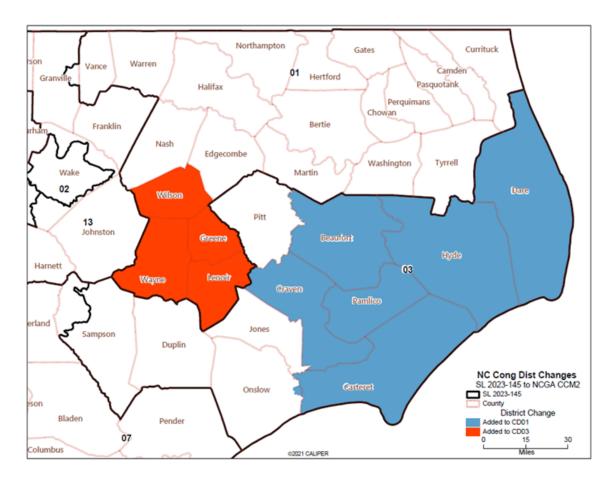
NAACPPX211 at Figure C-5

In post-trial briefing, Defendants argued no dilution was proven because CD1 "performed in 2024 for Democrats whom Plaintiffs identified as the Black-preferred candidates," and that "Plaintiffs cannot credibly claim discriminatory effect where their candidates of choice prevailed," and where "the BVAP of these districts did not meaningfully change between plans." Doc. 164-1 ¶84.

II. The General Assembly Swiftly Redraws CD1 to Punish Voters

On October 13, 2025, unprompted by any court order or new release of Census data, and while this Court's trial ruling remained pending, Senator Phil Berger's office announced the legislature would convene to consider new congressional maps. Exhibit 4, Klein Declaration ("Klein Ex."). The release expressed an intent to draw an additional Republican seat and "safeguard[] Republican control of Congress" to "defeat" the efforts of "Democrats[to] sue-until-blue." *Id*.

On October 16, Senator Berger's office announced the release of a draft congressional map, Klein Ex. 5, changing the configuration of CD1 and CD3 as shown below:



Ex. A at Figure 1

The Senate Committee on Elections scheduled a meeting for just four days later, October 20. Klein Ex. 6. The Committee listed the draft map as a proposed committee substitute for SB249, an unrelated campaign finance bill filed March 6, 2025, and first read on the Senate Floor on March 10. Klein Exs. 1-3, 7-8. There is no recent precedent for the NCGA's using this maneuver for apportionment bills.¹

In the October 20 Committee meeting, Senator Ralph Hise disclosed himself as the sole map-drawer and stated that "the motivation behind this redraw is simple and singular:

¹ See ncleg.gov/redistricting (containing links to bill summaries indicating all filed versions of proposed plans post-2020 Census were originally filed as apportionment bills).

draw a new map that will bring an additional Republican seat to the North Carolina Congressional delegation," Klein Ex. 10 at 4:00-4:15; *see also* Klein Ex. 9 (written plan criteria stating this goal). Senator Hise explained the proposed change "moves NC District 1 from a district where President Trump earned 51% of the vote in 2024 to 55% of the vote," and accomplished this by "look[ing] at what the political outcome was of all the counties as well as the [Voting Tabulation Districts] in eastern North Carolina," Klein Ex. 10 at 9:29-10:01, 19:55-20:45, and the 2024 presidential election in particular. *Id.* at 25:41-26:12.

While Senator Hise disavowed using racial data to draw specific lines, he conceded his "general knowledge of the demographics of this state" including that "District 1 has a higher minority population." *Id.* at 44:30-45:46. Senator Hise also erroneously claimed Democrats had conducted mid-decade redistricting in a similar posture in 1967, *id.* at 53:49-54:10. In reality, that redistricting had been required by a court order. *See* Klein Ex. 20.

In Senate floor debate just hours later, all five proposed amendments to SB249 were either tabled or ruled out of order. *See generally* Klein Exs. 1, 11. Senator Berger moved to cut off debate, and the bill passed its second reading. Klein Ex. 11 at 2:21:07-2:32:12. A vote on the third reading was attempted but (following an objection) the Senate recessed until the next day. *Id.* at 2:27:45-2:42:02.

On October 21, another amendment was tabled, Klein Ex. 14, and the Senate voted to exclude a dissenting speech by Senator Garrett from the record, another unusual move. Klein Ex. 13 at 41:48-43:35. SB249 then passed the Senate and went to the House,

where it passed its first reading, received favorable reports from multiple committees, and was sent back to the full House for a floor vote, *all in one day*. Klein Exs. 1, 15, 16.

On October 22, the House debated SB249 for approximately an hour. Klein Ex. 17. SB249 then passed second and third readings and was adopted into law, just two days after its first consideration in a Senate Committee and less than a week after public disclosure. Klein Exs. 1, 18. In the few days between announcing the new plan and enacting it, the legislature received over 12,000 written public comments via an online portal indicating strong, near-unanimous opposition. Klein Ex. 21; Ex. J (J. Sailor Jones Decl.) ¶8. This level of opposition is consistent with recent polling indicating that supermajorities of North Carolinians across all political affiliations think voting districts in the State should fairly represent all communities and political viewpoints. Klein Ex. 27 at 8; Ex. J ¶13.

III. SB249 Inflicts Numerous Harms on Black Voters in and around CD1.

CD1 has historically provided Black voters an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice and elected a Black representative since at least 1992. *See* Klein Ex. 22; NAACPPX 179 at 14, 65, 98 (Leloudis Rep.); NAACPPX 181 at 47 (Bagley Rep.); *see also* Exs. I (Maxwell Decl.) ¶7, J ¶6. But SB249 drastically decreases the BVAP of CD1 by 8%, causing a near-perfect division of BVAP between CD1 (32.34%) and CD3 (29.4%). Ex. A (Fairfax Rep. at Tables 1, 3).

SB249 thus dilutes the voting power of highly cohesive Black voting populations in this area, causing a "clear decline" in performance of Black-preferred candidates and, as indicated in the below table, making it highly unlikely that Black voters in either district

will have an opportunity to elect congressional candidates of choice. Ex. B (Oskooii Rep. ¶¶4-7).²

Plan	Racial Composit	ion of Districts	Success of Black-Preferred Candidates by Election Year			Year	
2025 Enacted	2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP)		2024 (15 Elections)	2022 (7 Elections)	2020 (20 Elections)	2018 (4 Elections)	2016 (18 Elections)
CLD	% NH White	% Black	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate
1	59.73%	32.34%	7%	0%	5%	50%	33%
3	56.17%	29.40%	7%	0%	0%	50%	17%

Ex. B at Table 2

Beyond electoral outcomes, these drastic changes to CD1 and CD3 will have other harmful consequences for voters, especially civically-engaged voters in the Black Belt like Plaintiffs. For example, Arthur Lee Johnson voted for Representative Davis in 2024 and has long conducted voter registration, education, and get-out-the-vote efforts in his community around congressional elections, including in Wilson County and neighboring Black Belt counties where he has deep ties and associations, like Edgecombe and Bertie (which, unlike Wilson County, will remain in CD1). *See* Ex. F (Johnson Decl.) ¶¶5-8, 12. Under SB249, Mr. Johnson has lost his status as a CD1 voter, will be unable to vote for or be represented by his preferred candidate, and will have to build new relationships for advocacy in CD3 from the "ground up." *Id.* ¶¶13-16. When SB249 passed, he was working to set up a town hall with Congressman Davis. *Id.* ¶11. Those efforts are now on hold. *Id.*

Mr. Johnson is not alone. Other individual and organizational plaintiffs will suffer similarly. *See, e.g.*, Exs. E (Calvin Jones Decl.) ¶¶8-13 (Mr. Jones can no longer leverage

² These win rates are consistent with the results in the NCGA's own "StatPacks" for SB249. Klein Ex. 21.

his full coalition of Black Belt farmers to advocate with his congressman; he has no connections in coastal counties added to CD1 and expects to be treated as a "telemarketer" reaching out to them); G (Sutton Decl.) ¶¶12-13 (Ms. Sutton's connections to community advocates in CD1 are now "severed"), H (Patterson Decl.) ¶¶8-9 (Mr. Patterson removed from CD1 after building successful lobbying efforts in his district); I ¶¶9-10 (NAACP will have to start from scratch to build chapters in coastal counties further away from its office added to CD1).

QUESTIONS PRESENTED

Should a preliminary injunction against SB249 be granted to maintain the status quo for the 2026 elections?

LEGAL STANDARD

To obtain a preliminary injunction, Plaintiffs "must demonstrate that (1) they are likely to succeed on the merits; (2) they will likely suffer irreparable harm absent an injunction; (3) the balance of hardships weighs in their favor; and (4) the injunction is in the public interest." *League of Women Voters of N.C. v. North Carolina*, 769 F.3d 224, 236 (4th Cir. 2014).

ARGUMENT

- I. Plaintiffs are Likely to Succeed on the Merits.
 - A. Defendants' Have Retaliated Against Voters In Violation of the First Amendment.

Defendants initiated gratuitous mid-decade redistricting to retaliate against voters, including Plaintiffs, for voting a particular way, for associating with like-minded voters to

support candidates that would speak to common interests and values, and for petitioning their government against Defendants' redistricting initiatives.

Unlike the partisan gerrymandering disputes the Supreme Court has deemed nonjusticiable, this case concerns not *how* lines are drawn, but *whether* the decision to redraw the map was itself legitimate. While "a legislature may pursue partisan ends when it engages in redistricting," *Alexander v. S.C. State Conf. of the NAACP*, 602 U.S. 1, 6 (2024), it may not engage in redistricting gratuitously to punish citizens for exercising their First Amendment rights. This case presents a novel set of facts requiring no assessment of degree or balance among redistricting considerations: the harm here was straightforward, admittedly intended, and undisputably accomplished. Because Defendants engaged in impermissible retaliation, Plaintiffs are likely to prevail on their First Amendment challenge.

1. <u>Defendants Redrew the Congressional Map to Punish Voters for Exercising</u> Their First Amendment Rights.

The First Amendment prohibits laws "abridging the freedom of speech" or "the right of the people . . . to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." U.S. Const. amend. I. The government may not stop someone from exercising their First Amendment rights in advance, nor may it punish someone for exercising those rights "after the fact." *Houston Cmty. Coll. Sys. v. Wilson*, 595 U.S. 468, 474 (2022).

To prevail on a First Amendment retaliation claim, Plaintiffs must establish "that (1) [they] engaged in protected activity, (2) the defendant took some action that adversely affected his constitutional rights, and (3) there was a causal relationship between his

protected activity and the defendant's conduct." *Williams v. Mitchell*, 122 F.4th 85, 89 (4th Cir. 2024). Plaintiffs are likely to meet that test and prevail on the merits.

Protected Activity. Plaintiffs engaged in protected First Amendment activity by voting and organizing in 2024 and by filing this lawsuit. The First Amendment protects political expression, including support for, affiliation with, and voting in favor of one's chosen candidate. See Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 347, 356 (1976) (plurality opinion) ("[P]olitical belief and association constitute the core of those activities protected by the First Amendment."); see also NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson, 357 U.S. 449, 460 (1958) ("[F]reedom to engage in association for the advancement of beliefs and ideas is an inseparable aspect of . . . freedom of speech."). That expression includes "the freedom to join together in furtherance of common political beliefs." Cal. Democratic Party v. Jones, 530 U.S. 567, 574 (2000) (quoting Tashjian v. Republican Party of Conn., 479 U.S. 208, 214-15 (1986)); see also Kusper v. Pontikes, 414 U.S. 51, 56-57 (1973).

The First Amendment also safeguards the right "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." U.S. Const. amend. I. That right "extends to all departments of the Government" and thus includes "[t]he right of access to the courts," such as by filing a lawsuit. *Cal. Motor Transp. Co. v. Trucking Unlimited*, 404 U.S. 508, 510 (1972) (citations omitted); *see also Borough of Duryea v. Guarnieri*, 564 U.S. 379, 397 (2011).

A majority of voters in CD1, including Plaintiffs Dawn Daly-Mack, Calvin Jones, Arthur Lee Johnson, Barbara Sutton, and Courtney Patterson, engaged in protected activity in 2024 when they voted for and joined in association with other voters (including an estimated 98.3% of Black voters) to elect a candidate of their choice for Congress affiliated

with the Democratic party. *See* Exs. C, E-H; NAACPPX208 at Fig. 9. The vast majority of these voters, including these Plaintiffs (and an estimated 98.3% of Black voters) also voted in favor of a 2024 presidential candidate of their choice affiliated with the Democratic party. *See* Exs. C, E-H; NAACPPX211 at Fig. C-5.

Plaintiffs also engaged in protected petitioning activity when they filed this lawsuit challenging the 2023 configuration of CD1 as an intentional attempt to dilute their votes and those of other Black voters.

<u>Causal Relationship</u>. Defendants chose to engage in redistricting to retaliate against Plaintiffs for their protected speech and litigation activity. To establish the requisite causation, Plaintiffs must demonstrate that their protected First Amendment activity "was a 'substantial' or 'motivating' factor in the defendant[s'] decision to take action against [them]," in which case "the burden shifts to the defendant[s] . . . to show that [they] would have taken the same adverse action even in the absence of the protected [First Amendment activity]." *Gonzalez v. Trevino*, 602 U.S. 653, 662-63 (2024) (Alito, J., concurring) (quoting *Mt. Healthy City Bd. of Ed. v. Doyle*, 429 U.S. 274, 287 (1977)).

By their own account, and as noted above, the NCGA and Senator Hise redrew CD1 and CD3 in 2025 because of how Plaintiffs voted in 2024, i.e., their joining with others in their community to support Representative Davis and Kamala Harris, candidates disfavored by the NCGA and Senator Hise, rather than President Trump. Defendants once again targeted the Black Belt (as opposed to other, Whiter Democratic-voting areas of the state) to crack a cohesive population of voters because in 2024 they engaged in constitutionally protected activity by organizing and voting for their preferred candidates.

Senator Hise testified to using the 2024 presidential election results in redrawing district lines. Klein Ex. 10 at 25:41-26:12. The NCGA and Senator Hise, by their own account, gratuitously initiated the redistricting process mid-decade, to diminish (and effectively preclude) the ability of voters who engaged in disfavored speech to elect a Congressman. In addition, Plaintiffs were also targeted for exercising their right to petition by filing this lawsuit, which legislative leaders branded a "sue-until-blue" tactic and now seek to punish with even deeper vote dilution. Klein Ex. 4.

To achieve this purpose, they targeted high-BVAP counties. For example, 39.14% BVAP Wilson County, the home county of Plaintiff Arthur Lee Johnson, was carried by both Representative Davis and presidential candidate Harris, candidates affiliated with the NCGA-disfavored Democratic party. Ex. A (Fairfax at Table 5); Klein Ex. 23. And in 40.47% BVAP Lenoir County, the home of Plaintiffs Barbara Sutton and Courtney Patterson, Rep. Davis came within 120 votes of carrying the county. Ex. A (Fairfax at Table 5); Klein Exs. 23, 24. Both counties were moved out of CD1, with counties of much lower BVAP population and where voters expressed viewpoints favored by the map-drawers moved in. Ex. A (Fairfax Rep. at Fig. 1, Table 5); Ex. B (Oskooii Rep. At 3-4).

Defendants cannot establish that they would have initiated the map-drawing process in the absence of Plaintiffs' First Amendment-protected activity. In other cases, the state legislators could point to some non-retaliatory reason for drawing new congressional maps. Those reasons may include (1) drawing a new map following the release of the Census (e.g., Gill v. Whitford, 585 U.S. 48, 54-55 (2018)); (2) replacing a map that has been invalidated by a court (e.g., Rucho v. Common Cause, 588 U.S. 684, 691 (2019)); or (3)

replacing a court-drawn map with a legislature-drawn map (*e.g.*, *LULAC v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399, 412-13 (2006)). Here, though, Defendants cannot identify any valid, non-retaliatory reason to engage in the 2025 redistricting at all. They initiated the redistricting process *solely* to target voters in CD1, and punish them via line-drawing based upon voters' past political expression and litigation activity.

Adverse Action. Finally, Defendants' retaliation has "adversely affected [Plaintiffs'] constitutional rights." Williams v. Mitchell, 122 F.4th 85, 89 (4th Cir. 2024); see also Houston Cmty. Coll. Sys., 595 U.S. at 477-78. Because "there is no justification for" punishing people for exercising their constitutional rights, the adverse effect "need not be great" to be actionable. Bart v. Telford, 677 F.2d 622, 625 (7th Cir. 1982) (Posner, J.) (cited approvingly in Constantine v. Rectors & Visitors of George Mason Univ., 411 F.3d 474, 500 (4th Cir. 2005)). Indeed, "even minor retaliation" can support a retaliation claim so long as it has "a chilling effect on future expression." Kirby v. City of Elizabeth, 388 F.3d 440, 450 n.8 (4th Cir. 2004).

It does not matter whether Plaintiffs have any legal entitlement to the benefit Defendants stripped away. The First Amendment prohibits retaliation not only when government burdens rights to which a plaintiff is entitled, but also when it withdraws discretionary benefits as a tool to punish protected expression. *Rutan v. Republican Party of Ill.*, 497 U.S. 62, 72 (1990). The question is not whether the plaintiff has a right to the benefit; it is whether deprivation of the benefit will "chill the exercise of a constitutional right" such that "it would likely deter 'a person of ordinary firmness' from exercise in the future." *Mitchell*, 122 F.4th at 89-90 (quoting *Constantine*, 411 F.3d at 500). Thus, for

example, the government may not withhold unemployment benefits or tax exemptions to penalize protected activity—even though no one has a constitutional right to receive them in the first place. *See Sherbert v. Verner*, 374 U.S. 398, 404-05 (1963); *Speiser v. Randall*, 357 U.S. 513, 518 (1958).

Here, Defendants' gratuitous decision to undertake mid-decade redistricting gives rise to at least four independent adverse actions, each of which has chilled—and will continue to chill—Plaintiffs from exercising their rights to speak, associate, and petition for fear of being retaliated against again.

First, Defendants removed Plaintiffs including Arthur Lee Johnson, Barbara Sutton, and Courtney Patterson from CD1 and reassigned them to CD3, severing the relationship with their current representative and threatening their right to vote for—and be represented by—their current congressional representative. See Exs. F-H; see also Ex. A (Fairfax Rep. ¶13).

Voters have a First Amendment interest in casting ballots for candidates they want to vote for. *See, e.g., Anderson v. Celebrezze*, 460 U.S. 780, 786-87 (1992); *see also Lubin v. Panish*, 415 U.S. 709, 716 (1974). And while Representative Davis has indicated he may run in either CD1 or CD3, *see* Klein Ex. 22, he will (regardless of which district) no longer appear on the ballot for thousands of his current constituents, including at least one individual Plaintiff here either still in—or moved out of—CD1. By depriving Plaintiffs of representation by their longtime member of Congress, Defendants signaled that disfavored speech or petitioning will be punished by separating Plaintiffs from their district and representative. That is impermissible retaliation.

Second, Defendants deprived Plaintiffs of the right to associate with neighboring voters and communities with whom they have longstanding ties and common political interests. An election is about more than just a candidate "attaining political office." Illinois Bd. of Elections v. Socialist Workers Party, 440 U.S. 173, 186 (1979). It is "a means of disseminating ideas as well." Id. That is why the First Amendment "promises Americans the right not just to proclaim a political vision but to join with their compatriots and actually advance that vision." 6th Cong. Dist. Republican Comm. v. Alcorn, 913 F.3d 393, 401 (4th Cir. 2019). That associational right "rank[s] among our most precious freedoms." Williams v. Rhodes, 393 U.S. 23, 30 (1968). Democracy "is unimaginable without the ability of citizens to band together in promoting among the electorate candidates who espouse their political views." Jones, 530 U.S. at 574.

Here, Plaintiffs have spent decades strengthening community ties and building political power to advance their interests at the ballot box, often in association with groups like Plaintiff North Carolina NAACP. Plaintiff Arthur Johnson has worked across the Black Belt to register voters and encourage them to vote in congressional elections. Ex. F ¶6-8. But SB249 altered CD1, removing Black Belt counties that have been part of the district for decades, and adding coastal communities that have not. *Compare* Klein Ex. 25 (SB249 Map), *with* Klein Ex. 26 (past congressional plans used in elections). Now in CD3, Mr. Johnson "ha[s] been removed from that network and community that [he] ha[s] spent years helping to build." Ex. F ¶13.

Other Plaintiffs, like Barbara Sutton, will have to "travel further to get to counties in the southern part of CD 3" to engage in the same organizing work, which is a "significant

barrier to mobilizing members of Kinston Lenoir NAACP Chapter," Ex. G. ¶14. The longer distance that Ms. Sutton will have to travel—and the additional time and energy the trips will entail—will chill her First Amendment rights. *See also*, Exs. H-J; *Rutan*, 497 U.S. at 73 (upholding retaliation claim of employees "denied transfers to workplaces reasonably close to their homes" in part because they "will feel a daily pressure from their long commutes"). Targeting Plaintiffs for their protected associational and civic activities—and forcing them to go to greater lengths to continue those activities—will chill the exercise of those rights in the future.

Third, by dismantling former CD1, Defendants have made it significantly harder for the highly cohesive community of Black voters (including Plaintiffs) in the Black Belt to again act collectively to actually elect candidates who represent their shared interests. See Ex. B ¶6-8; Ex. C (Daly-Mack Decl.) ¶11-12 (Ms. Daly-Mack expects that the changes to CD1 will result in CD1 being represented by someone like her current State Senator, Bobby Hanig, who is "not responsive to the needs of our community"); see generally Exs. E-F. In doing so, Defendants have "burden[ed] [Plaintiffs'] representational rights." Vieth v. Jubelirer, 541 U.S. 267, 315 (2004) (Kennedy, J., concurring in the judgment).

Targeting Plaintiffs in this manner constitutes an adverse action regardless of whether Plaintiffs have a freestanding constitutional right to any particular representation or degree of partisan fairness. Removing these Plaintiffs from a congressional district in which they had some (albeit a diminished) ability to elect candidates of their choosing, and intentionally placing them into new districts where they will almost certainly be unable to do so in retaliation for their speech and petitioning activity, constitutes a First Amendment

retaliatory harm. Indeed, on the unique and egregious facts of this case, the harm here stems solely from this unlawful retaliatory motive in targeting CD1 in the first place: diluting voters' voices. This was sole motivation prompting redistricting—not the Census, or a court order, or some need to address traditional redistricting criteria (already accounted for in 2023 and not substantively improved here, *see* Ex. A (Fairfax Rep. ¶¶10-12)).

Finally, this adverse action by Defendants will chill Plaintiffs from petitioning for a redress of grievances. Plaintiff Common Cause may reconsider litigation challenging redistricting in the future because its leaders fear that further litigation may prompt the General Assembly to target its members, which runs contrary to its mission of empowering voters. See Ex. J ¶15.

2. <u>Defendants Cannot Evade the First Amendment by Retaliating Through Redistricting.</u>

Redistricting does not occur in a First Amendment-free zone.

The NCGA's authority to draw and redraw congressional maps comes from the federal Constitution's Elections Clause. U.S. Const. art. I, § 4; see Arizona v. Inter Tribal Council of Ariz., Inc., 570 U.S. 1, 8-9 (2013). That authority is important but limited. It does not allow the NCGA "to dictate electoral outcomes, to favor or disfavor a class of candidates, or to evade important constitutional restraints." Cook v. Gralike, 531 U.S. 510, 523 (2001) (quoting U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton, 514 U.S. 779, 833-34 (1995)).

Cook is instructive. There, Missouri altered its ballot design to single out congressional candidates who refused to support a proposed constitutional amendment imposing term limits. 531 U.S. at 514-15. Although "the precise damage the labels may

exact on candidates [was] disputed between the parties," the Court nonetheless struck down the law. *Id.* at 525-26. The reason was categorical: the labeling scheme went beyond "regulating the procedural mechanisms of elections" and instead "place[d] [its] targets at a political disadvantage to unmarked candidates." *Id.* at 525-26. As the Court explained, legitimate Elections Clause regulations concern only the procedural steps *necessary* to hold an election. *Id.* at 523-24.

The same is true of SB249. Regardless of "the precise damage [it] may exact on [Plaintiffs]," *Cook*, 531 U.S. at 525, the law does not regulate the procedural mechanisms necessary to conduct an election. Existing, legislatively drawn maps were already in place. The NCGA did not draw a new map to ensure that "some sort of order, rather than chaos, [would] accompany the democratic process." *Id.* at 524 (quoting *Storer v. Brown*, 415 U.S. 724, 730 (1974)). It did so simply to retaliate against voters, including Plaintiffs, for speaking out, associating with like-minded neighbors, voting a certain way, and petitioning government in ways officials disfavored. As explained, that initial decision to redraw the map was itself illegitimate. *See supra* pp. 12-13.

The partisan gerrymandering line of cases is entirely different. Those cases concerned *how* lines were drawn in the context of an otherwise validly initiated map-drawing process. *See supra* p. 13 (collecting cases). In *LULAC*, for example, the Texas legislature replaced a court-drawn map consistent with the Supreme Court's principle that "a lawful, legislatively enacted plan should be preferable to one drawn by the courts." 548 U.S. at 412, 416. The legislature viewed the court-drawn map as "a vestige of a Democratic gerrymander." Brief for Appellee at 32, *LULAC*, 548 U.S. 399 (2006) (Nos. 05-204, 05-

254, 05-276, 05-439), 2006 WL 284225. The Court concluded that "there is nothing inherently suspect about a legislature's decision to replace mid-decade a court-ordered plan with one of its own." *LULAC*, 548 U.S. at 418-19.

Because the decision to draw a new map in those cases was itself valid, the plaintiffs' challenges focused on *how* the lines were drawn, parsing out partisanship from other redistricting factors. Such claims necessarily implicate a question of "degree: How to 'provid[e] a standard for deciding how much partisan dominance is too much." *Rucho*, 588 U.S. at 704 (quoting *LULAC*, 548 U.S. at 420). Such standardless inquiries are "beyond the reach of the federal courts." *Id.* at 718.

This case is different. Plaintiffs do not bring a partisan gerrymandering claim. They do not suggest "that groups with a certain level of political support should enjoy a commensurate level of political power and influence." *Rucho*, 588 U.S. at 704. And they do not seek a remedy that would force this Court or the NCGA "to rearrange the challenged districts to achieve that end." *Id.* at 705.

Rather, this Court can resolve this claim by applying straightforward First Amendment retaliation principles. Just like with any other official government action, the Constitution forbids the government from redrawing electoral district lines in order "to punish or suppress speech," *Nat'l Rifle Ass'n of Am. v. Vullo*, 602 U.S. 175, 198 (2024), or other protected First Amendment activity. No complex metrics or subjective assessments of "partisanship" are required to enjoin unconstitutional government action under such circumstances, especially where any Court injunction would simply revert the map to the

preexisting, legislatively drawn status quo (namely, the 2023 Congressional Plan). SB249 should thus be enjoined.

B. Defendants have Violated Plaintiffs' Right to Petition

Defendants' decision to redraw the map to stall and block resolution of Plaintiffs' 2023 redistricting challenge is also a standalone violation of the First Amendment's Petition Clause. The First Amendment right to petition encompasses the "right of access to the courts" to file a lawsuit challenging violations of federal law. *E.g.*, *Cal. Motor Transp.*, 404 U.S. at 510. And the right to petition for judicial redress is protected "whenever it is genuine, not simply when it triumphs." *BE & K Construction Co. v. NLRB*, 536 U.S. 516, 532 (2002).

The right to petition works hand-in-hand with other First Amendment rights. Courts have long recognized that litigation is "a vehicle for effective political expression and association," and a means to "facilitate the informed public participation that is a cornerstone of democratic society." *Borough of Duryea*, 564 U.S. at 397 (quoting *In re Primus*, 436 U.S. 412, 431 (1978)). In the civil-rights era, that role could not have been clearer: litigation served as the channel through which "the distinctive contribution of a minority group" could shape the Nation's ideas and ideals. *Id.* (citing *NAACP v. Button*, 371 U.S. 415, 431 (1963)). And the petition right does not turn on outcome. "[E]ven unsuccessful but reasonably based suits advance" First Amendment interests—both by testing and refining legal principles and by reinforcing the legitimacy of the judicial process itself. *BE & K Construction*, 536 U.S. at 532.

At its core, the right to petition safeguards the ability of individuals to seek—and, when warranted, to secure—judicial relief "by direct appeal to government officials charged with applying the law." *Borough of Duryea*, 564 U.S. at 397. Interpreting the Petition Clause requires fidelity to "the objectives and aspirations that underlie the right." *Id.* at 388. It thus protects not only the right to file a case, but also to litigate one's case (within the bounds of professional norms and the applicable procedural rules). *Cf. Bill Johnson's Rests. v. NLRB*, 461 U.S. 731, 743-44 (1983). And that protection reaches all the way to a remedy. *Cf. Trump v. CASA, Inc.*, 606 U.S. 831, 851-52 (2025) ("[T]he complete-relief principle has deep roots in equity[.]"). Government actors thus may not attempt to stymie the right to petition by strategically mooting out or injecting new facts into litigation in order to prevent judicial resolution and redress. *Cf. Ne. Fla. Chapter of Associated Gen. Contractors of Am. v. City of Jacksonville*, 508 U.S. 656, 661-62 (1993).

The risk of these types of Petitions Clause violations is especially acute in the redistricting context, where "[p]ractical considerations sometimes require courts to allow elections to proceed despite pending legal challenges." *Riley v. Kennedy*, 553 U.S. 406, 426 (2008). If a map is deemed unlawful too near an election, "the only reasonable option may be to use the plan one last time." *Abbott v. Perez*, 585 U.S. 579, 602 (2018). The ability of government defendants to try to delay or otherwise avoid redress even where a map is illegal makes redistricting cases a particularly tempting target for Petition Clause violations—such as where a legislature upends the status quo by passing a new map weeks before the candidate filing deadline.

Given these dynamics, the Supreme Court has rejected efforts to frustrate judicial review in redistricting cases. *E.g.*, *North Carolina v. Covington*, 585 U.S. 969 (2018). Were it otherwise, legislatures could "put[] redistricting litigation in an infinity loop[,]" enacting different plans *ad nauseum* whenever an election was impending and thereby extending the litigation and preventing Plaintiffs from ever obtaining a remedy. *Singleton v. Allen*, 690 F. Supp. 3d 1226, 1292-93 (N.D. Ala. 2023). That tactic "is inconsistent with the Article III judicial power because it allows the State to constrain (indeed, to manipulate) the Court's authority to grant equitable relief." *Id.* at 1292. It would create "an endless paradox that only [the State] can break, thereby depriving Plaintiffs of the ability to effectively challenge and the courts of the ability to remedy." *Id.*; *cf. Already, LLC v. Nike, Inc.*, 568 U.S. 85, 91 (2013) (rejecting mootness argument where "a defendant could engage in unlawful conduct, stop when sued to have the case declared moot, then pick up where he left off, repeating this cycle until he achieves all his unlawful ends.")

That is happening here, now. With a fully tried challenge to CD1 still *sub judice*, the General Assembly waited until weeks before the December 1 candidate-filing deadline, and then hastily redrew CDs 1 and 3—asserting unlimited power to revise the lines again and again. A process in which Plaintiffs can never obtain a final adjudication of their claims (regardless of the preliminary relief this Court may grant) "produce[s] an illegal result, *viz.*, effectively barring respondents from access to the agencies and courts." *Cal. Motor Transp. Co.*, 404 U.S. at 513. It also risks a *de facto* superiority of state law each election, in violation of the Constitution's unambiguous proclamation that the "Constitution" and "Laws of the United States . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land." U.S. const., art. VI,

cl. 2. If the General Assembly can forever redraw maps mid-litigation to evade final judgment, then the infinity loop will become a reality—and Plaintiffs' right "to pursue desired ends by direct appeal to government officials charged with applying the law" will be rendered a dead letter. *Borough of Duryea*, 564 U.S. at 397.

II. SB249 Will Cause Irreparable Harm.

Unless enjoined, SB249 will cause Plaintiffs and other Black voters in North Carolina's historic Black Belt irreparable harm. "Courts routinely deem restrictions on fundamental voting rights irreparable injury" because "once the election occurs, there can be no do-over and no redress." *League*, 769 F.3d at 247. Monetary damages are also "inadequate to compensate . . . voters for the loss of their fundamental right to vote." *Griffin v. N.C. State Bd. of Elections*, 781 F. Supp. 3d 411, 453 (E.D.N.C. 2025). Similarly, injuries to First Amendment rights such as the right to speech, expression, association, and petition "unquestionably represent irreparable harm." *Stuart v. Huff*, 834 F. Supp. 2d 424, 427-28 (M.D.N.C. 2011); *accord Griffin*, 781 F. Supp. 3d at 453; *see also Elrod*, 427 U.S. at 373 (plurality opinion) ("The loss of First Amendment freedoms . . . unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury."); *Leaders of a Beautiful Struggle v. Baltimore Police Dep't*, 2 F.4th 330, 346 (4th Cir. 2021).

Here, Plaintiffs are likely to succeed in establishing these harms as to SB249: Their right to petition has been thwarted, and they have been retaliated against in violation of their First Amendment rights.

III. The Equities and the Public Interest Favor Plaintiffs.

The balance of equities and public interest—which merge when the government is the opposing party, *Nken v. Holder*, 556 U.S. 418, 435 (2009)—weigh in favor of an injunction. "Depriving voters of a fundamental right would result in significant hardship." *Griffin*, 781 F. Supp. 3d at 454; *accord Disability Rts. N.C. v. N.C. State Bd. of Elections*, No. 5:21-cv-361, 2022 WL 2678884, at *7 (E.D.N.C. July 11, 2022) ("The public interest is served by protecting federally guaranteed voting rights in North Carolina.").

No countervailing government interest alters that traditional calculus. If SB249 is enjoined, the status quo will fall back to a congressional plan that the NCGA enacted only two years ago. See, e.g., Centro Tepeyac v. Montgomery Cnty., 722 F.3d 184, 191 (4th Cir. 2013) ("[A] state is in no way harmed by issuance of a preliminary injunction which prevents the state from enforcing restrictions likely to be found unconstitutional."); Griffin, 781 F. Supp. 3d at 454 ("Preventing the State . . . from implementing a process violative of constitutional rights would impose no hardship."). Nor does the election timeline move the needle. It does not matter that there may be "little time" before the qualifying deadlines for the 2026 election cycle begin, because here complying with an injunction of SB249 would mean simply "resurrect[ing]" the 2023 Congressional Plan for CD1 and CD3. League, 769 F.3d at 248.

³ Plaintiffs maintain their challenge to the 2023 Congressional Plans, and the request for a permanent injunction following trial.

CONCLUSION

For the reasons set forth above, Plaintiffs' motion should be granted and SB249

preliminarily enjoined.

Dated: October 31, 2025 Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Hilary Harris Klein

Hilary Harris Klein

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WORD CERTIFICATION

Pursuant to Local Rule 7.3(d)(1), the undersigned certifies that the word count for

Memorandum in Support of Motion for Preliminary Injunction is 6230 words. The word

count excludes the case caption, signature lines, cover page, and required certificates of

counsel. In making this certification, the undersigned has relied upon the word count of

Microsoft Word, which was used to prepare the brief.

/s/ Hilary Harris Klein Hilary Harris Klein

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I certify that on October 31, 2025, I electronically filed the foregoing with the

Clerk of the Court using the CM/ECF system which will send notification of such filing

to all counsel of record.

/s/ Hilary Harris Klein

Hilary Harris Klein

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

INDEX OF EXHIBITS TO NAACP PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

EXHIBIT A	2025 Supplemental Expert Report of Anthony E. Fairfax
LAINDII A	2023 Supplemental Expert Report of Anthony E. Fairlax
EXHIBIT B	2025 Supplemental Expert Report of Dr. Kassra Oskooii
EXHIBIT C	Declaration of Reverend Dawn Daly-Mack
EXHIBIT D	Declaration of Syene Jasmin
EXHIBIT E	Declaration of Calvin Jones
EXHIBIT F	Declaration of Arthur Lee Johnson
EXHIBIT G	Declaration of Barbara Jean Sutton
EXHIBIT H	Declaration of Courtney Patterson
EXHIBIT I	Fourth Declaration of Deborah Dicks Maxwell
EXHIBIT J	Declaration of Sailor Jones
EXHIBIT K	Attorney Declaration of Hilary Harris Klein (filed separately with Klein Documentary Exhibits)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	
v.	Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057
REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his official capacity as Chair of the House Standing Committee on Redistricting, et al.,	
Defendants.	
NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF	
THE NAACP, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104
V.	CIVII ACUOII NO. 23 C V 1104
PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,	
Defendants.	
EXPERT REPORT OF ANTHONY	E. FAIRFAX
On the 2025 Congressional Districts for the	e State of North Carolina

October 31, 2025

- 1. I have been retained by counsel representing the Plaintiffs in this lawsuit to analyze and compare the changes made in North Carolina's congressional districts from the 2023 enacted plan (S.L. 2023-145) by Senate Bill 249 (S.L. 2025-95).
- 2. I have provided several expert reports in this matter that I understand were admitted as evidence at trial, including an October 2024 Corrected Expert Report and appendices (NAACPPX 182-88), October 2024 Reply Report (NAACPPX 200), and March 2025 Supplemental Rebuttal Report (NAACPPX 216).
- 3. My qualifications are outlined in my prior expert reports submitted in this matter. *See* NAACPPX 182 ¶¶ 2-9. An updated version of my Resume is provided as Appendix E to this Supplemental Report.
- 4. To perform the analysis in this matter, I used the same Maptitude for Redistricting software that I utilized in my prior reports. *See* NAACPPX 182 ¶ 10. I utilized the following datasets for my analysis:
 - a. Block Equivalency Files for the 2023 (SL 2023-145) North Carolina Congressional plan and for the 2025 plan resulting from modifications made in Senate Bill 249 (SL 2025-95) were downloaded from the North Carolina redistricting website.¹
 - b. The 2020 Census data for the total and voting age population ("VAP") were obtained from Caliper Corporation's datasets for the state of North Carolina.²
- 5. I utilized the same analytical methods as applied in my prior reports. *See* NAACPPX 182 ¶¶ 13-25. Specifically, after gathering relevant datasets, I did the following:
 - a. In order to generate the comparison map, using Maptitude, the block equivalency files for the 2023 and 2025 district boundaries were joined with the census block geography. Once joined, the census blocks that changed districts from the 2023 to the 2025 plan were indicated in a new field using the district number to which they changed. Maptitude's merged layer function was deployed to generate only the parts of the districts that had changed. Finally, a color thematic map was created using the newly merged layer, showing only the two areas altered in red and blue (see Figure 1).

¹ https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookUp/2023/S757 (2023 Congressional Plan); https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2025/S249 (S.L. 2025-95).

² Caliper Corporation provides 2020 Census Data (PL94-171 data) in a format readable for their software, Maptitude for Redistricting. The population data are identical to the data provided by the Census Bureau.

- b. As in my prior reports, I used the category of "Any Part" Black³ throughout parts of this report for Black Total and Voting Age Populations. *See* NAACPPX 182 ¶ 15.
- 6. Changes made by Senate Bill 249 (SL 2025-95). Using Maptitude, I identified the areas added and removed from Congressional Districts 1 and 3 (CD 1 & CD 3) by Senate Bill 249, and confirmed no changes were made to any other districts. Figure 1 below shows the areas added to and removed from Congressional Districts 1 and 3. The blue color represents the area added to CD 1, while the red area depicts the area removed from CD 1.

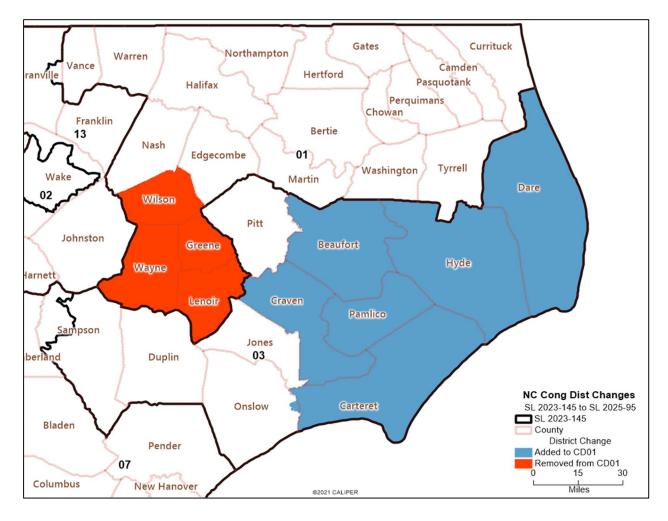


Figure 1 – NC CD1 Changes from 2023 to 2025

³ The "Any Part" or "All Parts" Black includes surveyed persons who select Black Alone and Black and in combination with any race. Also, included within "Any Parts" Black are Hispanic Black persons as well.

7. <u>Demographic Profile of Congressional Districts 1 and 3 in the 2023 and 2025 configurations</u>: I analyzed the major racial demographics of CD 1 and CD 3 in the 2023 and 2025 configurations. These are outlined in the tables below:

Table 1 - Racial Demographics North Carolina's 2023 CD 1

TTLPop	White	% White	APBlack	% APBlack
745,670	358,722	48.11%	309,743	41.54%
VAP	WVAP	% WVAP	ABBVAP	% APBVAP
587,318	297,776	50.70%	237,420	40.42%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data.

Table 2 - Racial Demographics North Carolina's 2023 CD 3

TTLPop	White	% White	APBlack	% APBlack
745,671	463,854	62.21%	169,697	22.76%
VAP	WVAP	% WVAP	ABBVAP	% APBVAP
586,125	382,633	65.28%	125,120	21.35%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data.

Table 3 - Racial Demographics North Carolina's 2025 CD 1

TTLPop	White	% White	APBlack	% APBlack
745,671	426,065	57.14%	251,298	33.70%
VAP	WVAP	% WVAP	ABBVAP	% APBVAP
596,783	356,476	59.73%	192,997	32.34%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data.

Table 4 - Racial Demographics North Carolina's 2025 CD 3

TTLPop	White	% White	APBlack	% APBlack
745,670	396,511	53.18%	228,142	30.60%
VAP	WVAP	% WVAP	ABBVAP	% APBVAP
576,660	323,933	56.17%	169,543	29.40%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data.

8. The demographic changes resulting from Senate Bill 249 were accomplished by removing counties with relatively high Black Voting Age Population (APBVAP) from Congressional District 1 (as low as 31.83% APBVAP) and adding, in their place, counties with relatively low Black Voting Age Population (as low as 2.32% APBVAP). Below is a table of the APBVAP% for counties added and removed from Congressional District 1. Appendix D includes a complete list of the APBVAP% for all counties in North Carolina.

Table 5 - %APBVAP Counties Added to and Removed from CD-1

Counties removed f	rom 2025 CD-1	Counties added to 2025 CD-1		
County %APBVAP		County	%APBVAP	
Wayne	31.83%	Dare	2.32%	
Greene	37.28%	Onslow (partial)*	4.47%	
Wilson	39.14%	Carteret	5.40%	
Lenoir 40.47%		Pamlico	18.10%	
		Craven	20.88%	
		Beaufort	23.01%	
		Hyde	28.35%	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data.

- 9. Additional Traditional Redistricting Criteria. I was asked to analyze additional metrics of the 2025 Congressional Districts 1 and 3 relevant to those factors listed on the "2025 Congressional Plan Criteria," sourced from the North Carolina General Assembly's website at https://webservices.ncleg.gov/ViewDocSiteFile/101156. These include Equal Population for the purposes of one-person, one-vote requirements, Compactness, Contiguity, and Respect for Existing Political Subdivisions, including counties, VTDs, and municipal boundaries.
- 10. I compared the 2025 Congressional Plan Criteria with those used in 2023 (and I understand admitted as JX038 at trial). I note the following substantive differences in criteria:
 - a. The 2025 criteria adds the following language to the criterion addressing "Political Considerations": "The principal legislative objective in the 2025 Congressional Plan is to increase the Republican vote share of Congressional District 1 to outperform the same district in the 2023 Congressional plan codified as Senate Bill 757 on October 25, 2023. In doing so, only the boundaries of Congressional District 1 and Congressional 3 will be altered."5
 - b. The 2025 criteria added a criterion that "The 2025 Congressional Plan will comply with all applicable federal law."
 - c. The 2025 omits the 2023 criterion regarding "Incumbent Residence" and states that it "may be considered in the formation of Congressional districts."

^{*}This tables include the %APBVAP for the areas of Onslow included in 2025 CD-1.

⁴ I understand from counsel this document was included as Klein Ex. 9 in support of their Motion for a Preliminary Injunction.

⁵ I understand from counsel that this criterion, and specifically a performance analysis, was conducted by Dr. Kassra Oskooii, and so I have not addressed it here.

- d. The 2025 criteria addressing "Equal Population," "Traditional Districting Principles," "Compactness, "Contiguity," and "Respect for Existing Political Subdivisions" are the same as in 2023. The 2025 criterion addressing "Racial Data" appears substantively the same as in 2023, adding in additional court case citations.
- 11. The tables below summarize this information, and I have included the underlying Maptitude reports as Appendices C (2023 and 2025 districts).
 - a. <u>Equal Population</u>. Point III of the 2025 Congressional Plan Criteria provides:

Equal Population. The Committee chairs will use the 2020 federal decennial census data as the sole basis of population for the establishment of districts in the 2025 Congressional Plan. The number of persons in each congressional district shall be equal as nearly as is practicable, as determined under the most recent federal decennial census. Wesberry v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1 (1964).

Accordingly, below I have included the total population and deviation⁶ figures from the 2020 decennial census, as shown in the field below:

Table 6 – NC CD-1 and CD-3, 2023 & 2025 Population & Deviation

District	Total Population	Deviation
2023 CD-1	745,670	-1
2025 CD-1	745,671	0
2023 CD-3	745,671	0
2025 CD-3	745,670	-1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data

b. Both of the 2025 districts differ by 1 person from their 2023 configurations in total population (see Appendix B & C). All districts meet the criteria of strict equality required for congressional districts.

⁶ The 2020 ideal population size for congressional districts for North Carolina is 745,671.

c. <u>Compactness.</u> Point VI of the 2025 Congressional Plan Criteria provides:

Compactness. The Committee chairs shall make reasonable efforts to draw districts in the 2025 Congressional Plan that are compact.

Below is a table of the standard measures of compactness, Reock and Poslby-Popper, for the 2023 and 2025 districts:

Table 7 – NC CD-1 and CD-3, 2023 & 2025 Compactness

District	Reock	Polsby-Popper
2023 CD-1	0.42	0.27
2025 CD-1	0.49	0.33
2023 CD-3	0.37	0.25
2025 CD-3	0.60	0.26

Source: Maptitude Compactness reports for the NC 2023 and 2025 CDs 1 and 3

- d. Overall, the 2025 districts score higher on both compactness measures than the 2023 districts (see Appendix B & C).
- e. Contiguity. Point VII of the 2025 Congressional Plan Criteria provides:

Contiguity. Congressional districts shall be comprised of contiguous territory. Contiguity by water is sufficient.

Congressional Districts 1 and 3 are fully contiguous in both the 2023 and 2025 configurations (see Appendix B & C).

f. <u>Existing Political Subdivisions</u>. Point VIII of the 2025 Congressional Plan Criteria provides:

Respect for Existing Political Subdivisions. County lines, VTDs and municipal boundaries may be considered when possible in forming districts that do not split these existing political subdivisions.

Table 8 – NC 2023 & 2025 County/VTD/Municipal Splits

			Municipal Splits ⁷			
District	No. Counties Split	VTDs	(municipalities split / total splits)			
2023 Districts	11	20	48/103			
2025 Districts	12	21	49/105			

Source: Maptitude County Split & Community of Interest (COI) reports for the NC CD 2023 and 2025 district configuration.

The 2025 districts overall split one more county, VTD, and municipality. There are two more splits within municipalities than in the 2023 Congressional Plan.

- g. Overall, the 2025 amendments in S.B. 249 perform as follows compared to the 2023 district configurations:
 - i. The 2025 districts perform equally on Equal Population and contiguity.
 - ii. The 2025 districts modestly increase compactness. Both the 2023 and 2025 districts are consistent with the criterion to make "reasonable efforts" to form compact districts.
 - iii. The 2025 districts slightly increase county, VTD, and municipal splits, which perform worse on the criterion addressing "Existing Political Subdivisions" and the guidance that these metrics may be considered "when possible" to "not split these existing political subdivisions."

⁷ I determined municipal splits by extracting the cities, towns, and villages from the Census Places layer provided by Caliper and running Maptitude's Communities of Interest report function. The first number I report is what the General Assembly labels the "Municipality – District" Report, which reports the total number of municipalities that are split by district lines throughout the plans. The second number I report, which is not included in the General Assembly Statpacks, is the number of total times any municipality is split throughout the plans (thus counting a single municipality that is split more than one way as more than one split). I have confirmed that these municipal splits are consistent with those reported by the North Carolina General Assembly in their Statpacks, provided to by my counsel as JX081 (2023 Congressional Plan / Senate Bill 757 Statpack) and Klein Ex. 19 (2025 / Senate Bill 249 Statpack).

- 12. Overall, the changes to CDs 1 and 3 in Senate Bill 249 are not substantially different in plan performance for the criteria I analyzed, and do not show that the traditional redistricting criteria were improved under the 2025 configurations.
- 13. <u>Incumbency Analysis</u>: I conducted an incumbency analysis of 2025 CDs 1 and 3 using a document provided by counsel, JX056 (2023 Congressional Member Resident Address List). The only incumbent who changed from one district to another was Rep. Don Davis. Rep. Davis shifts from CD 1 to CD 3. He is now paired with Rep. Gregory Murphy in 2025 CD 3.
- 14. The findings and conclusions in this Report are based upon information that has been made available to me or known by me to date. My work in this matter is ongoing, and I reserve the right to modify, update, or supplement my analyses, findings, and any conclusions as additional information is made available to me or as I perform further analysis.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Dated: October, 31, 2025 Signed: Anthony Fairfax

Appendices

Appendix A - SL 2023-145/SL 2023-145 Plans Map Changes

Appendix B – SL 2025-95 Plan Maptitude Reports

Appendix C – SL 2023-145 Plan Maptitude Reports

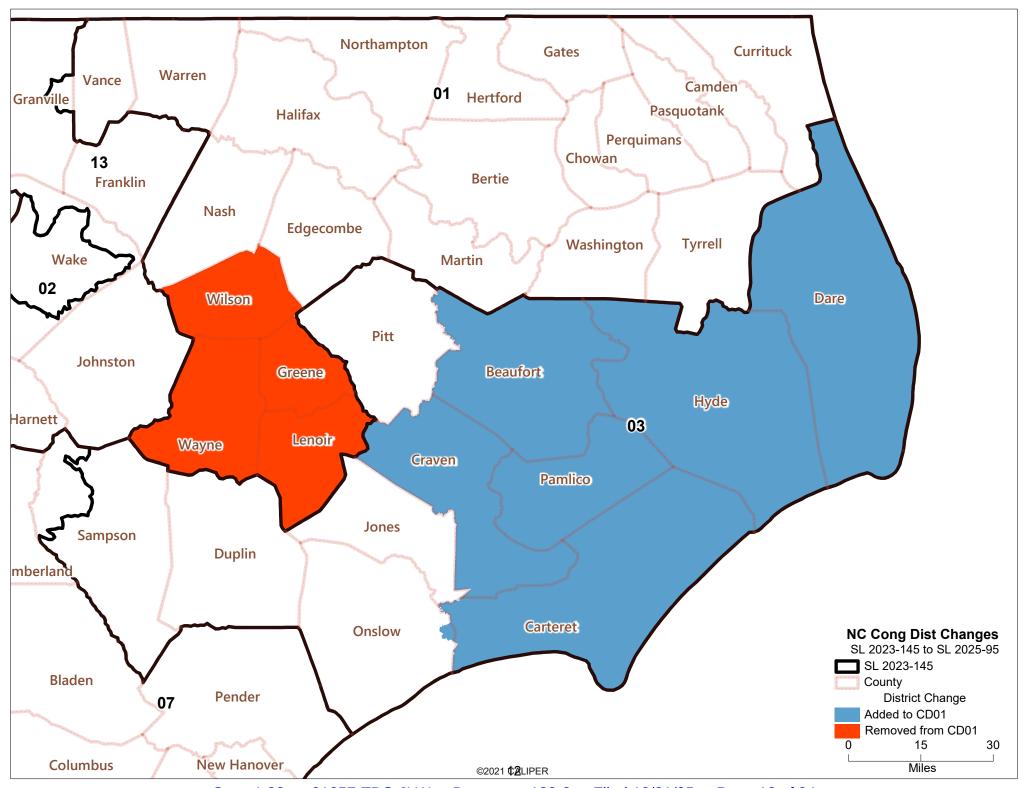
Appendix D – NC County's BVAP and %

Appendix E – Anthony E. Fairfax Resume

Appendix A

<u>SL 2023-145/SL 2023-145 Plans Map Changes</u>

SL 2023-145/SL 2025-95 Plan Districts 1 & 3 Changes Zoom Map



Case 1:23-cv-01057-TDS-JLW Document 183-2 Filed 10/31/25 Page 12 of 94

Appendix B

SL 2025-95 Plan Data Reports

Total Population #s & %s SL 2025-95 Plan Report
Voting Age Population #s & %s SL 2025-95 Plan Report
Citizen Voting Age Population #s & %s SL 2025-95 Plan Report
Contiguity SL 2025-95 Plan Report
Compactness SL 2025-95 Plan Report
County - VTD SL 2025-95 Plan Split Report
Census Places SL 2025-95 Plan Split Report
County List SL 2025-95 Plan Report
Census Place List SL 2025-95 Plan Report
SL 2025-95 Plan Core Constituency Report

Population Summary

Tuesday, October 28, 2025 5:44 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	NH_Ind	NH_Asn	AP_Blk	
01	745,671	0	0.00%	42,659	426,065	5,046	7,237	251,298	
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	96,435	400,547	1,930	43,558	188,408	
03	745,670	-1	0.00%	92,928	396,511	3,324	10,685	228,142	
04	745,671	0	0.00%	85,915	395,824	1,603	80,376	162,837	
05	745,671	0	0.00%	59,024	507,354	1,984	16,509	146,858	
06	745,671	0	0.00%	80,826	466,399	2,411	26,904	153,914	
07	745,671	0	0.00%	61,609	478,702	16,564	9,508	160,874	
08	745,671	0	0.00%	69,986	453,271	40,891	26,504	137,312	
09	745,671	0	0.00%	94,277	437,637	7,450	14,240	177,432	
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	84,946	493,055	1,773	19,390	130,655	
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	57,087	613,832	10,853	6,744	33,066	
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	131,029	267,498	2,001	42,199	295,073	
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	97,421	470,899	3,191	8,025	149,850	
14	745,671	0	0.00%	64,454	504,554	1,865	28,180	128,834	

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43 Population Summary NC CD SL 2025-95

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Tuesday, October 28, 2025 5:50 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Asn]	[% AP_Blk]	
01	745,671	0	0.00%	5.72%	57.14%	0.68%	0.97%	33.7%	
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	12.93%	53.72%	0.26%	5.84%	25.27%	
03	745,670	-1	0.00%	12.46%	53.18%	0.45%	1.43%	30.6%	
04	745,671	0	0.00%	11.52%	53.08%	0.21%	10.78%	21.84%	
05	745,671	0	0.00%	7.92%	68.04%	0.27%	2.21%	19.69%	
06	745,671	0	0.00%	10.84%	62.55%	0.32%	3.61%	20.64%	
07	745,671	0	0.00%	8.26%	64.2%	2.22%	1.28%	21.57%	
08	745,671	0	0.00%	9.39%	60.79%	5.48%	3.55%	18.41%	
09	745,671	0	0.00%	12.64%	58.69%	1%	1.91%	23.79%	
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	11.39%	66.12%	0.24%	2.6%	17.52%	
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	7.66%	82.32%	1.46%	0.9%	4.43%	
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	17.57%	35.87%	0.27%	5.66%	39.57%	
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	13.06%	63.15%	0.43%	1.08%	20.1%	
14	745,671	0	0.00%	8.64%	67.66%	0.25%	3.78%	17.28%	

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Maptitude

Population Summary NC CD SL 2025-95

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Tuesday, October 28, 2025 5:51 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[H18+_Pop]	[NH18+ _Wht]	[NH18+_Ind]	[NH18+_Asn]	[18+_AP_Blk]
01	745,671	0	0.00%	596,783	27,614	356,476	4,112	5,526	192,997
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	584,067	64,157	332,722	1,532	34,810	140,209
03	745,670	-1	0.00%	576,660	60,800	323,933	2,629	8,891	169,543
04	745,671	0	0.00%	574,606	56,330	320,577	1,250	59,465	124,857
05	745,671	0	0.00%	596,194	38,431	421,313	1,625	12,366	111,648
06	745,671	0	0.00%	578,293	51,069	382,738	1,992	19,452	111,667
07	745,671	0	0.00%	593,673	39,354	400,999	12,778	7,627	119,140
08	745,671	0	0.00%	563,332	44,048	358,376	30,715	18,535	99,678
09	745,671	0	0.00%	577,673	60,786	359,252	5,823	11,384	129,182
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	581,822	53,640	404,468	1,420	14,229	96,473
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	609,924	37,835	516,985	7,823	5,464	23,682
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	580,319	87,967	229,032	1,585	32,974	222,293
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	562,248	60,116	372,444	2,512	6,313	109,385
14	745,671	0	0.00%	579,505	42,164	410,318	1,539	20,566	92,298

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Maptitude

Population Summary NC CD SL 2025-95

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Tuesday, October 28, 2025

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% H18+ _Pop]	[% NH18+ _Wht]	[% NH18+ _Ind]	[% NH18+ _Asn]	[% 18+ _AP_Blk]
01	745,671	0	0.00%	596,783	4.63%	59.73%	0.69%	0.93%	32.34%
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	584,067	10.98%	56.97%	0.26%	5.96%	24.01%
03	745,670	-1	0.00%	576,660	10.54%	56.17%	0.46%	1.54%	29.4%
04	745,671	0	0.00%	574,606	9.8%	55.79%	0.22%	10.35%	21.73%
05	745,671	0	0.00%	596,194	6.45%	70.67%	0.27%	2.07%	18.73%
06	745,671	0	0.00%	578,293	8.83%	66.18%	0.34%	3.36%	19.31%
07	745,671	0	0.00%	593,673	6.63%	67.55%	2.15%	1.28%	20.07%
08	745,671	0	0.00%	563,332	7.82%	63.62%	5.45%	3.29%	17.69%
09	745,671	0	0.00%	577,673	10.52%	62.19%	1.01%	1.97%	22.36%
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	581,822	9.22%	69.52%	0.24%	2.45%	16.58%
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	609,924	6.2%	84.76%	1.28%	0.9%	3.88%
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	580,319	15.16%	39.47%	0.27%	5.68%	38.31%
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	562,248	10.69%	66.24%	0.45%	1.12%	19.45%
14	745,671	0	0.00%	579,505	7.28%	70.8%	0.27%	3.55%	15.93%

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Maptitude

5:52 PM

Population Summary NC CD SL 2025-95

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Contiguity Report

Wednesday, October 29, 2025 8:48 PM

District	Number of Distinct Areas
01	1
02	1
03	1
04	1
05	1
06	1
07	1
08	1
09	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1

Measures of Compactness Report

Wednesday, October 29, 2025

	Reock	Polsby- Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.28	0.14
Max	0.60	0.33
Mean	0.42	0.25
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.05
District	Reock	Polsby- Popper
01	0.49	0.33
02	0.49	0.27
03	0.60	0.26
04	0.45	0.25
05	0.30	0.23
06	0.41	0.29
07	0.50	0.28
08	0.35	0.27
09	0.38	0.16
10	0.28	0.28
11	0.30	0.27

	Reock	Polsby- Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.28	0.14
Max	0.60	0.33
Mean	0.42	0.25
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.05
District	Reock	Polsby- Popper
12	0.59	0.28
13	0.38	0.14
14	0.32	0.17

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact. **Polsby-Popper** The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

Wednesday, October 29, 2025 8:56 PM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 88
Voting District 2,645

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 12 Voting District 21

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0
Voting District 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 9 Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 3

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 21

County	Voting District	District	Population
Split Counties:			
Cabarrus NC		06	101,258
Cabarrus NC		08	124,546
Chatham NC		04	40,640
Chatham NC		09	35,645
Cumberland NC		07	191,667
Cumberland NC		09	143,061
Forsyth NC		06	108,247
Forsyth NC		10	274,343
Granville NC		01	10,818
Granville NC		13	50,174
Guilford NC		05	264,080
Guilford NC		06	177,649
Guilford NC		09	99,570
Mecklenburg NC		08	117,166
Mecklenburg NC		12	745,670
Mecklenburg NC		14	252,646
Onslow NC		01	4,853
Onslow NC		03	199,723
Polk NC		11	5,779
Polk NC		14	13,549
Robeson NC		07	38,268
Robeson NC		08	78,262
Sampson NC		03	46,127

Maptitude

Page 1 of 2

County	Voting District	District	Population
Sampson NC		07	12,909
Wake NC		02	745,670
Wake NC		04	231,502
Wake NC		13	152,238
Split VTDs:			
Cabarrus NC	12-13	06	7,807
Cabarrus NC	12-13	08	199
Chatham NC	EAST WILLIAMS	04	1,496
Chatham NC	EAST WILLIAMS	09	3,670
Cumberland NC	CROSS CREEK 14	07	81
Cumberland NC	CROSS CREEK 14	09	4,129
Forsyth NC	WALKERTOWN LIBRARY	06	466
Forsyth NC	WALKERTOWN LIBRARY	10	4,161
Granville NC	00SALM	01	1,252
Granville NC	00SALM	13	1,118
Guilford NC	JEF2	05	1,034
Guilford NC	JEF2	09	3,768
Guilford NC	NDRI	05	1,658
Guilford NC	NDRI	06	2,323
Mecklenburg NC	103	08	3,454
Mecklenburg NC	103	12	854
Mecklenburg NC	121	08	1,071
Mecklenburg NC	121	14	4,030
Mecklenburg NC	217	08	869
Mecklenburg NC	217	12	3,619
Mecklenburg NC	232	08	567
Mecklenburg NC	232	14	6,741
Onslow NC	SWANSBORO	01	4,853
Onslow NC	SWANSBORO	03	2,597
Polk NC	WHITE OAK	11	1,850
Polk NC	WHITE OAK	14	452
Robeson NC	PHILADELPHUS	07	462
Robeson NC	PHILADELPHUS	08	1,761
Sampson NC	PLAINVIEW	03	744
Sampson NC	PLAINVIEW	07	3,197
Wake NC	04-10	02	1,273
Wake NC	04-10	04	2,691
Wake NC	09-02	02	5,777
Wake NC	09-02	13	647
Wake NC	10-03	02	4,537
Wake NC	10-03	13	154
Wake NC	10-04	02	11,667
Wake NC	10-04	13	1,171
Wake NC	16-01	02	4,020
Wake NC	16-01	13	1,364
Wake NC	16-09	02	5,059
Wake NC	16-09	13	1,648

Communities of Interest (Landscape, 11x8.5)

Thursday, October 30, 2025 11:26 AM

City/Town	District	Population	%
Archdale City	06	130	1.1
Archdale City	09	11,777	98.9
Beech Mountain Town	05	613	90.8
Beech Mountain Town	11	62	9.2
Candor Town	08	813	100.0
Candor Town	09	0	0.0
Cary Town	02	84,668	48.5
Cary Town	04	83,005	47.5
Cary Town	09	3,271	1.9
Cary Town	13	3,777	2.2
Charlotte City	08	63,098	7.2
Charlotte City	12	709,319	81.1
Charlotte City	14	102,162	11.7
Clemmons Village	06	13,930	65.8
Clemmons Village	10	7,233	34.2
Columbus Town	11	0	0.0
Columbus Town	14	1,060	100.0
Concord City	06	47,474	45.1
Concord City	08	57,766	54.9
Davidson Town	10	378	2.5
Davidson Town	14	14,728	97.5

Maptitude

City/Town	District	Population	%
Durham City	02	269	0.1
Durham City	04	283,237	99.9
Elm City Town	01	0	0.0
Elm City Town	03	1,218	100.0
Fayetteville City	07	79,356	38.1
Fayetteville City	09	129,145	61.9
Fuquay-Varina Town	04	12,393	36.3
Fuquay-Varina Town	13	21,759	63.7
Garner Town	02	27,258	87.5
Garner Town	13	3,901	12.5
Greensboro City	05	224,189	75.0
Greensboro City	06	63,407	21.2
Greensboro City	09	11,439	3.8
Hickory City	05	32	0.1
Hickory City	10	43,379	99.7
Hickory City	14	79	0.2
High Point City	06	113,933	99.9
High Point City	09	126	0.1
Holly Springs Town	04	35,190	85.3
Holly Springs Town	13	6,049	14.7
Jamestown Town	06	7	0.2
Jamestown Town	09	3,661	99.8
Kannapolis City	06	52,324	98.5
Kannapolis City	08	790	1.5
Kenly Town	03	198	13.3

		• •	
City/Town	District	Population	%
Kenly Town	13	1,293	86.7
Kernersville Town	05	82	0.3
Kernersville Town	06	26,367	99.7
Kernersville Town	10	0	0.0
King City	05	6,606	91.8
King City	10	591	8.2
Long View Town	10	4,353	85.6
Long View Town	14	735	14.5
Lumberton City	07	454	2.4
Lumberton City	08	18,571	97.6
Matthews Town	08	25,816	87.7
Matthews Town	12	3,619	12.3
Mebane City	04	3,171	17.8
Mebane City	09	14,626	82.2
Mint Hill Town	08	22,547	85.2
Mint Hill Town	12	3,903	14.8
Morrisville Town	02	10,457	35.3
Morrisville Town	04	19,173	64.7
Oxford City	01	8,485	98.3
Oxford City	13	143	1.7
Pineville Town	12	2,700	25.5
Pineville Town	14	7,902	74.5
Raleigh City	02	464,574	99.3
Raleigh City	04	1,559	0.3
Raleigh City	13	1,532	0.3

		• •	
City/Town	District	Population	%
Red Springs Town	08	3,087	100.0
Red Springs Town	09	0	0.0
Rhodhiss Town	05	358	35.9
Rhodhiss Town	14	639	64.1
Rolesville Town	02	5,501	58.1
Rolesville Town	13	3,974	41.9
Rutherford College Town	05	0	0.0
Rutherford College Town	14	1,226	100.0
Seven Devils Town	05	275	87.9
Seven Devils Town	11	38	12.1
Sharpsburg Town	01	1,276	75.2
Sharpsburg Town	03	421	24.8
Summerfield Town	05	8,442	77.1
Summerfield Town	09	2,509	22.9
Surf City Town	03	334	8.6
Surf City Town	07	3,533	91.4
Swansboro Town	01	3,536	94.4
Swansboro Town	03	208	5.6
Thomasville City	06	26,662	98.1
Thomasville City	09	521	1.9
Tobaccoville Village	05	0	0.0
Tobaccoville Village	10	2,578	100.0
Wake Forest Town	02	32,623	68.5
Wake Forest Town	13	14,978	31.5
Walkertown Town	06	1,081	19.0

City/Town	District	Population	%
Walkertown Town	10	4,611	81.0
Wallace Town	03	3,413	100.0
Wallace Town	07	0	0.0
Wendell Town	02	9,765	99.7
Wendell Town	13	28	0.3
Winston-Salem City	06	33,949	13.6
Winston-Salem City	10	215,596	86.4
Zebulon Town	02	4,668	67.6
Zebulon Town	13	2,235	32.4

City/Town	Listed by District	
	Population	%
Elm City Town (part)	0	0.0
Oxford City (part)	8,485	98.3
Sharpsburg Town (pa	art) 1,276	75.2
Swansboro Town (pa	art) 3,536	94.4
District 01 Totals	317,765	
Cary Town (part)	84,668	48.5
Durham City (part)	269	0.1
Garner Town (part)	27,258	87.5
Morrisville Town (par	rt) 10,457	35.3
Raleigh City (part)	464,574	99.3
Rolesville Town (part	5,501	58.1
Wake Forest Town (p	part) 32,623	68.5
Zebulon Town (part)	4,668	67.6
District 02 Totals	659,218	
Kenly Town (part)	198	13.3
Sharpsburg Town (pa	art) 421	24.8
Surf City Town (part)	334	8.6
Swansboro Town (pa	ort) 208	5.6
District 03 Totals	337,373	

District 05 Totals	386,989	
Tobaccoville Village (part)	0	0.0
Summerfield Town (part)	8,442	77.1
Seven Devils Town (part)	275	87.9
Rutherford College Town (part)	0	0.0
Rhodhiss Town (part)	358	35.9
King City (part)	6,606	91.8
Kernersville Town (part)	82	0.3
Hickory City (part)	32	0.1
Greensboro City (part)	224,189	75.0
Beech Mountain Town (part)	613	90.8
District 04 Totals	593,960	
Raleigh City (part)	1,559	0.3
Morrisville Town (part)	19,173	64.7
Mebane City (part)	3,171	17.8
Holly Springs Town (part)	35,190	85.3
Fuquay-Varina Town (part)	12,393	36.3
Cary Town (part)	83,005	47.5
	Population	%

	Population	%
Archdale City (part)	130	1.1
Clemmons Village (part)	13,930	65.8
Concord City (part)	47,474	45.1
Greensboro City (part)	63,407	21.2
Jamestown Town (part)	7	0.2
Kannapolis City (part)	52,324	98.5
Thomasville City (part)	26,662	98.1
Walkertown Town (part)	1,081	19.0
Winston-Salem City (part)	33,949	13.6
District 06 Totals	473,633	
Fayetteville City (part)	79,356	38.1
Lumberton City (part)	454	2.4
Surf City Town (part)	3,533	91.4
Wallace Town (part)	0	0.0
District 07 Totals	333,761	
Charlotte City (part)	63,098	7.2
Concord City (part)	57,766	54.9
Kannapolis City (part)	790	1.5
Lumberton City (part)	18,571	97.6
Matthews Town (part)	25,816	87.7
Mint Hill Town (part)	22,547	85.2
District 08 Totals	471,095	

	Population	%
Archdale City (part)	11,777	98.9
Candor Town (part)	0	0.0
Cary Town (part)	3,271	1.9
Fayetteville City (part)	129,145	61.9
Greensboro City (part)	11,439	3.8
High Point City (part)	126	0.1
Mebane City (part)	14,626	82.2
Red Springs Town (part)	0	0.0
Summerfield Town (part)	2,509	22.9
Thomasville City (part)	521	1.9
District 09 Totals	411,757	
Clemmons Village (part)	7,233	34.2
Davidson Town (part)	378	2.5
Kernersville Town (part)	0	0.0
King City (part)	591	8.2
Long View Town (part)	4,353	85.6
Walkertown Town (part)	4,611	81.0
Winston-Salem City (part)	215,596	86.4
District 10 Totals	425,156	
Beech Mountain Town (part)	62	9.2
Columbus Town (part)	0	0.0
Seven Devils Town (part)	38	12.1
District 11 Totals	214,219	

	Charlotte City (part)	102,162	11.7
Distric	ct 13 Totals	210,167	
	Zebulon Town (part)	2,235	32.4
	Wendell Town (part)	28	0.3
	Wake Forest Town (part)	14,978	31.5
	Rolesville Town (part)	3,974	41.9
	Raleigh City (part)	1,532	0.3
	Oxford City (part)	143	1.7
	Kenly Town (part)	1,293	86.7
	Holly Springs Town (part)	6,049	14.7
	Garner Town (part)	3,901	12.5
	Fuquay-Varina Town (part)	21,759	63.7
	Cary Town (part)	3,777	2.2
istric	ct 12 Totals	719,541	
	Pineville Town (part)	2,700	25.5
	Pineville Town (part)	3,903 2,700	25.5
	Mint Hill Town (part)	3,903	14.8
	Matthews Town (part)	709,319 3,619	12.3
	Charlotte City (part)	709,319	81.1

Summary Statistics	
Number of City/Town not split	
Number of City/Town split	49
Number of City/Town split in 2	43
Number of City/Town split in 3	5
Number of City/Town split in 4	1
Total number of splits	105

County by District and by County

Wednesday, October 29, 2025						10:27 PM
	Population	% of	[18+_Pop]	% of	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of
		District		District		District
District 01	745,671		596,783		192,997	
Beaufort NC	44,652	100.00%	36,005	100.00%	8,283	100.00%
Bertie NC	17,934	100.00%	14,896	100.00%	9,001	100.00%
Camden NC	10,355	100.00%	7,887	100.00%	935	100.00%
Carteret NC	67,686	100.00%	56,213	100.00%	3,036	100.00%
Chowan NC	13,708	100.00%	11,114	100.00%	3,569	100.00%
Craven NC	100,720	100.00%	79,783	100.00%	16,661	100.00%
Currituck NC	28,100	100.00%	22,004	100.00%	1,279	100.00%
Dare NC	36,915	100.00%	30,445	100.00%	705	100.00%
Edgecombe NC	48,900	100.00%	38,189	100.00%	21,540	100.00%
Gates NC	10,478	100.00%	8,343	100.00%	2,622	100.00%
Granville NC	10,818	17.74%	8,521	17.68%	4,444	28.84%
Halifax NC	48,622	100.00%	38,975	100.00%	20,135	100.00%
Hertford NC	21,552	100.00%	17,639	100.00%	10,111	100.00%
Hyde NC	4,589	100.00%	3,785	100.00%	1,073	100.00%
Martin NC	22,031	100.00%	17,615	100.00%	7,218	100.00%
Nash NC	94,970	100.00%	74,574	100.00%	29,361	100.00%
Northampton NC	17,471	100.00%	14,372	100.00%	7,937	100.00%
Onslow NC	4,853	2.37%	3,802	2.41%	170	0.70%
Pamlico NC	12,276	100.00%	10,478	100.00%	1,896	100.00%
Pasquotank NC	40,568	100.00%	31,964	100.00%	11,738	100.00%
Perquimans NC	13,005	100.00%	10,592	100.00%	2,288	100.00%
Tyrrell NC	3,245	100.00%	2,574	100.00%	787	100.00%
Vance NC	42,578	100.00%	32,871	100.00%	16,430	100.00%
Warren NC	18,642	100.00%	15,292	100.00%	7,537	100.00%
Washington NC	11,003	100.00%	8,850	100.00%	4,241	100.00%
Total District 01	745,671		596,783		192,997	
District 02	745,670		584,067		140,209	
Wake NC	745,670	66.02%	584,067	67.91%	140,209	82.61%
Total District 02	745,670		584,067		140,209	
District 02	745 670		F7C CC0		160 543	
District 03	745,670	100.000/	576,660	100.000/	169,543	100 000/
Duplin NC	48,715	100.00%	37,043	100.00%	9,428	100.00%
Greene NC	20,451	100.00%	16,566	100.00%	6,175	100.00%
Jones NC	9,172	100.00%	7,481	100.00%	2,229	100.00%
Lenoir NC	55,122	100.00%	42,923	100.00%	17,369	100.00%
Onslow NC	199,723	97.63%	153,665	97.59%	23,964	99.30%
Pitt NC	170,243	100.00%	132,273	100.00%	47,241	100.00%
Sampson NC	46,127	78.13%	35,152	78.23%	10,434	90.20%
Wayne NC	117,333	100.00%	90,502	100.00%	28,806	100.00%
Wilson NC	78,784	100.00%	61,055	100.00%	23,897	100.00%

	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of District	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of District
Total District 03	745,670		576,660		169,543	
District 04	745,671		574,606		124,857	
Chatham NC	40,640	53.27%	32,813	53.98%	3,041	43.81%
Durham NC	324,833	100.00%	259,565	100.00%	92,051	100.00%
Orange NC	148,696	100.00%	119,527	100.00%	14,231	100.00%
Wake NC	231,502	20.50%	162,701	18.92%	15,534	9.15%
Total District 04	745,671		574,606		124,857	
District 05	745,671		596,194		111,648	
Alexander NC	36,444	100.00%	29,273	100.00%	1,816	100.00%
Alleghany NC	10,888	100.00%	8,942	100.00%	122	100.00%
Ashe NC	26,577	100.00%	21,984	100.00%	171	100.00%
Caldwell NC	80,652	100.00%	64,436	100.00%	3,506	100.00%
Guilford NC	264,080	48.79%	207,048	48.86%	83,228	56.98%
Rockingham NC	91,096	100.00%	72,783	100.00%	14,158	100.00%
Stokes NC	44,520	100.00%	36,049	100.00%	1,553	100.00%
Surry NC	71,359	100.00%	56,438	100.00%	2,322	100.00%
Watauga NC	54,086	100.00%	46,590	100.00%	2,378	100.00%
Wilkes NC	65,969	100.00%	52,651	100.00%	2,394	100.00%
Total District 05	745,671		596,194		111,648	
District 06	745,671		578,293		111,667	
Cabarrus NC	101,258	44.84%	74,336	44.37%	17,269	52.16%
Davidson NC	168,930	100.00%	132,179	100.00%	13,115	100.00%
Davie NC	42,712	100.00%	33,784	100.00%	2,163	100.00%
Forsyth NC	108,247	28.29%	83,827	28.19%	14,481	18.70%
Guilford NC	177,649	32.82%	139,199	32.85%	46,011	31.50%
Rowan NC	146,875	100.00%	114,968	100.00%	18,628	100.00%
Total District 06	745,671		578,293		111,667	
District 07	745,671		593,673		119,140	
Bladen NC	29,606	100.00%	23,426	100.00%	7,894	100.00%
Brunswick NC	136,693	100.00%	116,606	100.00%	9,916	100.00%
Columbus NC	50,623	100.00%	40,316	100.00%	12,073	100.00%
Cumberland NC	191,667	57.26%	144,267	56.69%	52,580	50.97%
New Hanover NC	225,702	100.00%	184,113	100.00%	23,247	100.00%
Pender NC	60,203	100.00%	46,608	100.00%	6,583	100.00%
Robeson NC	38,268	32.84%	28,553	32.28%	5,713	26.68%
Sampson NC	12,909	21.87%	9,784	21.77%	1,134	9.80%
Total District 07	745,671		593,673		119,140	
District 08	745,671		563,332		99,678	
Anson NC	22,055	100.00%	17,845	100.00%	8,079	100.00%
Cabarrus NC	124,546	55.16%	93,203	55.63%	15,841	47.84%
Mecklenburg NC	117,166	10.50%	88,994	10.35%	8,706	3.28%
Montgomery NC	25,751	100.00%	20,177	100.00%	3,475	100.00%

Page 2 of 4

	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of District	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of District
Richmond NC	42,946	100.00%	33,238	100.00%	10,143	100.00%
Robeson NC	42,946 78,262	67.16%	53,238 59,902	67.72%	10,143	73.32%
Scotland NC	34,174	100.00%	26,845	100.00%	10,379	100.00%
Stanly NC	62,504	100.00%	49,264	100.00%	5,810	100.00%
Union NC	238,267	100.00%	49,264 173,864	100.00%	21,542	100.00%
Total District 08	745,671	100.00%	563,332	100.00%	99,678	100.00%
District 09	745,671		577,673		129,182	
Alamance NC	171,415	100.00%	133,969	100.00%	27,878	100.00%
Chatham NC	35,645	46.73%	27,975	46.02%	3,900	56.19%
Cumberland NC	143,061	42.74%	110,214	43.31%	50,588	49.03%
Guilford NC	99,570	18.39%	77,516	18.29%	16,839	11.53%
Hoke NC	52,082	100.00%	37,472	100.00%	13,473	100.00%
Moore NC	99,727	100.00%	78,212	100.00%	9,011	100.00%
Randolph NC	144,171	100.00%	112,315	100.00%	7,493	100.00%
Total District 09	745,671		577,673		129,182	
District 10	745,670		581,822		96,473	
Catawba NC	160,610	100.00%	126,566	100.00%	11,181	100.00%
Forsyth NC	274,343	71.71%	213,561	71.81%	62,945	81.30%
Iredell NC	186,693	100.00%	143,795	100.00%	17,388	100.00%
Lincoln NC	86,810	100.00%	68,416	100.00%	3,975	100.00%
Yadkin NC	37,214	100.00%	29,484	100.00%	984	100.00%
Total District 10	745,670		581,822		96,473	
District 11	745,670		609,924		23,682	
Avery NC	17,806	100.00%	15,104	100.00%	718	100.00%
Buncombe NC	269,452	100.00%	219,874	100.00%	13,666	100.00%
Cherokee NC	28,774	100.00%	24,051	100.00%	404	100.00%
Clay NC	11,089	100.00%	9,234	100.00%	80	100.00%
Graham NC	8,030	100.00%	6,370	100.00%	81	100.00%
Haywood NC	62,089	100.00%	51,091	100.00%	758	100.00%
Henderson NC	116,281	100.00%	94,428	100.00%	3,161	100.00%
Jackson NC	43,109	100.00%	35,790	100.00%	1,057	100.00%
Macon NC	37,014	100.00%	30,345	100.00%	355	100.00%
Madison NC	21,193	100.00%	17,481	100.00%	295	100.00%
McDowell NC	44,578	100.00%	35,805	100.00%	1,654	100.00%
Mitchell NC	14,903	100.00%	12,246	100.00%	87	100.00%
Polk NC	5,779	29.90%	4,726	29.17%	91	13.98%
Swain NC	14,117	100.00%	10,975	100.00%	147	100.00%
Transylvania NC	32,986	100.00%	27,299	100.00%	979	100.00%
Yancey NC	18,470	100.00%	15,105	100.00%	149	100.00%
Total District 11	745,670		609,924		23,682	
District 12	745,670		580,319		222,293	
	745 670	CC 0F0/	E00 240	C7 400/	222 202	02 700/
Mecklenburg NC	745,670	66.85%	580,319	67.48%	222,293	83.70%

	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of [1 District	8+_AP_Blk]	% of District
District 12	745 670	District	F62 249	District	100 205	District
District 13	745,670	100.000/	562,248	100.000/	109,385	100.000/
Caswell NC	22,736	100.00%	18,596	100.00%	5,964	100.00%
Franklin NC	68,573	100.00%	53,144	100.00%	13,059	100.00%
Granville NC	50,174	82.26%	39,674	82.32%	10,963	71.16%
Harnett NC	133,568	100.00%	98,069	100.00%	21,657	100.00%
Johnston NC	215,999	100.00%	160,099	100.00%	26,787	100.00%
Lee NC	63,285	100.00%	48,392	100.00%	8,878	100.00%
Person NC	39,097	100.00%	30,963	100.00%	8,086	100.00%
Wake NC	152,238	13.48%	113,311	13.17%	13,991	8.24%
Total District 13	745,670		562,248		109,385	
District 14	745,671		579,505		92,298	
Burke NC	87,570	100.00%	70,018	100.00%	4,485	100.00%
Cleveland NC	99,519	100.00%	78,032	100.00%	16,017	100.00%
Gaston NC	227,943	100.00%	177,846	100.00%	31,549	100.00%
Mecklenburg NC	252,646	22.65%	190,712	22.18%	34,578	13.02%
Polk NC	13,549	70.10%	11,478	70.83%	560	86.02%
Rutherford NC	64,444	100.00%	51,419	100.00%	5,109	100.00%
Total District 14	745,671		579,505		92,298	

Core Constituencies

Tuesday, October 28, 2025 12:18 PM

From Plan: **NC CD SL 2023-145**

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 01	745,671 Total Population
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	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 01	473,980 (63.56%)	25,220 (59.12%)	226,191 (53.09%)	208,936 (83.14%)
Dist. 03	271,691 (36.44%)	17,439 (40.88%)	199,874 (46.91%)	42,362 (16.86%)
Total and % Population		42,659 (5.72%)	426,065 (57.14%)	251,298 (33.70%)

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 02 -- 745,670 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 02	745,670 (100.00%)	96,435 (100.00%)	400,547 (100.00%)	188,408 (100.00%)
Total and % Population		96,435 (12.93%)	400,547 (53.72%)	188,408 (25.27%)

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 03 --

745,670 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 01	271,690 (36.44%)	31,252 (33.63%)	132,531 (33.42%)	100,807 (44.19%)
Dist. 03	473,980 (63.56%)	61,676 (66.37%)	263,980 (66.58%)	127,335 (55.81%)
Total and % Population		92,928 (12.46%)	396,511 (53.18%)	228,142 (30.60%)

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 04 --

745,671 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 04	745,671 (100.00%)	85,915 (100.00%)	395,824 (100.00%)	162,837 (100.00%)
Total and % Population		85,915 (11.52%)	395,824 (53.08%)	162,837 (21.84%)

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 05 --

745,671 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 05	745,671 (100.00%)	59,024 (100.00%)	507,354 (100.00%)	146,858 (100.00%)
Total and % Population		59,024 (7.92%)	507,354 (68.04%)	146,858 (19.69%)

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 06 --

745,671 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 06	745,671 (100.00%)	80,826 (100.00%)	466,399 (100.00%)	153,914 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population		80,826 (10.84%)	466,399 (62.55%)	153,914 (20.64%)	

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 07 --

745,671 Total Population

Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
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From Plan: **NC CD SL 2023-145**

Pian: NC CD Si	L 2025-95, Distri		745,671 Total	•	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 07	745,671 (100.00%)	61,609 (100.00%)	478,702 (100.00%)	160,874 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population	n	61,609 (8.26%)	478,702 (64.20%)	160,874 (21.57%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 08	745,671 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 08	745,671 (100.00%)	69,986 (100.00%)	453,271 (100.00%)	137,312 (100.00%)	
Total and % Populatio	on ,	69,986 (9.39%)	453,271 (60.79%)	137,312 (18.41%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 09	745,671 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 09	745,671 (100.00%)	94,277 (100.00%)	437,637 (100.00%)	177,432 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population	on ,	94,277 (12.64%)	437,637 (58.69%)	177,432 (23.79%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 10	745,670 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 10	745,670 (100.00%)	84,946 (100.00%)	493,055 (100.00%)	130,655 (100.00%)	
Total and % Populatio	on ,	84,946 (11.39%)	493,055 (66.12%)	130,655 (17.52%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 11	745,670 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 11	745,670 (100.00%)	57,087 (100.00%)	613,832 (100.00%)	33,066 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	57,087 (7.66%)	613,832 (82.32%)	33,066 (4.43%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 12	745,670 Total Population		
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 12	745,670 (100.00%)	131,029 (100.00%)	267,498 (100.00%)	295,073 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population	on	131,029 (17.57%)	267,498 (35.87%)	295,073 (39.57%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 13	745,670 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	
Dist. 13	745,670 (100.00%)	97,421 (100.00%)	470,899 (100.00%)	149,850 (100.00%)	
Total and % Population	on	97,421 (13.06%)	470,899 (63.15%)	149,850 (20.10%)	
Plan: NC CD SI	L 2025-95, Distri	ct 14	745,671 Total	Population	
	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk	

Core Constituencies NC CD SL 2025-95

From Plan: **NC CD SL 2023-145**

Plan: NC CD SL 2025-95, District 14 -- 745,671 Total Population

	Population	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	AP_Blk
Dist. 14	745,671 (100.00%)	64,454 (100.00%)	504,554 (100.00%)	128,834 (100.00%)
Total and % Population	1	64,454 (8.64%)	504,554 (67.66%)	128,834 (17.28%)

Appendix C

SL 2023-145 Plan Data Reports

Total Population #s & %s SL 2023-145 Plan Report
Voting Age Population #s & %s SL 2023-145 Plan Report
Citizen Voting Age Population #s & %s SL 2023-145 Plan Report
Contiguity SL 2023-145 Plan Report
Compactness SL 2023-145 Plan Report
County - VTD SL 2023-145 Plan Split Report
Census Places SL 2023-145 Plan Split Report
Landmark Area SL 2023-145 Plan Split Report
Incumbency SL 2023-145 Plan Report
County List SL 2023-145 Plan Report
Census Place List SL 2023-145 Plan Report

Population Summary

Friday, October 17, 2025 10:54 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[Hispanic Origin]	NH_Wht	NH_Blk	NH_Ind	NH_Asn	
01	745,670	-1	0.00%	56,472	358,722	293,305	5,012	5,853	
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	96,435	400,547	169,050	1,930	43,558	
03	745,671	0	0.00%	79,115	463,854	150,509	3,358	12,069	
04	745,671	0	0.00%	85,915	395,824	146,731	1,603	80,376	
05	745,671	0	0.00%	59,024	507,354	132,275	1,984	16,509	
06	745,671	0	0.00%	80,826	466,399	137,415	2,411	26,904	
07	745,671	0	0.00%	61,609	478,702	142,530	16,564	9,508	
08	745,671	0	0.00%	69,986	453,271	122,694	40,891	26,504	
09	745,671	0	0.00%	94,277	437,637	154,852	7,450	14,240	
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	84,946	493,055	115,429	1,773	19,390	
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	57,087	613,832	24,359	10,853	6,744	
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	131,029	267,498	272,149	2,001	42,199	
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	97,421	470,899	132,640	3,191	8,025	
14	745,671	0	0.00%	64,454	504,554	113,588	1,865	28,180	

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Population Summary NC CD SL 2023-145

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Friday, October 17, 2025

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blk]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Asn]	
01	745,670	-1	0.00%	7.57%	48.11%	39.33%	0.67%	0.78%	
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	12.93%	53.72%	22.67%	0.26%	5.84%	
03	745,671	0	0.00%	10.61%	62.21%	20.18%	0.45%	1.62%	
04	745,671	0	0.00%	11.52%	53.08%	19.68%	0.21%	10.78%	
05	745,671	0	0.00%	7.92%	68.04%	17.74%	0.27%	2.21%	
06	745,671	0	0.00%	10.84%	62.55%	18.43%	0.32%	3.61%	
07	745,671	0	0.00%	8.26%	64.2%	19.11%	2.22%	1.28%	
08	745,671	0	0.00%	9.39%	60.79%	16.45%	5.48%	3.55%	
09	745,671	0	0.00%	12.64%	58.69%	20.77%	1%	1.91%	
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	11.39%	66.12%	15.48%	0.24%	2.6%	
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	7.66%	82.32%	3.27%	1.46%	0.9%	
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	17.57%	35.87%	36.5%	0.27%	5.66%	
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	13.06%	63.15%	17.79%	0.43%	1.08%	
14	745,671	0	0.00%	8.64%	67.66%	15.23%	0.25%	3.78%	

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Population Summary NC CD SL 2023-145

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Friday, October 17, 2025

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[H18+_Pop]	[NH18+ _Wht]	[NH18+_Blk]	[NH18+_Ind]	[NH18+_Asn]
01	745,670	-1	0.00%	587,318	35,824	297,776	228,397	4,038	4,654
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	584,067	64,157	332,722	129,098	1,532	34,810
03	745,671	0	0.00%	586,125	52,590	382,633	115,624	2,703	9,763
04	745,671	0	0.00%	574,606	56,330	320,577	115,856	1,250	59,465
05	745,671	0	0.00%	596,194	38,431	421,313	103,901	1,625	12,366
06	745,671	0	0.00%	578,293	51,069	382,738	103,739	1,992	19,452
07	745,671	0	0.00%	593,673	39,354	400,999	110,017	12,778	7,627
08	745,671	0	0.00%	563,332	44,048	358,376	92,662	30,715	18,535
09	745,671	0	0.00%	577,673	60,786	359,252	118,032	5,823	11,384
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	581,822	53,640	404,468	88,958	1,420	14,229
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	609,924	37,835	516,985	19,492	7,823	5,464
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	580,319	87,967	229,032	208,149	1,585	32,974
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	562,248	60,116	372,444	101,501	2,512	6,313
14	745,671	0	0.00%	579,505	42,164	410,318	85,143	1,539	20,566

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Population Summary NC CD SL 2023-145

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Population Summary

Friday, October 17, 2025 10:56 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blk]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Asn]	
01	745,670	-1	0.00%	7.57%	48.11%	39.33%	0.67%	0.78%	
02	745,670	-1	0.00%	12.93%	53.72%	22.67%	0.26%	5.84%	
03	745,671	0	0.00%	10.61%	62.21%	20.18%	0.45%	1.62%	
04	745,671	0	0.00%	11.52%	53.08%	19.68%	0.21%	10.78%	
05	745,671	0	0.00%	7.92%	68.04%	17.74%	0.27%	2.21%	
06	745,671	0	0.00%	10.84%	62.55%	18.43%	0.32%	3.61%	
07	745,671	0	0.00%	8.26%	64.2%	19.11%	2.22%	1.28%	
08	745,671	0	0.00%	9.39%	60.79%	16.45%	5.48%	3.55%	
09	745,671	0	0.00%	12.64%	58.69%	20.77%	1%	1.91%	
10	745,670	-1	0.00%	11.39%	66.12%	15.48%	0.24%	2.6%	
11	745,670	-1	0.00%	7.66%	82.32%	3.27%	1.46%	0.9%	
12	745,670	-1	0.00%	17.57%	35.87%	36.5%	0.27%	5.66%	
13	745,670	-1	0.00%	13.06%	63.15%	17.79%	0.43%	1.08%	
14	745,671	0	0.00%	8.64%	67.66%	15.23%	0.25%	3.78%	

Total Population: 10,439,388 Ideal District Population: 745,671

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 745,670 to 745,671

Ratio Range: 0.00
Absolute Range: -1 to
Absolute Overall Range: 1

Relative Range: 0.00% to 0.00%

Relative Overall Range: 0.00% Absolute Mean Deviation: 0.43

Population Summary NC CD SL 2023-145

Relative Mean Deviation: 0.00% Standard Deviation: 0.49

Contiguity Report

Friday, October 17, 2025 11:01 PM

District	Number of Distinct Areas
01	1
02	1
03	1
04	1
05	1
06	1
07	1
08	1
09	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: **NC CD SL 2023-145**Plan Type: **NC Cong Districts**

Measures of Compactness Report

Friday, October 17, 2025

	Reock	Polsby- Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.28	0.14
Max	0.59	0.29
Mean	0.40	0.24
Std. Dev.	0.09	0.05
District	Reock	Polsby- Popper
01	0.42	0.27
02	0.49	0.27
03	0.37	0.25
04	0.45	0.25
05	0.30	0.23
06	0.41	0.29
07	0.50	0.28
08	0.35	0.27
09	0.38	0.16
10	0.28	0.28
11	0.30	0.27

	Reock	Polsby- Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.28	0.14
Max	0.59	0.29
Mean	0.40	0.24
Std. Dev.	0.09	0.05
District	Reock	Polsby- Popper
12	0.59	0.28
13	0.38	0.14
14	0.32	0.17

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact. **Polsby-Popper** The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

Friday, October 17, 2025 11:02 PM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 89 Voting District 2,646

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 11
Voting District 20

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0
Voting District 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 8 Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 3

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 20

County	Voting District	District	Population
Split Counties:			
Cabarrus NC		06	101,258
Cabarrus NC		08	124,546
Chatham NC		04	40,640
Chatham NC		09	35,645
Cumberland NC		07	191,667
Cumberland NC		09	143,061
Forsyth NC		06	108,247
Forsyth NC		10	274,343
Granville NC		01	10,818
Granville NC		13	50,174
Guilford NC		05	264,080
Guilford NC		06	177,649
Guilford NC		09	99,570
Mecklenburg NC		08	117,166
Mecklenburg NC		12	745,670
Mecklenburg NC		14	252,646
Polk NC		11	5,779
Polk NC		14	13,549
Robeson NC		07	38,268
Robeson NC		08	78,262
Sampson NC		03	46,127
Sampson NC		07	12,909
Wake NC		02	745,670

County	Voting District	District	Population
Wake NC		04	231,502
Wake NC		13	152,238
Split VTDs:			
Cabarrus NC	12-13	06	7,807
Cabarrus NC	12-13	08	199
Chatham NC	EAST WILLIAMS	04	1,496
Chatham NC	EAST WILLIAMS	09	3,670
Cumberland NC	CROSS CREEK 14	07	81
Cumberland NC	CROSS CREEK 14	09	4,129
Forsyth NC	WALKERTOWN LIBRARY	06	466
Forsyth NC	WALKERTOWN LIBRARY	10	4,161
Granville NC	00SALM	01	1,252
Granville NC	00SALM	13	1,118
Guilford NC	JEF2	05	1,034
Guilford NC	JEF2	09	3,768
Guilford NC	NDRI	05	1,658
Guilford NC	NDRI	06	2,323
Mecklenburg NC	103	08	3,454
Mecklenburg NC	103	12	854
Mecklenburg NC	121	08	1,071
Mecklenburg NC	121	14	4,030
Mecklenburg NC	217	08	869
Mecklenburg NC	217	12	3,619
Mecklenburg NC	232	08	567
Mecklenburg NC	232	14	6,741
Polk NC	WHITE OAK	11	1,850
Polk NC	WHITE OAK	14	452
Robeson NC	PHILADELPHUS	07	462
Robeson NC	PHILADELPHUS	08	1,761
Sampson NC	PLAINVIEW	03	744
Sampson NC	PLAINVIEW	07	3,197
Wake NC	04-10	02	1,273
Wake NC	04-10	04	2,691
Wake NC	09-02	02	5,777
Wake NC	09-02	13	647
Wake NC	10-03	02	4,537
Wake NC	10-03	13	154
Wake NC	10-04	02	11,667
Wake NC	10-04	13	1,171
Wake NC	16-01	02	4,020
Wake NC	16-01	13	1,364
Wake NC	16-09	02	5,059
Wake NC	16-09	13	1,648

Page 60 of 94

County by District and by County

Friday, October 17, 2025 11:38 PM

Friday, October 17, 2025		
	Population	% of
		District
District 01		
Bertie	17,934	100.00%
Camden	10,355	100.00%
Chowan	13,708	100.00%
Currituck	28,100	100.00%
Edgecombe	48,900	100.00%
Gates	10,478	100.00%
Granville	10,818	17.74%
Greene	20,451	100.00%
Halifax	48,622	100.00%
Hertford	21,552	100.00%
Lenoir	55,122	100.00%
Martin	22,031	100.00%
Nash	94,970	100.00%
Northampton	17,471	100.00%
Pasquotank	40,568	100.00%
Perquimans	13,005	100.00%
Tyrrell	3,245	100.00%
Vance	42,578	100.00%
Warren	18,642	100.00%
Washington	11,003	100.00%
Wayne	117,333	100.00%
Wilson	78,784	100.00%
Total District 01	745,670	
District 02		
Wake	745,670	66.02%
Total District 02	745,670	
District 03		
Beaufort	44,652	100.00%
Carteret	67,686	100.00%
Craven	100,720	100.00%
Dare	36,915	100.00%
Duplin	48,715	100.00%
Hyde	4,589	100.00%
Jones	9,172	100.00%
Onslow	204,576	100.00%
Pamlico	12,276	100.00%
Pitt	170,243	100.00%
Sampson	46,127	78.13%
Total District 03	745,671	. 3.1370

	Population	% of District
District 04		
Chatham	40,640	53.27%
Durham	324,833	100.00%
Orange	148,696	100.00%
Wake	231,502	20.50%
Total District 04	745,671	_0.5070
District 05		
Alexander	36,444	100.00%
Alleghany	10,888	100.00%
Ashe	26,577	100.00%
Caldwell	80,652	100.00%
Guilford	264,080	48.79%
Rockingham	91,096	100.00%
Stokes	44,520	100.00%
Surry	71,359	100.00%
Watauga	54,086	100.00%
Wilkes	65,969	100.00%
Total District 05	745,671	
District 06		
Cabarrus	101,258	44.84%
Davidson	168,930	100.00%
Davie	42,712	100.00%
Forsyth	108,247	28.29%
Guilford	177,649	32.82%
Rowan	146,875	100.00%
Total District 06	745,671	
District 07		
Bladen	29,606	100.00%
Brunswick	136,693	100.00%
Columbus	50,623	100.00%
Cumberland	191,667	57.26%
New Hanover	225,702	100.00%
Pender	60,203	100.00%
Robeson	38,268	32.84%
Sampson	12,909	21.87%
Total District 07	745,671	
District 08		
Anson	22,055	100.00%
Cabarrus	124,546	55.16%
Mecklenburg	117,166	10.50%
Montgomery	25,751	100.00%
Richmond	42,946	100.00%
Robeson	78,262	67.16%

	Population	% of
Contlema	2/17/	District
Scotland	34,174	100.00%
Stanly Union	62,504	100.00% 100.00%
Total District 08	238,267 745,671	100.00%
TOTAL DISTRICT NO	/45,0/ I	
District 09		
Alamance	171,415	100.00%
Chatham	35,645	46.73%
Cumberland	143,061	42.74%
Guilford	99,570	18.39%
Hoke	52,082	100.00%
Moore	99,727	100.00%
Randolph	144,171	100.00%
Total District 09	745,671	
District 10		
Catawba	160,610	100.00%
Forsyth	274,343	71.71%
Iredell	186,693	100.00%
Lincoln	86,810	100.00%
Yadkin	37,214	100.00%
Total District 10	745,670	
District 11		
Avery	17,806	100.00%
Buncombe	269,452	100.00%
Cherokee	28,774	100.00%
Clay	11,089	100.00%
Graham	8,030	100.00%
Haywood	62,089	100.00%
Henderson	116,281	100.00%
Jackson	43,109	100.00%
Macon	37,014	100.00%
Madison	21,193	100.00%
McDowell	44,578	100.00%
Mitchell	14,903	100.00%
Polk	5,779	29.90%
Swain	14,117	100.00%
Transylvania	32,986	100.00%
Yancey	18,470	100.00%
Total District 11	745,670	100.0070
	-•-	
District 12		
Mecklenburg	745,670	66.85%
Total District 12	745,670	
District 13		

	Danislatian	۰, ۹
	Population	% of District
Caswell	22,736	100.00%
Franklin	68,573	100.00%
Granville	50,174	82.26%
Harnett	133,568	100.00%
Johnston	215,999	100.00%
Lee	63,285	100.00%
Person	39,097	100.00%
Wake	152,238	13.48%
Total District 13	745,670	
District 14		
Burke	87,570	100.00%
Cleveland	99,519	100.00%
Gaston	227,943	100.00%
Mecklenburg	252,646	22.65%
Polk	13,549	70.10%
Rutherford	64,444	100.00%
Total District 14	745,671	

Communities of Interest (Landscape, 11x8.5)

Friday, October 17, 2025

City/Town	District	Population	%
Archdale City	06	130	1.1
Archdale City	09	11,777	98.9
Barker Ten Mile CDP	07	129	13.8
Barker Ten Mile CDP	08	808	86.2
Beech Mountain Town	05	613	90.8
Beech Mountain Town	11	62	9.2
Candor Town	08	813	100.0
Candor Town	09	0	0.0
Cary Town	02	84,668	48.5
Cary Town	04	83,005	47.5
Cary Town	09	3,271	1.9
Cary Town	13	3,777	2.2
Charlotte City	08	63,098	7.2
Charlotte City	12	709,319	81.1
Charlotte City	14	102,162	11.7
Clemmons Village	06	13,930	65.8
Clemmons Village	10	7,233	34.2
Columbus Town	11	0	0.0
Columbus Town	14	1,060	100.0
Concord City	06	47,474	45.1
Concord City	08	57,766	54.9

		• •	
City/Town	District	Population	%
Davidson Town	10	378	2.5
Davidson Town	14	14,728	97.5
Durham City	02	269	0.1
Durham City	04	283,237	99.9
Fayetteville City	07	79,356	38.1
Fayetteville City	09	129,145	61.9
Fuquay-Varina Town	04	12,393	36.3
Fuquay-Varina Town	13	21,759	63.7
Garner Town	02	27,258	87.5
Garner Town	13	3,901	12.5
Germanton CDP	05	297	37.6
Germanton CDP	10	493	62.4
Greensboro City	05	224,189	75.0
Greensboro City	06	63,407	21.2
Greensboro City	09	11,439	3.8
Grifton Town	01	147	6.0
Grifton Town	03	2,301	94.0
Hickory City	05	32	0.1
Hickory City	10	43,379	99.7
Hickory City	14	79	0.2
High Point City	06	113,933	99.9
High Point City	09	126	0.1
Holly Springs Town	04	35,190	85.3
Holly Springs Town	13	6,049	14.7
Jamestown Town	06	7	0.2

		• •	
City/Town	District	Population	%
Jamestown Town	09	3,661	99.8
Kannapolis City	06	52,324	98.5
Kannapolis City	08	790	1.5
Kenly Town	01	198	13.3
Kenly Town	13	1,293	86.7
Kernersville Town	05	82	0.3
Kernersville Town	06	26,367	99.7
Kernersville Town	10	0	0.0
King City	05	6,606	91.8
King City	10	591	8.2
Long View Town	10	4,353	85.6
Long View Town	14	735	14.5
Lumberton City	07	454	2.4
Lumberton City	08	18,571	97.6
Matthews Town	08	25,816	87.7
Matthews Town	12	3,619	12.3
Mebane City	04	3,171	17.8
Mebane City	09	14,626	82.2
Mint Hill Town	08	22,547	85.2
Mint Hill Town	12	3,903	14.8
Morrisville Town	02	10,457	35.3
Morrisville Town	04	19,173	64.7
Mount Olive Town	01	4,193	99.9
Mount Olive Town	03	5	0.1
Oxford City	01	8,485	98.3

		• •	
City/Town	District	Population	%
Oxford City	13	143	1.7
Pineville Town	12	2,700	25.5
Pineville Town	14	7,902	74.5
Raleigh City	02	464,574	99.3
Raleigh City	04	1,559	0.3
Raleigh City	13	1,532	0.3
Red Springs Town	08	3,087	100.0
Red Springs Town	09	0	0.0
Rhodhiss Town	05	358	35.9
Rhodhiss Town	14	639	64.1
Rolesville Town	02	5,501	58.1
Rolesville Town	13	3,974	41.9
Rougemont CDP	04	832	83.1
Rougemont CDP	13	169	16.9
Rutherford College Town	05	0	0.0
Rutherford College Town	14	1,226	100.0
Seven Devils Town	05	275	87.9
Seven Devils Town	11	38	12.1
Spivey's Corner CDP	03	322	55.9
Spivey's Corner CDP	07	254	44.1
Stony Point CDP	05	986	86.0
Stony Point CDP	10	160	14.0
Summerfield Town	05	8,442	77.1
Summerfield Town	09	2,509	22.9
Surf City Town	03	334	8.6

City/Town	District	Population	%
Surf City Town	07	3,533	91.4
Thomasville City	06	26,662	98.1
Thomasville City	09	521	1.9
Tobaccoville Village	05	0	0.0
Tobaccoville Village	10	2,578	100.0
Wake Forest Town	02	32,623	68.5
Wake Forest Town	13	14,978	31.5
Walkertown Town	06	1,081	19.0
Walkertown Town	10	4,611	81.0
Wallace Town	03	3,413	100.0
Wallace Town	07	0	0.0
Wendell Town	02	9,765	99.7
Wendell Town	13	28	0.3
Winston-Salem City	06	33,949	13.6
Winston-Salem City	10	215,596	86.4
Zebulon Town	02	4,668	67.6
Zebulon Town	13	2,235	32.4

City/Town	Listed by District	
	Population	%
Grifton Town (part)	147	6.0
Kenly Town (part)	198	13.3
Oxford City (part)	8,485	98.3
District 01 Totals	339,057	
Cary Town (part)	84,668	48.5
Durham City (part)	269	0.1
Garner Town (part)	27,258	87.5
Morrisville Town (pa	rt) 10,457	35.3
Raleigh City (part)	464,574	99.3
Rolesville Town (part	5,501	58.1
Wake Forest Town (p	part) 32,623	68.5
Zebulon Town (part)	4,668	67.6
District 02 Totals	659,218	
Grifton Town (part)	2,301	94.0
Mount Olive Town (p	part) 5	0.1
Spivey's Corner CDP	(part) 322	55.9
Surf City Town (part)	334	8.6
District 03 Totals	412,871	

	Population	%
Archdale City (part)	130	1.1
Clemmons Village (part)	13,930	65.8
Concord City (part)	47,474	45.1
Greensboro City (part)	63,407	21.2
Jamestown Town (part)	7	0.2
Kannapolis City (part)	52,324	98.5
Thomasville City (part)	26,662	98.1
Walkertown Town (part)	1,081	19.0
Winston-Salem City (part)	33,949	13.6
District 06 Totals	488,512	
Barker Ten Mile CDP (part)	129	13.8
Fayetteville City (part)	79,356	38.1
Lumberton City (part)	454	2.4
Spivey's Corner CDP (part)	254	44.1
Surf City Town (part)	3,533	91.4
Wallace Town (part)	0	0.0
District 07 Totals	428,183	
Barker Ten Mile CDP (part)	808	86.2
Charlotte City (part)	63,098	7.2
Concord City (part)	57,766	54.9
Kannapolis City (part)	790	1.5
Lumberton City (part)	18,571	97.6
Matthews Town (part)	25,816	87.7
Mint Hill Town (part)	22,547	85.2
District 08 Totals	482,574	

	Population	%
Archdale City (part)	11,777	98.9
Candor Town (part)	0	0.0
Cary Town (part)	3,271	1.9
Fayetteville City (part)	129,145	61.9
Greensboro City (part)	11,439	3.8
High Point City (part)	126	0.1
Mebane City (part)	14,626	82.2
Red Springs Town (part)	0	0.0
Summerfield Town (part)	2,509	22.9
Thomasville City (part)	521	1.9
District 09 Totals	434,873	
Clemmons Village (part)	7,233	34.2
Davidson Town (part)	378	2.5
Germanton CDP (part)	493	62.4
Kernersville Town (part)	0	0.0
King City (part)	591	8.2
Long View Town (part)	4,353	85.6
Stony Point CDP (part)	160	14.0
Walkertown Town (part)	4,611	81.0
Winston-Salem City (part)	215,596	86.4
District 10 Totals	471,358	
Beech Mountain Town (part)	62	9.2
Columbus Town (part)	0	0.0
Seven Devils Town (part)	38	12.1
District 11 Totals	285,599	

Spencer Mountain Town	0	0.0
Rhodhiss Town (part)	639	64.1
Pineville Town (part)	7,902	74.5
Long View Town (part)	735	14.5
Hickory City (part)	79	0.2
Davidson Town (part)	14,728	97.5
Charlotte City (part)	102,162	11.7
District 13 Totals	243,136	
Zebulon Town (part)	2,235	32.4
Wendell Town (part)	28	0.3
Wake Forest Town (part)	14,978	31.5
Rougemont CDP (part)	169	16.9
Rolesville Town (part)	3,974	41.9
Raleigh City (part)	1,532	0.3
Oxford City (part)	143	1.7
Kenly Town (part)	1,293	86.7
Holly Springs Town (part)	6,049	14.7
Garner Town (part)	3,901	12.5
Fuquay-Varina Town (part)	21,759	63.7
Cary Town (part)	3,777	2.2
District 12 Totals	719,541	
Pineville Town (part)	2,700	25.5
Mint Hill Town (part)	3,903	14.8
Matthews Town (part)	3,619	12.3
Charlotte City (part)	709,319	81.1
	Population	%

Summary Statistics	
Number of City/Town not split	723
Number of City/Town split	53
Number of City/Town split in 2	47
Number of City/Town split in 3	5
Number of City/Town split in 4	1
Total number of splits	113

Appendix D

NC County's BVAP and %

North Carolina Counties Black Voting Age Population and %

Name	BVAP	BVAP%
Alamance NC		20.81%
Alexander NC	27,878	6.20%
	1,816	
Alleghany NC	122	1.36%
Anson NC	8,079	45.27%
Ashe NC	171	0.78%
Avery NC	718	4.75%
Beaufort NC	8,283	23.01%
Bertie NC	9,001	60.43%
Bladen NC	7,894	33.70%
Brunswick NC	9,916	8.50%
Buncombe NC	13,666	6.22%
Burke NC	4,485	6.41%
Cabarrus NC	33,110	19.76%
Caldwell NC	3,506	5.44%
Camden NC	935	11.86%
Carteret NC	3,036	5.40%
Caswell NC	5,964	32.07%
Catawba NC	11,181	8.83%
Chatham NC	6,941	11.42%
Cherokee NC	404	1.68%
Chowan NC	3,569	32.11%
Clay NC	80	0.87%
Cleveland NC	16,017	20.53%
Columbus NC	12,073	29.95%
Craven NC	16,661	20.88%
Cumberland NC	103,168	40.54%
Currituck NC	1,279	5.81%
Dare NC	705	2.32%
Davidson NC	13,115	9.92%
Davie NC	2,163	6.40%
Duplin NC	9,428	25.45%
Durham NC	92,051	35.46%
Edgecombe NC	21,540	56.40%
Forsyth NC	77,426	26.04%
Franklin NC	13,059	24.57%
Gaston NC	31,549	17.74%
Gates NC	2,622	31.43%
Graham NC	81	1.27%
Granville NC	15,407	31.97%
Greene NC		37.28%
Guilford NC	6,175	37.28%
	146,078	
Halifax NC	20,135	51.66%
Harnett NC	21,657	22.08%
Haywood NC	758	1.48%
Henderson NC	3,161	3.35%

Page 78 of 94

North Carolina Counties Black Voting Age Population and %

Name	D)/AD	D)/A D0/
Name	BVAP	BVAP%
Hertford NC	10,111	57.32%
Hoke NC	13,473	35.95%
Hyde NC	1,073	28.35%
Iredell NC	17,388	12.09%
Jackson NC	1,057	2.95%
Johnston NC	26,787	16.73%
Jones NC	2,229	29.80%
Lee NC	8,878	18.35%
Lenoir NC	17,369	40.47%
Lincoln NC	3,975	5.81%
Macon NC	355	1.17%
Madison NC	295	1.69%
Martin NC	7,218	40.98%
McDowell NC	1,654	4.62%
Mecklenburg NC	265,577	30.88%
Mitchell NC	87	0.71%
Montgomery NC	3,475	17.22%
Moore NC	9,011	11.52%
Nash NC	29,361	39.37%
New Hanover NC	23,247	12.63%
Northampton NC	7,937	55.23%
Onslow NC	24,134	15.33%
Orange NC	14,231	11.91%
Pamlico NC	1,896	18.10%
Pasquotank NC	11,738	36.72%
Pender NC	6,583	14.12%
Perquimans NC	2,288	21.60%
Person NC	8,086	26.12%
Pitt NC	47,241	35.71%
Polk NC	651	4.02%
Randolph NC	7,493	6.67%
Richmond NC	10,143	30.52%
Robeson NC	21,416	24.21%
Rockingham NC	14,158	19.45%
Rowan NC	18,628	16.20%
Rutherford NC	5,109	9.94%
Sampson NC	11,568	25.74%
Scotland NC	10,379	38.66%
Stanly NC	5,810	11.79%
Stokes NC	1,553	4.31%
Surry NC	2,322	4.11%
Swain NC	147	1.34%
Transylvania NC	979	3.59%
Tyrrell NC	787	30.58%
Union NC	21,542	12.39%
OTHOR INC	21,342	12.33%

Page 79 of 94

North Carolina Counties Black Voting Age Population and %

Name	BVAP	BVAP%
Vance NC	16,430	49.98%
Wake NC	169,734	19.73%
Warren NC	7,537	49.29%
Washington NC	4,241	47.92%
Watauga NC	2,378	5.10%
Wayne NC	28,806	31.83%
Wilkes NC	2,394	4.55%
Wilson NC	23,897	39.14%
Yadkin NC	984	3.34%
Yancey NC	149	0.99%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020 Census Data -Maptitude County Layer

Appendix E

Anthony E Fairfax Updated Resume

Anthony "Tony" Fairfax

16 Castle Haven Road, Hampton, Virginia 23666 Office Telephone: (757) 838-3881 Email: fairfax@censuschannel.com

Experience Highlights:

- Demographic, Geographic & Voter Data Analysis
- Multiple GIS Software/Census Data Skillsets
- Redistricting Plan Development & Analysis
- Gingles I & Racial Gerrymandering Analysis
- Redistricting Expert Reports & Testimony
- Redistricting Presentations & Training
- ESRI ArcGIS Map Applications & Dashboards
- Maptitude for Redistricting Proficiency

Education:

Master of Geospatial Information Science and Technology (2016) North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina

Graduate Certificate in Geographic Information Systems (2016) North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina

Bachelor of Science Degree in Electrical Engineering (1982) Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia

Work Experience:

CensusChannel LLC, Hampton, VA (2009 - Present)

CEO & Principal Consultant - Providing overall project management and operations as well as primary consulting services for clients. Also responsible for customer acquisition and support. Core tasks include GIS-centered services centering on redistricting support (extensive use and analysis of traditional redistricting principles); demographic/socioeconomic, geographic, and voting data; GIS, Census Data, and Redistricting training; GIS data processing/conversion; expert redistricting plan development, analysis, depositions, testimony, and training. Major clientele and projects include:

- NAACP, Baltimore, MD (2025 Present) Providing redistricting consulting services centered on analyzing multiple states' mid-decade congressional redistricting efforts by the major parties.
- City of Anderson, IN (2024 2025) Provided advice, consultation, and redistricting plan
 development services as redistricting consultant to the city. Efforts centered on developing new
 redistricting plan options for the city. The city ultimately approved the final plan that was
 developed.
- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Montgomery, AL (2023 2024) Providing redistricting
 training for SPLC participants covering a wide range of subjects from basic traditional redistricting
 criteria to Gingles 1 preconditions to Maptitude for Redistricting application.
- Southern Coalition for Social Justice [SCSJ], Durham, NC (2023 Present) Providing expert reports and/or deposition for redistricting court cases in Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas.
- Davies & Rouco, LLP, Birmingham, AL (2023 Present) Providing expert reports, analysis, illustrative plans, and testimony on Jefferson County commissioner's redistricting court case.
- Wisconsin Department of Justice, Madison, WI (2023 2024) Provided expert report, analysis, and remedial plan for Wisconsin's State Assembly and Senate District plans.

- NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), New York, NY (2022 Present) Providing expert reports, analysis, illustrative and remedial plans, depositions, and testimony for two Louisiana congressional redistricting court cases.
- The ACLU, New York, NY (2022 Present) Providing expert report, analysis, and illustrative plans for state senate redistricting court case in the state of Alabama.
- Southern Echo, Jackson, MS (2018 Present) Providing ongoing map-related educational and voting-related products pertaining to the state of Mississippi. Previously provided redistricting training sessions to Southern Echo partners throughout the south. Also provided GIS data, maps, and training to Southern Echo, community leaders, stakeholders, and subsequently in the field to groups working in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. Specifically, deliverables include mapcentered projects centering on education, GOTV, and redistricting.
- Town of Cheverly, MD (2022 2024) Provided advice, consultation, and redistricting plan development services as redistricting consultant to the town. Efforts centered on developing new redistricting plan options for the town.
- **U.S. Department of Justice, Washington DC (2022 2023)** Provided expert report, illustrative plan, deposition, and testimony for Galveston County, TX redistricting court case.
- City of Baltimore, MD Office of Council President (2022 2023) Provided advice, consultation, and redistricting plan development services as redistricting consultant to the city's Office of Council President. Efforts center on the alternative development of redistricting plans for the city.
- **Harvard Election Law Clinic (2022 2023)** Provided expert report for Jacksonville, FL, city council and Duval County, FL, school board racial gerrymandering redistricting court case.
- My Brother's Keeper Alliance, Chicago, IL (2022) Provided demographic and socioeconomic analysis of select neighborhood communities.
- The ACLU, New York, NY (2021 2023) Provided expert report, analysis, illustrative plans, depositions, and testimony for redistricting court cases in the states of Arkansas and California.
- The Power Coalition for Equity and Justice, New Orleans, LA (2021 2022) Provided technical advice and input for building an equitable redistricting process in Louisiana for communities, legislators, and organizations. Providing analysis and plan alternatives for the Louisiana state legislative House and Senate districts where Black voters could elect a candidate of choice.
- Crescent City Media Group, New Orleans, LA (2021) Provided redistricting training to the
 PreRedistricting Lab. Training centered on various educational presentations and hands-on sessions
 for community leaders and local/state legislators.
- Bondurant, Mixson & Elmore LLP, Atlanta, GA (2021) Provided statewide redistricting plan
 development for Georgia congressional districts. Tasks included being part of a three-member mapdrawing team that developed the proposed plan for the Georgia House and Senate Democratic
 caucus.
- NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), New York, NY (2020 2022) Provided redistricting development and analysis of various district configurations for city, county, and state-level plans.
- Crowd Academy [an SCSJ-sponsored effort], Durham, NC (2020 2021) Provided redistricting training and support. Training centered on presentations on "How the Lines are Drawn," which focuses on pre-plan development and plan development activities of redistricting. The target attendees included individuals in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. The effort also includes providing mentorship to Academy Fellows and Academy Mentors.

- City of Everett, WA, Everett, WA (2020) Provided advice, consultation, and mapping services as
 Districting Master to the city of Everett, WA's Districting Commission. Efforts centered on the
 development of the city's first districting plan. Also assisted with answering questions at public
 forums and developed an ArcGIS web map application for public access to all plans.
- NAACP, Baltimore, MD (2018 2022) Provided GIS consulting services via the NAACP (as fiscal agent) to the *Racial Equity Anchor Collaborative* (consisting of the Advancement Project, APIA Health Forum, Demos, Faith in Action, NAACP, National Urban League, NCAI, Race Forward, and Unidos U.S.). Efforts include developing the Racial Equity 2020 Census Data Hub. The Data Hub used ESRI's Hub Cloud platform, which centralized web maps, mapping applications, and dashboards, enabling collaborative partners to locate hard-to-count areas by major race or ethnicity.
- Campaign Legal Center, Washington, DC (2018 –2021) Developed illustrative redistricting plans, associated expert reports, depositions, and testimony in the Holloway v City of Virginia Beach court case. The Illustrative plans included two majority Hispanic, Black, and Asian combined districts to provide evidence of the first prong of Gingles for the city of Virginia Beach.
- Southern Coalition for Social Justice [SCSJ], Durham, NC (2015 2018) Provided several expert
 reports, depositions, and testimony for multiple redistricting court cases in North Carolina.
 Testimony, depositions, and reports included numerous plans at the congressional, state Senate,
 state House, and local jurisdiction levels. Analyses covered specific district characteristics, including
 population deviation, political subdivision splits, partisan performance, and incumbent effect
 analysis.
- The Rehab Crew, Durham, NC (2017) Provided geospatial & demographic analysis as well as
 website development and the creation of a proprietary application for the use of targeting real estate
 investment properties.
- Congressman G.K. Butterfield, NC (2016 & 2021) Developed several congressional district plan alternatives for the State of North Carolina. Provided analyses on alternative district configurations.
- Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), Montgomery, AL (2015 2016) Developed state Senate
 and House redistricting plans for the state of Alabama in response to the ADC v Alabama court
 case. Also, a series of thematic maps depicting areas added from the previous plan to the enacted
 plan was provided, showing concentrations of African American voters added to the enacted plan.
- Net Communications, Tallahassee, FL (2014 2015) Generated offline mapping and online web services (ArcGIS.com) of the client's energy company's resources and organizational assets.
 Mapping included the energy company's demographic, socioeconomic, and other resources.
- National NAACP Office of General Counsel, Baltimore, MD (2012 2013) Provided project
 management and developmental support for the creation of a final report for the NAACP National
 Redistricting Project. Provided planning, organizing, supplemental writing, and interfacing with
 graphics entity for the complete development of the final report.
- Congressional Black Caucus Institute (CBC Institute), Washington, DC (2011 2012) Provided contract duties as the Project Director and Consulting Demographer for the CBC Institute's Redistricting Project. Provided project management, redistricting plan development, review, analysis, advice, and answers to various questions pertaining to redistricting plans, principles, and processes. The focus included districts where Black voters could elect a candidate of their choice.
- Mississippi NAACP, Jackson, MS (2011) Developed state Senate plans and analyzed enacted plans that the State Court developed.
- African American Redistricting Collaborative (AARC) of California, Los Angeles, CA (2011) Provided demographic and redistricting contracted services. Responsible for developing

congressional, state Senate, and state assembly plans for the collaborative. Special focus was given to the southern Los Angeles area (SOLA) and the Bay Area region. In addition to plan development, several socioeconomic maps were developed to show various communities of interest commonalities.

Also, developed a demographic profile using maps and reports of California's congressional, state Senate, and state Assembly districts for the purpose of preparing for the redistricting plan development process by identifying areas of growth throughout the state. The profiles included data from the American Community Survey (ACS) 2005-2009 and the 2010 Census.

- The Advancement Project, Washington, DC (2011) Provided redistricting plan development
 services and training. Included was the development of a base map for a new seven (7) district plan
 in New Orleans that was further developed by community groups in Louisiana. The second effort
 included training a staff person in the use of Maptitude for Redistricting and in various redistricting
 scenarios.
- Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus (LLBC), Baton Rouge, LA (2011) Provided redistricting plan
 development services. Responsibilities included supporting Caucus members' efforts to develop
 redistricting plans for the state House, state Senate, and Congress. Developed or analyzed over
 eighty different redistricting plans. The effort also included testifying before the Louisiana Senate
 Governmental Affairs Committee.
- Community Policy Research & Training Institute (One Voice), Jackson, MS (2011) Developed the Mississippi State Senate plan, along with appropriate reports and a large-scale map.
- National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL), Washington, DC (2010) Provided services as
 the Project Director for a 2010 census outreach effort. Developed proposal and managed personnel
 to generate and execute a strategy to utilize Black state Senate and House legislators to place
 targeted posters in select hard-to-count (HTC) areas throughout the country.
- Duke University's Center for REGSS & SCSJ, Durham, NC (2010 2011) Contracted to serve as one
 of two Project Coordinators to support an expert preparation workshop hosted by Duke
 University's REGSS and the SCSJ.

Project Coordinator duties included developing, managing, and providing hands-on training for the Political Cartographer's side of a week-long intensive "redistricting expert" preparation workshop. The workshop trained 18 political cartographers from across the country on all aspects of redistricting plan development and the principles underlying it. Also, two hands-on redistricting scenarios were created to train large audiences on the plan development process.

Democracy South, Virginia Beach, VA (2004 - 2008)

Senior Technical Consultant - Provided technical, GIS mapping, data analysis, and management support for several projects and civic engagement-related efforts. Significant project efforts included:

- Senior Technical Consultant for the National Unregistered Voter Map. Developed a web-based interactive map that allowed visitors to view state/county-level information pertaining to the number of unregistered voters (2009)
- Co-Director of the Hampton Roads Missing Voter Project (a nonpartisan nonprofit voter engagement effort to increase voter participation with a focus on underrepresented population groups). The effort covered the seven major independent cities in Hampton Roads. Responsibilities included co-managing the overall civic engagement effort and were solely responsible for integrating and processing Catalist voter data into targeting maps and walk lists for all focus areas. Directly Responsible for overseeing the operations in Hampton, Newport News, Portsmouth, and Suffolk, Virginia (2008)

 Senior Technical Consultant for Civic Engagement Efforts. Provided telephone technical voter database support to 17 USAction state partners in 2004; and 12 USAction state partners in 2006. Trained client on VBASE voter data software; Performed voter data conversion; and voter targeting assistance.

Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Redistricting Project, Washington, DC (2001 - 2003)

Consulting Demographer - Provided services that included the development, review, and analysis of over 75 congressional district plans. Responsible for all setup and configuration of hardware and GIS software, and performed all development and analyses of redistricting plans. Congressional district plans were developed for 22 states. Also, performed as a redistricting expert advisor in a consolidated U.S. District Court Voting Rights case in Alabama.

National Voter Fund, Washington, DC (2000)

GIS Consultant (in a consulting partnership of Hagens & Fairfax) - Developed hundreds of precinct targeting maps for a civic engagement effort designed to increase the turnout in the November 2000 election. Efforts included geocoding voter data, integrating census data, and precinct mapping.

Norfolk State University, Poli. Science & Computer Science Dept., Norfolk, Virginia (1996 - 2001) Adjunct Faculty - Provided instruction to students for BASIC Programming, Introduction to Computer Science, and Computer Literacy courses.

GeoTek. Inc. (formally GIS Associates), Virginia Beach, VA (1992 - 1995)

Consultant and Co-owner - Provided geodemographic research and analysis; client technical & training support; hardware/software system installation; and redistricting manual/ brochure development. Major clients and tasks included:

- New York City Housing Authority Redistricting Training
- Maryland State Office of Planning Redistricting Tech Support
- City of Virginia Beach, VA Planning Dept. Redistricting Training/Tech Support
- City of Norfolk, VA Registrar Redistricting Training/Tech Support
- City of Chesapeake, VA Registrar Precinct Realignment

Norfolk State University, Political Science Dept., Norfolk, Virginia (1991 - 1999)

GIS Consultant - Provided a variety of geographic and demographically related tasks. Major Redistricting-related tasks included:

- Installed and operated the LogiSYS ReapS software that was used to perform the bulk of redistricting plans. Performed the intricate ReapS processing of the U.S. Census Bureau Topographically Integrated Geographic Encoded Referencing (TIGER) line files, Public Law 94-171 (PL94-171) demographic data, and the STF socioeconomic data series.
- Developed over 200 redistricting plans, located in over 60 jurisdictions, in the states of Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. Developed plans from city/county to legislative to congressional district.
- Traveled to and trained several university faculty personnel on setting up and utilizing the ReapS redistricting system. Also, trained on redistricting plan development principles.

Major GIS-related tasks included:

- Performed a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Transportation to analyze the ethnic
 differences in commuting behavior. This study extensively used the Summary Tape File 3A (STF3A)
 and the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) to identify, map, and report the frequency and
 average travel time to and from work for Miami, FL MSA; Kansas City, MO-KS MSA; and Detroit, MI
 MSA.
- Performed a study funded by the City of Norfolk, VA, and NSU School of Business that determined and analyzed the trade area of a section located in Norfolk, VA. Major duties included geocoding customer addresses, producing address-point maps, and developing demographic reports for the project.
- Performed a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
 (HUD) to revitalize a neighborhood located in Norfolk, VA. The purpose of the GIS component was
 to first establish a socioeconomic baseline, then track the progress of the revitalized area, as well as
 select surrounding areas. Geocoded address locations, generated points, and demographic
 thematic maps, and produced reports of the target areas.
- Provided demographic analysis of proposed newly incorporated areas in Florida for local Florida civic organizations.

Cooperative Hampton Roads Org. for Minorities in Engineering, Norfolk, VA (1991 - 1992)

Computer Consultant - Designed and developed a menu-driven student database, used to track hundreds of minority Junior High and High School students who were interested in pursuing science or engineering degrees.

Norfolk State University, School of Education, Norfolk, VA (1990 - 1991)

Technical Consultant/Computer Lab Manager- Provided a variety of support, including hardware and software installation, faculty workshops, course instruction, Network Administrator, and technical support.

Engineering and Economics Research (EER) Systems (1989)

Technical Consultant - Coordinated and participated in writing, editing, and formatting technical test documents; played a central role in the development of the Acceptance Test Procedures for the initial phase of a multi-million dollar Combat Maneuver Training Complex (CMTC) in Hohenfels, Germany; and was responsible for the final review and editing of all test documentation.

Executive Training Center (ETC). Newport News, VA (1988 - 1989)

Vice President & Co-founder - Managed over 11 part-time and full-time employees; assisted in developing and implementing company policies; performed the duties of the Network Administrator for a Novell-based computer training network; and taught several courses by substituting for instructors when necessary.

Engineering & Economics Research (EER) Systems. Newport News, VA (1986 - 1987)

Hardware Design Engineer and Electronics Engineer - Provided engineering and select project management support for the development of the following million/multi-million dollar project efforts:

- Baseline Cost Estimate (BCE) to be used in the procurement of the Combat Maneuver Training Complex - Instrumentation System (CMTC-IS)
- Operational and Maintenance (O&M) Support Plan at the National Training Center (NTC)
- Quality Assurance Surveillance Plan for the O&M Support Plan at the NTC; Configuration Management Plan for CMTC

- Requirements Operational Capabilities (ROC) Analysis for an instrumentation System at the U.S.
 Army Ranger School, Georgia
- ROC Analysis for an Instrumentation System at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
- Suggested Statement of Work for the Digital Data Entry Device (DDED); and the Concept Formulation Package and Requirements Definition to Support Interface and Integration of Red Flag at the NTC
- Phase II of a multi-million dollar GIS-based concept test demonstration. Performing as Assistant
 Test Director (ATD) liaison between the Government Director Army Ranges and Targets (DART)
 personnel and EER Systems' personnel; and assumed the role of Test Director when required (1987)
- Suggested Statement of Work (SOW) for a \$1 million procurement of Multivehicle Player Units (MVPUs) at the NTC. Performed as Project Task Manager for a team of engineers, computer programmers, and technical support personnel in the development of a position location player unit for the Army (1986)

Teledyne Hastings-Raydist, Hampton, VA (1982 - 1986)

Hardware Design Engineer - Designed and developed custom flow and vacuum measuring products; Project Manager for the production and completion of a \$.25 million flow measuring system; Electrical Engineer - Chiefly responsible for developing special products for customers.

Major Litigation Clients & Testimony Related Efforts:

Southern Coalition for Social Justice [SCSJ], Durham, NC (2023 - Present)

Provided expert report and illustrative plan for *Berger v. North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP* vote dilution case. Included expert report and deposition. Also provided an expert report and an illustrative plan for Finn v. Cobb County Board of Elections, a racial gerrymandering school board redistricting court case in Cobb County, Georgia. Developed supporting maps and population tables reflecting shifts in racial population from the prior plan to the adopted plan.

Davies & Rouco, LLP, Birmingham, AL (2023 – Present)

Developed expert report, illustrative plans, and provided deposition and testimony for Jefferson County's *Addoh-Kondi et al v. Jefferson County Commission* racial gerrymander redistricting court case. Developed supporting maps and population tables reflecting shifts in racial population from the prior plan to the adopted plan.

Wisconsin Department of Justice, Madison, WI (2023 – 2024) – Provided expert report, analysis, and remedial plan for *Clarke v. Wisconsin Elections Commission (WEC)* violation of the Wisconsin Constitution's contiguity requirement redistricting court case. The effort included Wisconsin's State Assembly and Senate District Plans.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), New York, NY (2022 – Present)

Developed illustrative and remedial plans, expert reports, and provided deposition and testimony for Louisiana's *Ardoin v. Robinson* congressional redistricting vote dilution court case.

The ACLU, New York, NY (2022 - Present)

Developed expert report, analysis, and Illustrative plans, and provided deposition and testimony for the *Alabama NAACP v. Allen* vote dilution state senate redistricting court case in the state of Alabama.

Election Law Clinic at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA (2022 - 2023)

Developed a declaration for the *Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP v. City of Jacksonville* racial gerrymandering redistricting court case. The declaration centered on "Core Retention" analysis tables

Page 88 of 94

presenting the demographic change in population of Duval County, FL, school board districts from the previously approved plan to the recently enacted plan. Also, the same case the prior year involved developing an expert report that contained a series of thematic and demographic maps and table analyses for Jacksonville, FL City Council districts, providing evidence of racial gerrymandering.

ACLU of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA (2022 – 2023)

Developed an illustrative redistricting plan and associated expert report for the *Inland Empire United et al v. Riverside County et al* redistricting court case. The Illustrative plan included a second additional majority Latino district as opposed to the county's plan of one.

U.S. Department of Justice, Washington DC (2022 – 2023)

Developed an illustrative redistricting plan and associated expert report for the *Petteway et al v Galveston County* redistricting court case. The Illustrative plan included the "Least Change" approach to bring the plan within acceptable deviation. The plan continued to contain a majority Black and Latino district as opposed to the state's plan. The plan, report, and deposition provided evidence of the first prong in *Gingles*.

Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), Durham, NC (2022 – Present).

Developed an expert report that included opinions on the state's expert report in the *LULAC et al v. Abbott* Texas state legislative redistricting court case. The report responded to any conclusions by the State's expert regarding minority vote dilution, specifically concerning the Fair Maps proposed plans.

NAACP LDF, New York, New York, NY (2022 - Present)

Developed an illustrative redistricting plan and associated expert report for the *Robinson v. Ardoin* redistricting court case. The Illustrative plan included a second, majority-Black district, unlike the state's plan. The plan, report, and testimony provided evidence of the first prong of Gingles, proving dilution of Black voting strength in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). The effort included plan development, expert report, rebuttal report, and testimony.

ACLU, New York, New York, NY (2021 – 2024)

Developed an illustrative redistricting plan and associated expert report for the *Arkansas State Conference NAACP v. Arkansas Board of Apportionment* preliminary injunction case. The Illustrative plan included five additional majority-Black districts, as opposed to the Board of Apportionment plan. The plan, report, and testimony provided evidence of the first prong in *Gingles* in proving dilution of Black voting strength in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). The effort included plan development, expert report, rebuttal report, and testimony.

Campaign Legal Center, Washington, DC (2018 – 2020)

Developed multiple illustrative redistricting plans and associated expert reports for *Latasha Holloway v City* of *Virginia Beach* court case. The Illustrative Plans included two majority Hispanic, Black, and Asian combined (Coalition) districts to provide evidence of the first prong in *Gingles* in the section 2 court case. The effort included an additional rebuttal, supplemental report, deposition, and testimony.

Virginia NAACP, Richmond, VA (2018)

Developed a statewide remedial plan for *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections*. The plan corrected 11 unconstitutional, racially gerrymandered state House districts in the Richmond, Peninsula, and Southside Hampton Roads areas.

Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), Durham, NC (2018)

Developed a demonstrative remedial redistricting plan and associated expert report, as well as provided a deposition for *North Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches v. Lewis* Wake County Superior Court case. The demonstrative remedial plan corrected the two Wake County, N.C. House Districts declared by a federal court to be racially gerrymandered districts (HD33 & HD38). The expert report not only discussed my results but also offered the Court insight into how a map drawer would reasonably go about fixing

Resume of Anthony E. Fairfax

racially gerrymandered districts while still complying with the state constitution's prohibition on middecade redistricting.

Texas NAACP, San Antonio, TX, (2017)

Provided expert report, deposition, and testimony for the *Perez v. Abbott* US Federal District Court Case. Analyses focused on specific redistricting criteria, including population deviation, compactness, political subdivision splits, and communities of interest for congressional and House plans. Additional analysis was performed on demographic projections for certain congressional and State House districts.

Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), Durham, NC (2015 - 2016)

Provided expert testimony, deposition, and expert report for the *City of Greensboro v The Guilford County Board of Elections* U.S. District Court Case. Deposition and report included several district plans for the city council of Greensboro, NC, and analyzed specific characteristics, including population deviation, political subdivision splits, partisan performance, and incumbent effect analysis.

Provided expert testimony and report for the *Covington v. North Carolina* federal redistricting court case. The testimony included an analysis from *Dickson v Rucho* (also *NAACP v North Carolina*) of compactness on state legislative House and Senate districts.

Provided expert testimony and report for the *Wright v. North Carolina* federal redistricting court case. The testimony and report included an analysis of population deviation, compactness, partisan impact, and incumbent residences for county commission and school board plans.

Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), Montgomery, AL (2015 - 2016)

Developed Senate and House redistricting plans for the state of Alabama for the *ADC v. Alabama* court case. Provided deposition on the creation of the plan. Also, a series of thematic maps was generated, depicting areas added from the previous benchmark plan to the enacted plan and showing concentrations of African American voters added to the enacted plan.

Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), Durham, NC (2014)

Provided expert testimony, report, and deposition for the federal redistricting court case, *Perez v. Perry* of Texas. The report included an analysis of population extrapolations and projections for several submitted plans for select congressional and House districts.

North Carolina NAACP, Raleigh, NC (2012)

Provided expert opinions and analysis in an affidavit for the *NC NAACP v. State of North Carolina* federal redistricting case (later *Dickson v Rucho*). The affidavit included an examination of compactness measurements for the Congressional, State Senate, and State House "Benchmark" plans, several approved plans, and several legislative-submitted plans. The report also contained county splits for the target districts.

Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ), Durham, NC (2011)

Provided expert opinions and analysis in an affidavit for the *Moore v. State of Tennessee* redistricting case. The affidavit included an analysis of county splits comparing State Senate "Benchmark" plans, the approved plan, and several legislative submitted plans.

Texas NAACP, San Antonio, TX (2011)

Provided expert report, deposition, and testimony for the federal redistricting court case *Perez v. Perry*. Testimony covered the evaluation of traditional redistricting criteria of the Congressional and Houseapproved plans compared to several proposed or legislative submitted plans.

Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus, Baton Rouge, LA (2011)

Provided expert testimony in front of the Senate and Governmental Affairs Committee. Testimony included the analysis of two redistricting plans comparing ideal population deviation, political subdivision splits (Parishes), and compactness ratios. Also, developed a redistricting plan and testified in front of the House Governmental Affairs Committee in support of a new majority-minority (African American) congressional district in Louisiana.

Morrison & Foerster LLP, Los Angeles, CA (2004)

Provided expert report on several state Senate plans for the *Metts v. Murphy* Rhode Island court case. The report contained analyses of communities of interest areas that were not included in the state's enacted plan for the only majority-minority district.

Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Redistricting Project, Washington, DC (2002)

Performed as the redistricting mapping expert for Congressman Hilliard in a consolidated U.S. District redistricting court case in Alabama (*Montiel v. Davis* and *Barnett v. Alabama*). Developed the submitted plan and provided advice to legal counsel for the court case.

Council of Black Elected Democrats (COBED) New York State, New York, NY (2002)

Performed as one of the redistricting experts (*Allen v Pataki/Rodriguez v Pataki*) by developing several New York State congressional district plans that COBED presented.

Miami-Dade, Florida (1993)

Provided expert technical redistricting support as one-half of the Expert Master's Team for the remedial Plan (*Meek v. Metropolitan Dade County*). Developed over 50 commissioner district plans for the county as well as the final adopted Plan for the metro Dade County.

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDEF), New York, NY (1993)

Provided expert technical support for the *Shaw v. Reno* Supreme Court case (via Norfolk State University). Analyzed and compared various compactness ratios for congressional districts throughout the U.S. The results were compared to the 12th congressional district of North Carolina. Also, developed several alternative congressional district plans.

Major GIS/Demographic/Redistricting Training and Presentations:

Southern Echo (2021)

Presented multiple training sessions (11 planned) on various aspects of redistricting. Included both presentations and, ultimately, hands-on (Dave's Redistricting)

Crowd Academy (2020 – 2021)

Presented multiple Training sessions (>25) that center on "How the lines are Drawn," which focuses on the plan development activities of redistricting.

Crescent City Media Group (2021)

Presented ten three-hour-long training sessions on various aspects of redistricting. Included both presentations and hands-on (Maptitude for Redistricting)

NAACP LDF/MALDEF Expert Convening (2021)

Provided multiple sessions to potential future experts on expert report development, giving depositions, and providing testimony.

SIF Voting Rights Convening (2021)

Presented on a panel, the unique aspects and issues pertaining to the 2020 round of redistricting.

SIF Voting Rights Convening (2020)

Presented on a panel where various preparatory aspects and questions that should be addressed prior to the development of plans.

Delta Days in the Nation's Capital, Washington, DC (2020)

Provided a panel presentation on suggested efforts in preparation for the next round of redistricting. Plenary presentation to several hundred Delta Sigma Theta (DST) sorority sisters throughout the country.

William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (2019)

Presented a lecture to the GIS and Districting course students, centering on improving as well as potential adverse trade-offs from improvements of the adopted redistricting plan chosen by the special masters of the *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections* redistricting case.

Southern Echo, Jackson, Mississippi (2019)

Provided detailed training/presentation (3 hours) on various aspects of redistricting. Topics included: Relevant redistricting court cases, traditional redistricting criteria, and redistricting data.

William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (2018)

Presented a lecture to the GIS and Districting course students, centering on aspects of the *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections* redistricting case. The discussion focused on how to develop a plan to correct the 11 unconstitutional, racially gerrymandered House districts in those states.

Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Washington, DC (2016)

Presented at the annual legislative conference in Tunica, MS. Presented the election demographic analysis for the 2016 presidential and Senate elections. The panel also included Congressman Cedrick Richmond (L.A.), Congressman Sanford Bishop (G.A.), and Professor Spencer Overton.

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), Chicago, IL (2015)

Presented at the annual CBTU conference on the election panel that included Congressman Al Green (TX) and Congressman Bobby Rush (I.L.).

Nobel Women's Initiative, Washington, DC (2015)

Presented on a panel at the annual conference in San Diego, CA, on the upcoming 2020 census.

Tennessee NAACP, Nashville, TN (2011)

Provided redistricting training session on the mapping and demographic aspects of Redistricting.

Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Washington, DC (2002 - 2012, 2014)

Presented "The Demographics of Campaigns" twelve times at the institute's annual political campaign "Boot Camp." The presentation covers how to locate and utilize demographic data for political campaigns.

Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF), Washington, DC (2011)

Presented as one of the panelists at the" Judge A. Leon Higginbotham" Braintrust at the CBC Annual Legislative Conference. The panel was moderated by Congressman Mel Watt.

The Advancement Project, Washington, DC (2011)

Trained staff GIS person on Maptitude for Redistricting as well as on redistricting scenarios.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Baltimore, MD (2011)

Provided training session on "Redistricting Mapping Overview "at the organization's national redistricting training seminar for state and local chapters.

Major GIS/Demographic/Redistricting Training and Presentations (cont.):

Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Washington, DC (2010)

Presented at the annual CBC Institute conference in Tunica, MS (The panel included Congressman John Lewis and Congressman Jim Clyburn). Outlined two critical issues that would surface in the 2010 round of redistricting: 1) Prison-based Gerrymander, and 2) The use of Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP).

Community Census and Redistricting Institute (CCRI), Durham, NC (2010)

Developed, managed, and provided hands-on training for the Political Cartographer's side of a week-long intensive "redistricting expert" preparation workshop. The workshop trained 18 political cartographers on all aspects of plan development.

North Carolina University's Center for Civil Rights, Chapel Hill, NC (2010)

Provided a presentation on "Redistricting Laws & GIS" at the *Unfinished Work* conference. The presentation outlined the evolution of major redistricting laws and GIS and their impact on minority representation.

NAACP Legal Defense Fund AIRLIE Conference, AIRLIE, VA (2010)

Provided training using hands-on "paper" redistricting scenarios to voting rights advocates on developing a plan without the use of computers.

Young Elected Officials, Los Angeles, CA (2010)

Provided training using hands-on "paper" redistricting scenarios to young legislators on developing a plan without the use of computers.

Young Elected Officials, Alexandria, VA (2010)

Provided overview training on the significant aspects of redistricting to young legislators.

North Carolina University's Center for Civil Rights, Chapel Hill, NC (2006)

Provided a presentation on "Congressional Elections Won by African Americans Race & Ethnicity District Perspective (1960 - 2004)" at the *Who Draws the Lines? The Consequences of Redistricting Reform for Minority Voters* conference.

Howard University - Continuing Education - HBCU GIS Workshop, Washington, DC (2002)

Provided a presentation on redistricting and the use of Maptitude for Redistricting to faculty members of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

Norfolk State University Redistricting Project Training Workshops (1991 - 1998)

Provided redistricting training to the following:

- Alabama State University, Montgomery, Alabama
- Albany State University, Albany, Georgia
- Florida A & M, Tallahassee, Florida
- National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta, Georgia Conference
- Norfolk State University, Norfolk, Virginia
- North Carolina A & T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina
- North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina
- Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
- Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts

Major GIS/Redistricting/Voter Data Software Experience:

- ArcGIS GIS Software Primary GIS Software after 2012 (ESRI)
- ArcGIS Online Including Story Maps & Web Application Builder (<u>ArcGIS.com</u>)
- GRASS GIS Open-Source GIS (<u>OSGeo</u>)
- Maptitude for Redistricting Primary Redistricting software, since 2001 (<u>Caliper</u>)
- ESRI Redistricting Online Beta Tester (ESRI)
- Public Mapping Project Initial Advisory Board Member (an open-source online software)
- ReapS Redistricting and Reapportionment System Redistricting software, 1990s (<u>LogiSYS</u>)
- Voter Activation Network System NPGVAN
- Voterlistonline.com Aristotle software Aristotle

GIS Skillset/Coding Languages:

Geocoding Data

- Suitability Analysis
- Python

- Linear Referencing
- Image Classification

ArcGIS Web Services

PostgreSQ

- Digital Cardinality
- pdAdmin
- Spatial Statistics
- _

ESRI Training Certificates:

- Learning ArcGIS Desktop (for ArcGIS 10) 24 hrs. training
- Turning Data into Information Using ArcGIS 10 18 hrs. training
- Basics of Raster Data (for ArcGIS 10) 3 hrs.. training
- Using Raster Data for Site Selection (for ArcGIS 10) 3 hrs. training
- Working with Geodatabase Domains and Subtypes in ArcGIS 3 hrs. training
- Network Analysis Using ArcGIS 3 hrs. training.

Publications:

Books

- An Introduction to the Presidential Trend, Statistical Press, March 2015
- The Presidential Trend, Statistical Press, December 2013
- A Step-by-Step Guide to Using Census 2000 Data, MediaChannel LLC, March 2004. Also included
 was a companion CD-ROM (sold through various Census-related workshops and training sessions
 and used in a political science course).

<u>Manuals</u>

 A Beginner's Guide to Using Census 2000 Data, November 2002 (Co-authored- developed for the U.S. Census Bureau's Census Information Centers)

Articles

 "Precision Voter Targeting: GIS Maps Out a Strategy," Geo Info Systems, November 1996 (Coauthored one of the first articles published on using modern-day GIS for voter targeting).

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA	WILL	JAMS,	et a	l.,
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Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Supplemental Expert Report of Dr. Kassra A.R. Oskooii

October 31, 2025

I. Executive Summary

- 1. I am a tenured Associate Professor in the department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware. I submitted an expert report in this case on August 1, 2024 which sets forth my qualifications and compensation. I also submitted a reply report in this case on October 17, 2024, a supplemental report on November 3, 2024, a second supplemental report on March 17, 2025, and a supplemental rebuttal report on March 31, 2025. I testified at trial in Winston-Salem in June of 2025, and I understand my reports and their accompanying exhibits were admitted into evidence as Plaintiffs' Exhibits NAACPPX189-94, 202-03, 208-11, and 215. My compensation is not in any way contingent on the content of my opinions or the outcome of this matter. My updated curriculum vitae is included in **Appendix B**.
- 2. I was asked to provide this Supplemental Report to analyze the changes to the 2023 Congressional Plan adopted by the North Carolina General Assembly on October 22, 2025, in Senate Bill 249, and specifically to provide a performance analysis on Congressional Legislative Districts (CLDs) 1 and 3 under their 2023 and 2025 configurations.¹
- 3. For this report, I was asked to apply the same methods of performance analysis used in my previous reports and the same electoral data, *see* NAACPPX189 at 14-16. I applied these electoral data sets to analyze the 2025 Congressional Districts, utilizing the block assignment file for Senate Bill 249 from the North Carolina General Assembly's website.²
- 4. The results of my performance analysis by election and district are appended to this Report in **Appendix A** (Tables A1-A6). Below I have included summary tables showing the performance over all 64 statewide exogenous general elections³ from 2016 through 2024 for Congressional Districts 1 and 3 under the 2023 and 2025 districts:

¹ A performance analysis reconstructs previous election results based on various district boundaries (e.g., 2023 Enacted vs. 2025 Enacted Districts), to determine which contests the preferred candidates of minority voters (*e.g.*, Black voters) win or lose.

² I sourced the block assignment file for Senate Bill 249 from https://www.ncleg.gov/Committees/CommitteeInfo/SenateStanding/154/Documents/19984. I understand from counsel that this draft, "CCM-2," was adopted without amendment in the redistricting process.

³ I do not consider any endogenous contests for comparing electoral performance across plans and districts because the congressional district boundaries were redrawn. As a result, voters within the 2025 amended congressional districts did not all vote for the same congressional candidates in the 2024 general election.

Table 1: Summary of 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3 Electoral Performance Results

Plan	Racial Composit	ion of Districts	Success of Black-Preferred Candidates by Election Year				
2023 Enacted	2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP)		2024 (15 Elections)	2022 (7 Elections)	2020 (20 Elections)	2018 (4 Elections)	2016 (18 Elections)
CLD	% NH White	% Black	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate
1	50.70%	40.42%	40%	0%	90%	100%	100%
3	65.28%	21.35%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%

Table 2: Summary of 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3 Electoral Performance Results

Plan	Racial Composit	ion of Districts	Success of Black-Preferred Candidates by Election Year				
2025 Enacted	2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP)		2024 (15 Elections)	2022 (7 Elections)	2020 (20 Elections)	2018 (4 Elections)	2016 (18 Elections)
CLD	% NH White	% Black	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate	Win Rate
1	59.73%	32.34%	7%	0%	5%	50%	33%
3	56.17%	29.40%	7%	0%	0%	50%	17%

5. As I found in my March 2025 Supplemental Report, NAACPPX208 ¶ 70:

In CLD 1, the VAP is 50.70% White and 40.42% Black. The performance results show that Black-preferred candidates won 6 out of 15 exogenous contests (40%) in the 2024 election. This represents a decline compared to the 2020 and 2016 presidential election cycles, in which the Black-preferred candidates won 90% and 100% of the contests, respectively. It also represents a significantly lower win rate than that of Black-preferred candidates in Interim CLD 1, suggesting that Black voters will have comparatively less success in overcoming White bloc voting in 2023 Enacted CLD 1 than in 2022 Interim CLD 1. However, in the 2024 congressional race, Black-preferred candidate Don Davis narrowly defeated White-preferred candidate Laurie Buckhout (49.52% vs. 47.87%).

6. Based on performance results from a comprehensive series of election contests spanning 2016 through 2024, I conclude that it is highly unlikely for either of the 2025 Enacted districts—CLD 1 or CLD 3—to perform for Black-preferred candidates.⁴

⁴ Black-preferred candidates were originally identified in my prior reports through comprehensive racially polarized voting (RPV) analyses conducted across multiple jurisdictions in the state. As a secondary verification, I replicated these RPV analyses using the same methodological approach applied in my earlier work, *see* NAACPPX189 at 12-14, focusing on the most recent presidential (2024) and midterm (2022)

Between 2020 and 2024, Black-preferred candidates in both districts almost never prevailed, with win rates ranging from 0% to no higher than 7%. In 2018, Black-preferred candidates prevailed in 2 of 4 contests within the 2025 CLD 1 and 3 boundaries. However, both victories occurred in three-candidate races in which two White-preferred candidates split the vote, resulting in wins by plurality rather than majority. Looking further back to 2016, Black-preferred candidates lost most contests in both districts, with win rates of 33% in CLD 1 and 17% in CLD 3.

- 7. Comparing results for CLD 1 under the 2023 and 2025 district configurations reveals a clear decline in the electoral performance of Black-preferred candidates. Under 2023 CLD 1, Black-preferred candidates achieved a 40% win rate in the 2024 general election, whereas under 2025 CLD 1, that rate dropped sharply to just 7%. Both districts show a 0% win rate in the 2022 general election. In earlier election years, Black-preferred candidates performed substantially better under 2023 CLD 1, with win rates of 90% in 2020, 100% in 2018, and 100% in 2016, compared to markedly lower levels of success under the 2025 Enacted configuration—5% in 2020, 50% in 2018, and 33% in 2016.
- 8. Comparing results for CLD 3 under the 2023 and 2025 district configurations reveals that both district configurations are highly unlikely to perform for Black-preferred candidates.
- 9. The findings and conclusions in this Report are based upon information that has been made available to me or known by me to date. My work in this matter is ongoing and I reserve the right to modify, update, or supplement my analyses, findings, and any conclusions as additional information is made available to me or as I perform further analysis.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.

Kassra A.R. Oskooii 10/31/2025

dr. Oshan

election cycles and applying the 2025 Enacted CLD 1 and CLD 3 boundaries. As reported in **Appendix A** (Tables A7–A14), the results confirm that candidate preferences among Black and White voters remained consistent within the new 2025 districts. In short, this supplemental analysis found no divergence in candidate preferences between Black and White voters for 2025 CLDs 1 and 3.

Appendix A

Figure A1: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2024 General Election Contests

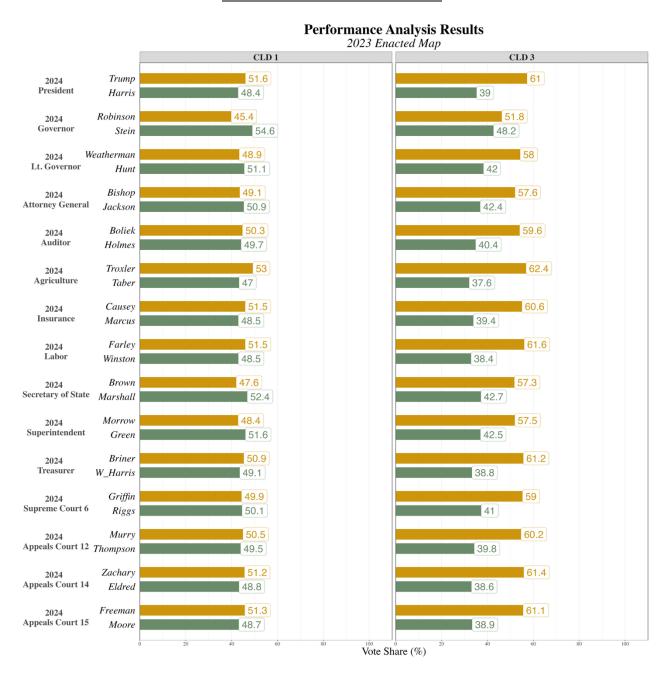


Figure A2: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2024 General Election Contests

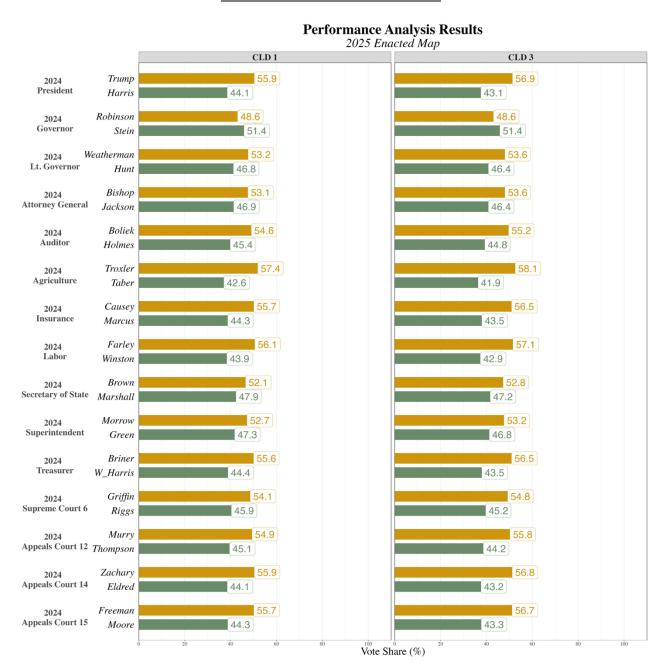


Figure A3: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2022 & 2022 General Election Contests

Performance Analysis Results 2023 Enacted Map CLD 1 CLD 3 Budd53 61.6 2022 U.S. Senate 38.4 Beasley Dietz 62.7 2022 53.1 Supreme Court 3 37.3 46.9 Inman Allen 53.1 62.1 2022 Supreme Court 5 46.9 37.9 Ervin Flood 53.3 2022 Appeals Court 8 Thompson 38 46.7 2022 Stroud 54.8 63.7 Appeals Court 9 36.3 Salmon 45.2 Tyson 53.9 62.4 2022 Appeals Court 10 46.1 37.6 Adams Stading 62.5 2022 53.7 Appeals Court 11 37.5 Jackson 46.3 49 4 2020 Trump 58.8 President Biden 50.6 Tillis 48.6 2020 58.3 U.S. Senate Cunningham 51.4 46.7 2020 Forest 56.3 Governor Cooper 53.3 49.6 2020 Robinson 59.5 Lt. Governor 40.5 Holley50.4 ONeill 47 4 2020 57.8 Attorney General 52.6 Stein45 1 2020 Street Auditor Wood54.9 44.4 51.1 2020 Troxler 60.6 39.4 Agriculture Wadsworth 48.9 48.6 2020 Causey 59.1 40.9 Insurance Goodwin 51.4 48.4 2020 Dobson Labor Holmes 51.6 42.2 45.9 2020 Sykes 43.9 Secretary of State Marshall 54.1 48.9 2020 Truitt Superintendent Mangrum 51.1 41.3 50.1 Folwell Treasurer Chatterji49.9 40.7 Newby 48.1 Supreme Court 1 Beasley 51.9 42.5 Berger 48.7 Supreme Court 2 51.3 41.8 Barringer 48 Supreme Court 4 Davis 52 41.8 A_Wood 49.3 Appeals Court 4 Shields 50.7 40.7 Gore 48.9 Appeals Court 5 Cubbage 51.1 Dillon 49.3 Appeals Court 6 Styers 50.7 40.6 Carpenter 49 Appeals Court 7 51 40.9 Young Griffin 48.6

Appeals Court 13

Brook

Vote Share (%)

Figure A4: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2022 & 2022 General Election Contests

Performance Analysis Results



Figure A5: Electoral Performance Results for 2023 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2018 & 2016 General Election Contests



Figure A6: Electoral Performance Results for 2025 Enacted CLDs 1 & 3, 2018 & 2016 General Election Contests

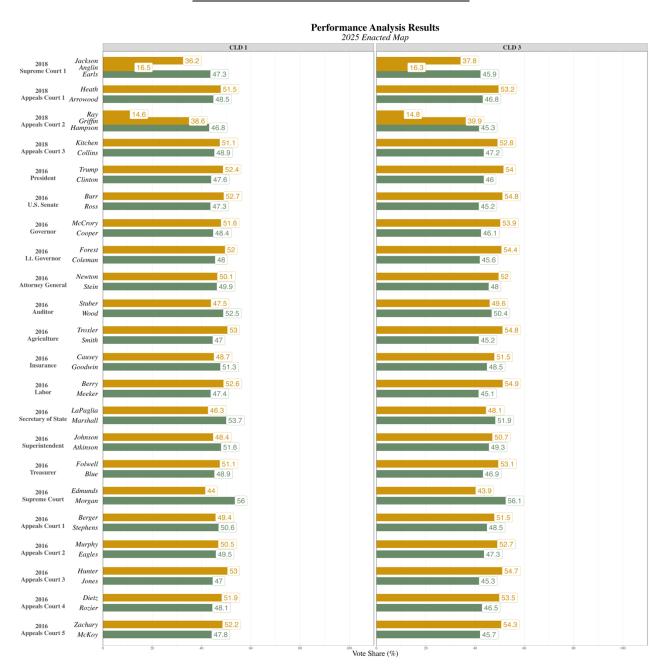


Figure A7: EI Iterative 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

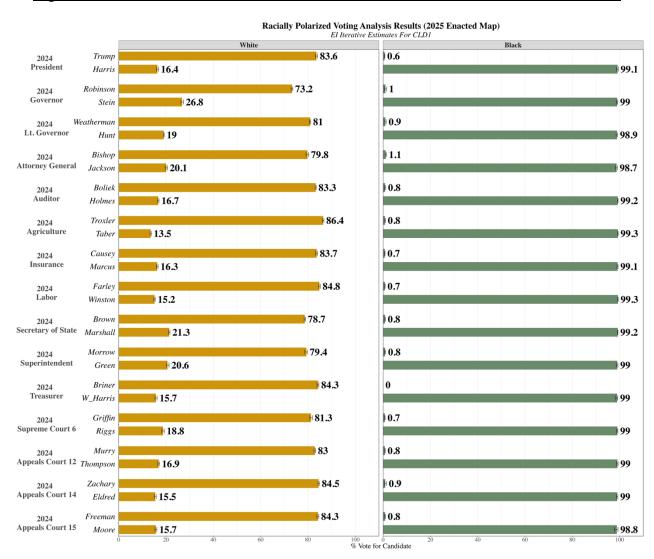


Figure A8: EI RxC 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

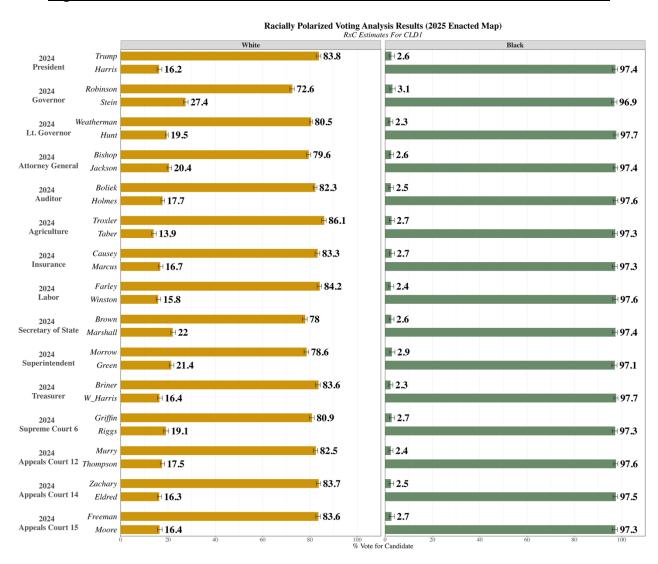


Figure A9: EI Iterative 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

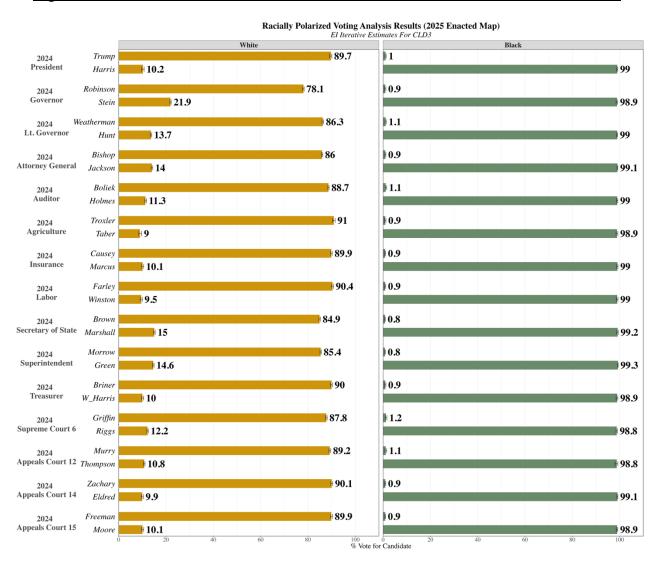


Figure A10: EI RxC 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

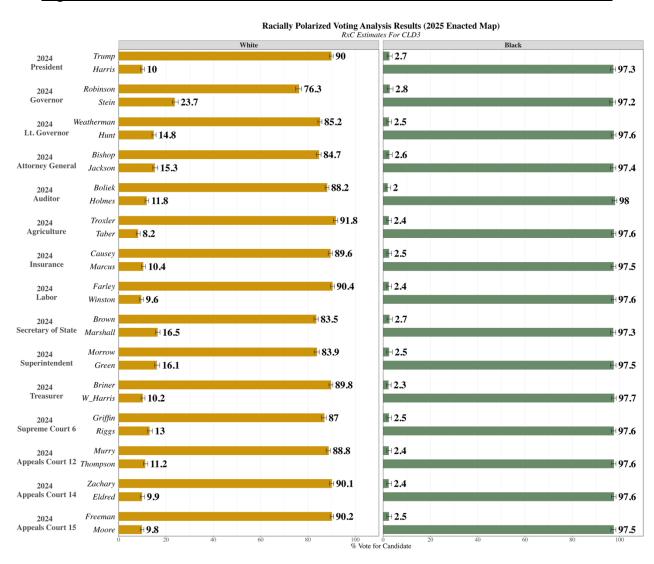


Figure A11: EI Iterative 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

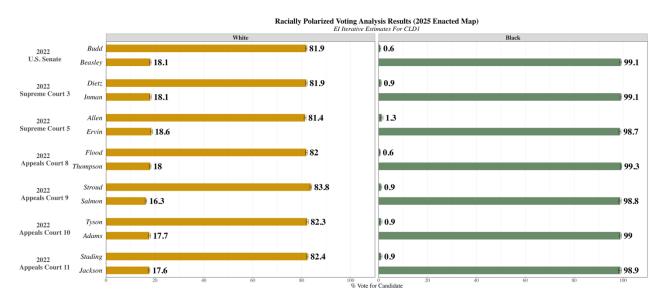


Figure A12: EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 1

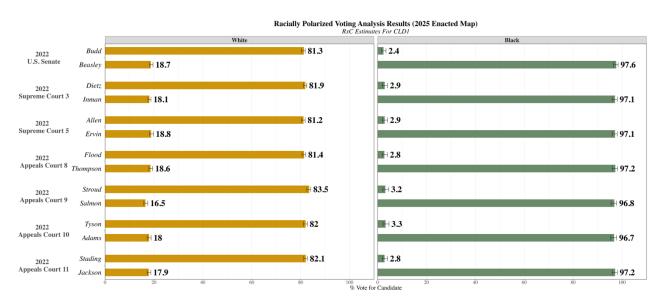


Figure A13: EI Iterative 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3

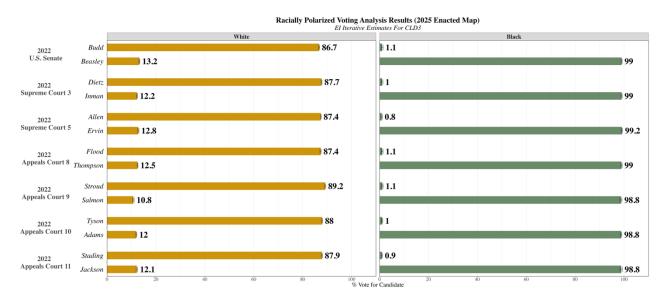
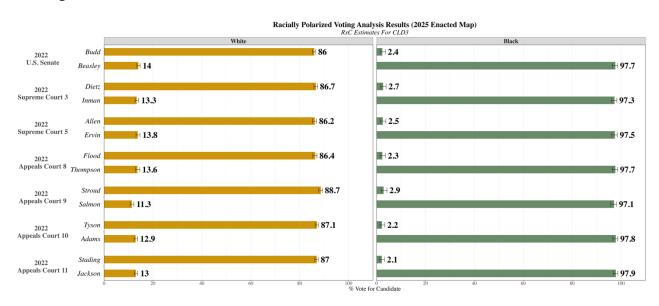


Figure A14: EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CLD 3



APPENDIX B to Oskooii Supplemental Report

Kassra A.R. Oskooii

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Academic Appointments **University of Delaware**

Political Science & International Relations

Associate Professor 2021-Present
Assistant Professor 2016-2021

Current Faculty Affiliations:

Data Science Institute (DSI)

Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS)

Center for Political Communication (CPC)

Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD)

2023-Present
2023-Present
2016-Present

Education

University of Washington

Ph.D., 2016

Department of Political Science

General Fields: American Politics & Political Methodology

Specialized Field: Minority and Race Politics

University of Washington

M.A., 2013

Department of Political Science

Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences (CSSS) Political Methodology Field Certificate (2013)

University of Washington

B.A., 2008

Major: Political Science

Minors: Human Rights and Law, Societies, & Justice

Peer-Reviewed
Journal
Publications

"Bureaucratic Bias or Voter-Side Factors? Testing Competing Explanations for Racial Gaps in Vote-By-Mail Ballot Signature Rejections." Forthcoming. **Political Research Quarterly**. w/ Herndon and Rios.

"Neighboring Groups and Political Attacks." Forthcoming. Political Research Quarterly. w/ Besco, Garcia-Rios, Lagodny, Lajevardi, and Tolley.

"Anti-Muslim Policy Preferences and Boundaries of American Identity Across Partisanship." 2024. *Journal of Public Policy*, 44(3): 573-591. w/ Lajevardi, N.

- "In the Shadow of September 11: The Roots and Ramifications of Anti-Muslim Attitudes in the United States." 2024. **Advances in Political Psychology**, 45(S1): 87-118. w/ Lajevardi, N., Saleem, M., and Docherty, M.
- "Social Mobility Through Immigrant Resentment: Explaining Latinx Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies and Anti-Immigrant Candidates." 2024. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 88(1): 51-78. w/ Hickel, F., and Collingwood, L.
- "The Participatory Implications of Racialized Policy Feedback." 2023. **Perspectives on Politics**, 21(3): 932-950. w/ Garcia-Rios, S., Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H.
- "Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge." 2023. *Urban Affairs Review*, 59(1): 133-169. w/ Collingwood, L. & Martinez, G.
- "Fight Not Flight: The Effects of Explicit Racism on Minority Political Engagement." 2022. *Electoral Studies*, 80: 102515. w/ Besco, R., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., Tolley, E.
- "Hate, Amplified? Social Media News Consumption and Anti-Muslim Policy Support." 2022. *Journal of Public Policy*, 42: 656-683. w/Lajevardi, N. and Walker, H. (FirstView)
- "Estimating Candidate Support in Voting Rights Act Cases: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods." 2022. **Sociological Methods and Research**, 51(1): 271-304. w/ Barreto, M., Collingwood & Garcia-Rios, S.
- "Beyond Generalized Ethnocentrism: Islam-Specific Beliefs and Prejudice toward Muslim Americans." 2021. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 9(3): 538-565. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.
- "Opinion Shift and Stability: The Information Environment and Long-Lasting Opposition to Trump's Muslim Ban." 2021. Political Behavior, 43: 301–337. w/Lajevardi, N. & Collingwood, L. Covered in: The Washington Post (Monkey Cage)
- "The Role of Identity Prioritization: Why Some Latinx Support Restrictionist Immigration Policies and Candidates." 2020. **Public Opinion Quarterly**, 84: 860–891. w/ Hickel, F., Alamillo, R. & Collingwood, L.
- "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behavior." 2020. **British Journal of Political Science**, 50(3): 867-892.

- "The Paradox Between Integration and Perceived Discrimination Among American Muslims." 2020. *Political Psychology*, 41(3): 587-606. w/Lajevardi, N., Walker, H. & Westfall, A.
 - Winner of the 2019 American Political Science Association Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section Best Paper Award.
- "Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among Muslim Americans." 2019. *Politics and Religion*, 12(2): 629-677. w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., & Walker, H.
- "Partisan Attitudes toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge." 2018. *Politics and Policy*, 46 (6): 951-984. w/ Dreier, S. & Collingwood, L.
- "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump's Muslim Ban." 2018. *Political Behavior*, 40: 1035-1072. w/Collingwood, L. & Lajevardi, N.
 - Covered in: The Washington Post (Monkey Cage), Vox, ThinkProgress, NPR, Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye, Psychology Today, & Social Psych Online
- "Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Political Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump." 2018. **Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics**, 3(1): 112-152. w/ Lajevardi, N.
- "The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship, Ideology, and Minority Politics in Washington's Charter School Initiative." 2018. **State Politics and Policy Quarterly**, 18(1): 61-92. w/ Collingwood, L. & Jochim, A.
- "Muslims in Great Britain: The Impact of Mosque Attendance on Political Behaviour and Civic Engagement." 2018. **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, 44(9): 1479-1505. w/ Dana, K.
- "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." 2016. R Journal, 8(2): 92-101. w/ Collingwood, L., Barreto, M. & Garcia-Rios, S.
- "How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perspective." 2016. *Political Psychology*, 37(5): 613-640.
- "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the Political System among American Muslims." 2011. **Religions**, 2(4): 504-524. w/ Dana, K. & Barreto, M.

Book Chapters/ Encyclopedic Entries

- "Discrimination." Forthcoming. In **Springer Political Science Encyclo- pedia** edited by Audrey Gagnon, Stephen Sawyer, and Daniel Stockemer.
- "Discrimination." 2023. In *Edward Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Sociology* edited by Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni. 33:131-133.
- "Race and Racism in U.S. Campaigns." 2020. In *Oxford Handbook on Electoral Persuasion* edited by Liz Suhay, Bernie Grofman, and Alex Trechsel. 15:278–295. w/ Christopher Parker, Christopher Towler, and Loren Collingwood.

Book Reviews

"Understanding Muslim Political Life in America: Contested Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century." Edited by Brian R. Calfano and Nazita Lajevardi. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. 248p. **Perspectives on Politics**.

Public Writing

- "Biden reverses Trump's 'Muslim Ban.' Americans support the decision." *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage) (27 January, 2021). w/Lajevardi, N. and Collingwood, L.
- "Targeted: Veiled Women Experience Significantly More Discrimination in the U.S." *Religion in Public* (21 January, 2020). w/ Dana, K., Lajevardi, N., and Walker, H.
- "Here's what the Democrats need to do to get the DREAM Act through Congress." *LSE American Politics and Policy Blog* (29 January, 2018). Also covered by Newsweek U.S. Edition. w/ Walker, H. and Garcia-Rios, S.
- "Why Individual-Level Opinion Rapidly Shifted Against Trump's 'Muslim Ban' Executive Order." *Religion in Public* (17 January, 2018). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.
- "Allies in name only? Latino-only leadership on DACA may trigger implicit racial biases among White liberals." *LSE American Politics and Policy Blog* (28 September, 2017). w/ Garcia-Rios, S. and Walker, H.
- "Protests against Trump's immigration executive order may have helped shift public opinion against it" **LSE American Politics and Policy Blog** (12 February, 2017). w/ Collingwood, L. and Lajevardi, N.

Grants,	Nominee of UD's Excellence in Teaching Award	(2023)
Fellowships,	UD Provost Teaching Fellow	(2022-2025)
& Awards	APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Paper Award	(2019)
	w/ N. Lajevardi, H. Walker and A. Westfall	
	AAPOR Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award	(2019)
	CTAL Instructional Improvement Grant: Engaging Diversity	
	in Political Science w/ Kara Ellerby (\$11,000)	(2018)
	POSCIR Seed Research Grant (\$1,500)	(2018)

DEL General University Research Grant (\$7,500)	(2017)
UW Political Science Research Fellowship (est. \$13,000)	(2016)
Dissertation Improvement Research Grant, UCLA (\$3000)	(2015)
Dean Recognition for Exceptional Pedagogical Contribution, UW	(2014)
Best Graduate Paper in PoliSci (w/Hannah Walker), UW	(2014)
UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2014)
UW Center for Democracy & VRA Research Fellowship (\$5,000)	(2013)
Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences Grant (\$1,000)	(2013)
UW WISER Research Grant (\$2500)	(2011-14)
UW WISER Survey Research Fellowship (\$20,000)	(2011-14)
Grad. Opportunities & Minority Achievement Fellowship (\$4,000)	(2010-11)
Donald R. Matthews Graduate Fellowship (\$40,000)	(2010-11)
Jody Deering Nyguist Award for Excellence in Public Speaking	(2008)

Research	Data Science Institute (DSI), UD	(2023 -)
Center/	Master of Science in Data Science (MSDS), UD	(2023 -)
Academic	Center for Political Communication, UD	(2016 -)
Affiliations	Center for the Study of Diversity, UD	(2016 -)
	Race, Justice, Policy Research Initiative, UD	(2017-20)
	UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research	(2013-14)
	Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER)	(2010-16)
	Center for Social Science and Statistics (CSSS), UW	(2010-16)
	Washington Survey Research Center (WASRC)	(2010-15)

Teaching Experience

University of Delaware (2016 -)

POSC 150: Intro to American Politics (x13)

POSC 230: Intro to Politics and Social Justice (x2)

POSC 413: Minority Politics, Representation, and Voting Rights (x4) POSC 867: Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (Graduate Seminar) (x3) POSC 807: American Political Behavior (Graduate Seminar) (x3)

University of Washington (2011-2016)

POLS 202: Intro to American Politics (x2)

POLS 357: Minority Representation and the Voting Rights Act (x1)

POLS 205: Political Science as a Social Science (TA)

POLS 317: US Race and Ethnic Politics (TA)

POLS 353: US Congress (TA)

POLS 503: Advanced Research Design and Analysis (TA) LAW E 558: Voting Rights Research and the Law (TA)

Invited Talks/Panels

Select External "Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism and Islamophobia." Harvard University. Panel Cosponsored by the Edmond & Lily Safra Center for Ethics, Center for Jewish Studies, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Center for American Political Studies, and FAS Civil Discourse Initiative. May 1, 2024.

"Diversity and the State of Democratic Citizenship." Featured invited roundtable sponsored by the *Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship*. April 23, 2021.

"Shocks to the System: Capturing Opinion Shift and Stability Toward Trump's Muslim Ban." Keynote Speaker at the Democracy and Diversity Triannual Conference at the *Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship* in Montreal, Canada. April 24-25, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"The New American Electorate." Panelist. *Princeton University*. Event sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 3, 2020. [Cancelled Due to COVID-19]

"Neighboring Identities: Psychological and Political Reactions to Generalized and Particularized Anti-Immigrant Appeals." w/Sergio Garcia-Rios. *University of Toronto*. Talk Sponsored by the Department of Political Science. March 6, 2020.

"History, Institutions, and Theory Research Coordination Network on Racial and Ethnic Politics." Panelist. *University of Pennsylvania*. Event sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Special Projects Fund and the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration at Penn. February 28-29, 2020.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." *Rutgers University*. Talk sponsored by the Emerging Trends Lecture Series & the Center for the Experimental Study of Politics and Psychology. April 27, 2018.

"A Change of Heart? Using Panel Designs to Establish Causality with Real Events." w/Loren Collingwood. *Princeton University*. Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics. April 26, 2018.

"Using Observational and Experimental Data to Examine the Sociopolitical Consequences of Perceived Discrimination." *University of California Los Angeles*. Talk sponsored by the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Workshop. March 5, 2018.

"Muslim-American Attitudes, Sociopolitical Behavior, and Identity." Panelist/Section Presenter. *University of California Los Angeles*. Event sponsored by the Luskin School of Public Affairs & the National Science Foundation. December 15, 2017.

"Muslim-American Political Behavior." Panelist/Section Presenter. **Menlo College**. Event sponsored by Menlo College & the National Science Foundation. December 16, 2016.

Select Internal or Public Invited Talks/Panels "American Presidency and Political Power." Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. June 21, 2024.

"How Democratic is the U.S. Constitution, and to What Extent did the Founding Fathers Oppose Majority Rule?" Speaker. University Day Public Lecture. March 18, 2023.

"Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy." Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 13, 2023.

"Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy." Talk sponsored by the YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2022.

"Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the 2020 Election." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware POSCIR. December 14, 2020.

"Building Community: Scholarship and Connection among Faculty of Color." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) at the University of Delaware. February 24, 2020.

"Executive Power and the U.S. Democracy." Talk sponsored by the 2019 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2019.

"Opinion Shift and Stability: Long-Lasting Opposition toward Trump's Muslim Ban." Talk sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. April 24, 2019.

"Old-Fashioned Racism and the Roots of Contemporary Islamophobia." Talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) Colloquium Speaker Series at the University of Delaware. December 6, 2018.

"Understanding Executive Power in the United States." Talk sponsored by the 2018 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 2, 2018.

"The Inclusion and Exclusion of Minority Groups in the United States." Talk sponsored by the 2017 YALI Mandela Washington Fellows Program at the University of Delaware. July 11, 2017.

"Inclusion and Exclusion: Perceptions of Discrimination in the Workplace." Diversity Summit Presenter. Talk sponsored by the Office of Equity and Inclusion at the University of Delaware. June 20, 2017.

"What Happens Now Part II? A Forum to Discuss Bigotry & Closed Borders in the Trump Era." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the Department of Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. February 13, 2017.

"Forum on the Travel Ban Executive Order." Speaker. Panel sponsored by the University of Delaware Provost Office. February 7, 2017.

"What Happens Now Part I? Fear, Diversity, and Inclusion in Post-U.S. Election." Speaker. Panel sponsored by Women and Gender Studies, Sociology and Criminal Justice, Political Science and International Relations, History, & the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware. November 30, 2016.

"Race, Religion, and Gender." Election Central Panelist. Event sponsored by the Center for Political Communication at the University of Delaware. November 8, 2016.

Select Papers at

2024

Conferences

"Motivated Misperceptions and Public Opinion about Abortion" Paper Presentation (Lead, Dr. Cassese) at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA)

2021

"Partisan Winners and Losers: Testing Alternative Frames of Congressional Election Results Among White and Latino Voters." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

"Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA).

"How do Political Attacks Affect Racial and Ethnic Self-Identities?" Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

"Kissing Up and Kicking Down: How Immigrant Resentment Impacts Latinx Support for Donald Trump and Restrictive Immigration Policies." Online Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA).

2019

"The Significance of Politicized Group Identities: Re-examining the Relationship between Contact with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Participation." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterm results among Latinos and Whites." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

"Anti-Minority Politics and Political Participation: Evidence from Four Countries." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Washington DC.

2018

"Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior." Paper Presentation at the 2018 Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE) Meeting in Philadelphia, PA (University of Pennsylvania).

"Are Integrated Muslim Americans More Likely to Perceive Discrimination?" Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

"Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump's Muslim Ban." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Boston, MA.

"Assessing the Link between Interactions with Punitive Political Institutions and Political Behavior." Paper Presentation at the 2018 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS) Meeting in Los Angeles, CA (UCLA).

2017

"A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted against Trump's Muslim Ban." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

"Veiled Politics: Experiences with Discrimination among American Muslims." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in San Francisco, CA.

"The Racial Shield as Racism Exoneration: Explaining White Racist Support for Conservative Minority Candidates." Paper Presentation at the Annual

Western Political Science Association Conference (WPSA) in Vancouver BC, Canada.

2016

"Assessing the Mechanism Linking Discrimination to Democratic Engagement." Paper Presentation at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference (APSA) in Philadelphia, PA.

"Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI and EI-RxC." Paper Presentation at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA) in Chicago, Illinois.

Supervision

Select Student Sadie Ellington, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Enes Aksu, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Enes Tuzgen, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Olga Gerasimenko, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Furkan Karakayan, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Richard Takyi Amoah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON) Sheila Afrakomah, Dissertation Committee Member (ECON) Ahmet Ates, Dissertation Committee Member (POSC) Charles Mays, Long Paper and Dissertation Chair (POSC) Ian Mumma, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC) Clark Shanahan, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC) Natalie Standridge, Long Paper Committee Member (POSC) Fahmida Zaman, Research Assistant Supervisor (POSC) Lola Bessis, Independent Research Supervisor (POSC)

> Rachel Spruill, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair Satvika Kadiyala, Undergraduate Summer Scholars Advisor Jessica Sack, Undergraduate Honors Thesis Chair Jordan Spencer, Undergraduate Faculty Mentor for the McNair Program Lauren Turenchalk, Undergraduate Research Supervisor

Professional Service

Editorial Board Member

Politics and Religion (6/2018 - 12/2021)

Select Discipline Service

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Executive Council (2025-2027)

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Section Conference Chair (2021-2022)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA) Task Force on Equity, Inclusion, and Access in the Discipline (2020-2021)

American Political Science Association (APSA) REP Best Paper Award Committee Member (2020)

Select University Service

College of Arts & Sciences Senator (2025)

Community Engagement Scholars Faculty Review Board Member (Winter/Spring 2022)

Summer Educational and Cultural Experience Program (SECEP) Lecturer of Politics and Justice in the United States. (July 27 - August 20, 2019)

Select Department Service Roles

Director of Graduate Admissions & Funding

Director of Undergraduate Internships

Executive and Advisory Committee Member

Member of Hiring Committees

Faculty Review Committee Member

Graduate Placement Committee Chair

Academic Program Review Steering Committee Member

Academic Program Review Response Committee Member

Undergraduate Advising (Standard Annual Load)

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Committee Member

New Minor Development Committee Member

Social Science Sponsored Research Committee Member

Manuscript Reviewer/Referee

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, British Journal of Political Science, Belgian Federal office for Science Policy, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, Cambridge University Press, Electoral Studies, European Journal of Political Research, European Political Science Review, International Journal of Public Opinion, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Migration Studies, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Religion, Political Studies Review, PS: Political Science & Politics, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences

Conference Coordination

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Delaware. (2020)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC) at the University of Washington. (2013)

Latinos and the Voting Rights Act. Center for Democracy and Voting Rights Research at the University of Washington Law School. (2013)

Islam in the Public Sphere Conference. Washington Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity (WISER). (2011)

Select Expert Consulting Experience

State of Maryland Attorney General's Office; 2021 MD Redistricting

Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County, Maryland, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. 2022)

Common Cause Florida v. Lee, 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla.)

Common Cause Florida v. Byrd, No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2022) [Deposed]

Dickinson Bay Area NAACP Branch v. Galveston County, Texas, No. 3:22-cv-117-JVB (S.D. Tex. 2023) [Deposed & Testified]

Reyes v. Chilton, 4:21-cv-05075-MKD (E.D. Wash. 2021) [Deposed]

Roswell Independent School District (RISD); 2022 Redistricting

Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg, Civ. Action No. 23-SAG-00484 (D.Md. 2023)

Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration, No. 1:22-cv-02300-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2022)

Coca v. City of Dodge City, et al. Case no. 6:22-cv-01274 (D Kan. 2022) [Deposed & Testified]

Soto Palmer v. Hobbs, No. 3:22-cv-05035-RSL (W.D. Wash. 2021) [Testified]

Stone v. Allen, No. 2-21-cv-1531 (N.D. Ala. 2021) [Deposed & Testified]

Wicomico County Branch of the NAACP et al v. Wicomico County, MD, Civ. Action No. 23-MJM-03325 (D. Md. 2023)

New York Communities for Change et al v. County of Nassau, NY, No. 602316/2024 (N.Y.S.) [Deposed & Testified]

NC NAACP et al v. Berger et al, No. 23-cv-1104 (M.D. NC. 2023) [Deposed & Testified]

League of Women Voters of Utah, et al. v. Utah State Legislature, et al., No. 220901712/2022 (Utah 3rd Dist. Ct.) [Testified]

Previous Research Positions

Senior Researcher, Washington Poll

2010-2014

Public Opinion Survey Design, Programming, and Analysis.

Researcher, Center for Democracy & Voting Rights Research 2013-2014 Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) Analysis of jurisdictions in states such as: California, Florida, Texas, and Washington.

Investigator, Washington State Charter School Initiative

2013

Precinct and school district level data collection and analysis of the I-1240 Vote for S360 Polling Firm and Melinda & Gates Foundation.

Skills & Additional Information Software: R, STATA, LATEX, ESRI, DRA

Languages: Farsi (Persian)-Native Speaker

ation R Packages: eiCompare (contributor), eiExpand (contributor)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

V.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

V.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

SECOND DECLARATION OF DAWN DALY-MACK

October 31, 2025

- I, Dawn Daly-Mack, 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 Plaintiff in this lawsuit. I previously provided a standing affidavit on May 21, 2025, in this lawsuit. I also testified during the trial on June 17, 2025. All of my previous testimony remains true and correct to the best of my knowledge.
- 2. I am registered to vote in Northampton County. I voted for Congressman Don Davis and presidential candidate Kamala Harris in 2024. I intend to vote here in the future.
- 3. After the trial in this lawsuit, the North Carolina General Assembly passed Senate Bill 249, which redrew the boundaries of Congressional District 1 and Congressional District 3. As before SB 249, I continue to reside in Congressional District 1.
- 4. I opposed SB 249 because it will break up longstanding community ties within the Black Belt and imposes a direct threat to the voting power of Black communities. I would have liked to speak out against the Bill in-person, but I was unable to make it to the Capitol for the few public hearings that were held. I live several hours away and have a full-time job as a care manager and registered nurse.
- 5. I submitted a public comment online expressing strong opposition to SB 249. I shared that as a Northampton County resident, healthcare professional, advocate, community organizer, and a Black woman and proud voter who believes in the power of representative democracy, this Bill erases representation for Black communities and undermines democracy. If you live in North Carolina, you do not need to look at data to know that this Bill targets Black voters.
- 6. As Branch President of the Northampton NAACP, I have spent extensive time organizing with my community. This has included registering voters, helping with get-out-the-vote phone banking, door knocking, giving rides to the polls, and organizing the Party at the Polls event, including for congressional elections. I am also passionate

about improving health equity in my community, including by addressing poor access to health care, mental health services, and healthy foods.

- 7. I know the current representative for Congressional District 1, Congressman Don Davis, personally. I have advocated to him on issues affecting my community, including about health inequities, which I know he is working on addressing.
- 8. Congressman Davis has roots in our community and shows up to make sure he is accessible to constituents in the District. He frequently attends events in Northampton County and other areas of the Black Belt in the northeastern part of North Carolina. For example, he recently attended a Deacon's 100th birthday at the church where I am a minister. Like many other constituents, I can contact Congressman Davis by phone, email, and at his Rocky Mount office. I often contact his assistant for this area who used to work at a local community college, and she puts me in touch with the Congressman. As the President of the Northampton Chapter of the NAACP, minister at my church, and community organizer, I know that many other people in my community can advocate to Congressman Davis, and he is similarly responsive to them.
- 9. I am aware that Congressional District 1 now includes counties on the eastern edge of the State, including Carteret, Hyde, and Dare counties. Communities in that part of the state have little in common with communities in the Black Belt where I live. People in my community are extremely concerned about losing their SNAP benefits and addressing the day-to-day needs of lower- to middle-class folks. Many areas in my part of the State are predominantly Black.
- 10. In contrast, the counties that were added to Congressional District 1 in 2025 are mostly White and more affluent. Voters in those newly added counties generally do not share the same concerns as people in the Black Belt, which is reflected in who they have voted for in past elections.

11. I fear that with the district changes in SB 249, Black voters in Congressional

District 1 don't stand a chance of electing someone responsive to us. I expect that under

this new map, Congressional District 1 will be represented by someone like Bobby Hanig,

who is my current State Senator. I know that Senator Hanig is not responsive to the needs

of our community because I have not seen him at events or candidate forums; I have only

seen his postcards in my mail.

12. The congressional map enacted in 2023 already made it more difficult for

Black voters to elect a candidate responsive to us. I fear the new districts drawn in 2025

now make that impossible.

13. I believe SB 249 is an attempt to punish voters like me in Congressional

District 1 for daring to file a lawsuit against the map passed in 2023. This sets an ugly

precedent by silencing Black voters through discriminatory maps and punishing us for

speaking out against them.

14. SB 249 makes it harder to organize and advocate for Black communities by

moving the district lines again and depriving us of a chance to elect a candidate responsive

to our needs. Redrawing district lines every two years and punishing voters who challenge

those new maps prevents Black communities from organizing together to build power,

because any connections we form might be split by a new district within months.

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: $\frac{10|3|}{25}$

Dawn Daly-Mack

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

SECOND DECLARATION OF SYENE JASMIN

October 31, 2025

- I, Syene Jasmin, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
- 1. I previously provided a standing affidavit on May 21, 2025 in this matter. I also testified during the trial in this matter, on June 18, 2025. All of my previous testimony is still true and correct to the best of my knowledge.
- 2. Since testifying at trial, the North Carolina General Assembly has passed SB 249, redrawing the lines of Congressional Districts 1 and 3. Under this new map, I still reside in Congressional District 3.
- 3. I was opposed to the 2025 redraw of Congressional Districts 1 and 3, and I wanted to voice my concerns publicly. No community hearings were held, and due to the rushed process I was not able to travel from Winterville in Pitt County to speak out against the maps in person as I would have preferred. Instead, I submitted a comment through the public comment portal provided.
- 4. In my public comment I expressed my view that that the process was rushed and inadequate to capture community input. I also shared my belief that the new maps further dilute Black voting power by depriving Black voters like myself of the opportunity to elect candidates that reflect our values. Finally, I shared that, as a Plaintiff in this litigation, I felt that the targeting of Districts 1 and 3 while challenges against them are still pending in court was designed to undermine our litigation and waste the valuable time and resources of our communities. I do not feel that my comments or the comments of my community members were considered in the process
- 5. Much like the 2023 maps, this 2025 redraw sends the message to my community that we do not really matter. It further divides communities that I knew to be aligned when I was a member of Congressional District 1, and it seems mathematically impossible for Black voters like me in Congressional District 3 to elect a candidate of our choice.
- 6. I participated in non-partisan Get-Out-the-Vote ("GOTV") efforts previously in elections where Representative Don Davis was a candidate. I did so in 2022 when I was in

CD 1, and then also in 2024 when I was no longer in CD 1. It was much easier to do that work when I was still in CD 1 – voters I spoke to felt confident they could elect somebody who they knew from our community and were motivated to turn out. Despite being in CD 3, I still tried to do GOTV work in parts of CD 1 in 2024, but I felt it was more difficult. Because of the way the structure the district had changed, Black voters felt it would be harder for the district to elect him, and that as a result Rep. Davis could no longer be as forceful an advocate for Black voters. Under the new changes from the 2025 map drawing, I fear this will become even worse. Additionally, I do not think it will be feasible for me to continue engaging in GOTV efforts in all of the counties that now make up CD 1, given that I am no longer in that district and now how to focus on building power in my own.

- 7. As an organizer in my community, I know that it will be even more difficult to convince people to engage in the political process after this mid-decade redistricting. The decision to undertake mid-decade redistricting to further weaken my community's political power instead of taking on critical issues like Medicaid services or access to food vouchers is incredibly disingenuous, insensitive, and demoralizing. Voters are unable to focus on these and other core issues while their district lines are constantly changing and they are so overwhelmed by these political games that they do not even see the point of trying to meaningfully engage in the process.
- 8. As the lines keep changing, it is hard to know which representatives to contact and which communities to work with when seeking to organize and build power around environmental and other issues. For example, it will be more difficult to combat the environmental issues that new data centers pose to our community without knowing who to approach. I used to be able to go directly to Rep. Davis to speak on these issues, and I could raise these concerns through community meetings as well. In my new district, I no longer have that ability.
- 9. Another issue that is important to me is gun violence and advocacy for community bound intervention funding. Through our discussions I understood that Rep. Davis, like me, viewed gun violence as a public health issue and was more likely to work on these

issues in his community. I do not feel confident that I can approach my new representative related to these issues either.

10. As an Eastern Carolina voter who chose to step forward to represent my community, I feel that my entire Eastern Carolina community is being retaliated against through the enactment of these maps for trying to stand up for our right to elect accountable and representative candidates of our choice. If the General Assembly is allowed to change our congressional district lines mid-decade without any court order or other rational justification, it completely undermines the ability of concerned community members like myself to bring a lawsuit and seek relief from the harm done when my community is discriminatorily carved and our voting strength diluted. It makes me ask myself: if they are allowed to do this, why did I bring a lawsuit? Will we ever have a chance to really challenge maps in federal court before they are used in an election?

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: 10 30 25

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

SECOND DECLARATION OF CALVIN JONES

October 31, 2025

- I, Calvin Jones, 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 Plaintiff in this lawsuit. I previously provided a standing affidavit on May 19, 2025, in this case. I also testified at trial on June 17, 2025. All of my previous testimony remains true and correct to the best of my knowledge.
 - 2. I am registered to vote and in Warren County and intend to vote here in the future.
 - 3. In 2024, I voted for Congressman Don Davis and Vice President Kamala Harris.
 - 4. After a trial in this case, the North Carolina General Assembly passed SB 249, which moves the boundaries of Congressional District 1 (CD 1) and Congressional District 3 (CD 3) again. I continue to reside in Warren County, which remains in CD 1.
 - 5. I would have liked to attend the public hearings for SB 249, but I was not able to because I work a full-time job. I would have been able to use vacation time to attend the hearings if I learned about them with enough advanced notice. I also live several hours from Raleigh. I believe that holding few public hearings only on weekdays with little notice deters working people from participating in the legislative process.
 - 6. I have lived in Warren County for most of my life. Advocating for my community is important to me to carry on the legacy of my parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents who advocated for Black Americans' civil rights.
 - 7. I know Congressman Davis, who represents CD 1, because he consistently attends community events in the district. Congressman Davis is well known by other constituents in communities in the Black Belt, and he knows constituents by their first name. I have attended many events with Congressman Davis, including a town hall in Warren County in February 2024 and a Juneteenth Celebration this year at the Warren County Courthouse. At these events, he has addressed constituents' concerns and I have formed connections with other community members who share some of my concerns about resources for farmers and local schools.

- 8. I have advocated to Congressman Davis about devoting federal resources to my community. For example, I have received funding from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to build hoop houses on my farm. For a while, the federal reimbursement rate for hoop houses lagged behind the market rate, which meant I had to cover the difference, which was about \$2,000. I had conversations with other farmers in my community who experienced the same problem. We organized together and I brought these concerns to the attention of Congressman Davis several times at different town halls and community events. After we brought this issue to his attention, the reimbursement rate for hoop houses increased so we were not forced to cover the difference. I have since been reimbursed for the out-of-pocket expenses I paid for hoop houses, which has helped keep my farm afloat.
- 9. I also helped recruit people in my community to lobby Congressman Davis for funding to improve our community center in Warrenton. During Jim Crow, Black people went to Warrenton to shop but were not allowed by White store owners to use the bathrooms. This is why there is a community center in Warrenton today, and it remains a central meeting place for people in Warren County. Along with other community members, we successfully obtained funding to rehabilitate the community center after raising the issue with Congressman Davis.
- 10. Farmers in my community are now facing another issue with funding from the USDA. Because of the federal government shutdown, I have not received the second installment payment for a hoop house that I recently hired a contractor to install. I have taken out a personal loan to pay the contractor and will pay interest on the loan until I receive the second payment from the USDA. I fear that I will not have a representative who would be responsive to these issues if SB 249 remains in place.
- 11. I have longstanding connections with NAACP members and other community members in parts of the Black Belt that were removed from CD 1. I worked with leaders from Greene County when I served as the President of the North Carolina Black Caucus of School Board Members. Greene County is about a one-and-a-half-

hour drive from where I live and is a core part of the Black Belt. Congressman Davis has held regional meetings in Greene County, and I have formed connections with other community advocates and organizers at those events. I have also built business relationships with people from Greene County. I have drawn on this network across the Black Belt, including in Greene County, to advocate for funding for farmers and schools. After SB 249, I cannot effectively rely on this network in Greene County to organize and advocate for CD 1 constituents, because Greene County is now in CD 3.

- 12. I am aware that CD 1 now includes counties on the eastern coast of North Carolina with communities that have little in common with mine and others nearby in the Black Belt. It is at least a three-hour drive from my home to counties added to CD 1, such as Carteret and Hyde counties. Those communities have different priorities, as they are generally more well-resourced and less focused on farming than those near me in the Black Belt.
- 13. SB 249 makes it harder to recruit new NAACP members and engage with communities in CD 1. It took years to build connections with people in Greene County and other areas of the Black Belt to advocate for our communities' needs. To build relationships in the counties that were just added to CD 1 will take time, especially given the distance it takes to travel across the state to those new parts of the District. I expect that I will be treated like a telemarketer if I try to make inroads in those eastern counties, because I have no existing ties there. Even the most effective communicator would struggle to form new ties to advocate for communities and build power when facing new maps every year or two.
- 14. It is also harder to recruit NAACP members and organize people to register and educate voters if people know their vote won't matter. I have encountered an apathetic attitude towards voting before, and SB 249 will make it worse because it is clear our voice in the democratic process is being silenced.

- 15. We don't have a fighting chance for fair representation under SB 249. If we can't band together for a representative who will speak for us in Congress, then our views won't get to committee, much less be voted on.
- 16. I view SB 249 as retaliation for speaking out and filing a lawsuit against the maps passed in 2023. I expect this will deter others in my community from advocating for our civil rights.

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: 10-31-2025

Calvin Jones

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

DECLARATION OF ARTHUR LEE JOHNSON

October 30, 2025

- I, Arthur Lee Johnson, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
- 1. My name is Arthur Lee Johnson, and I reside at 3101 Plum Drive North, Wilson NC, 27896 in Wilson County. I have resided at this residence for approximately thirty years. I reside in current Congressional District 3.
 - 2. I identify as Black.
- 3. I have been registered to vote and regularly voting in the state of North Carolina for more than thirty-five years. I vote in nearly every election and believe there is no such thing as an "off year" for voting.
- 4. Voting is critical to me because I believe that our vote is our voice. It took so much for Black people to secure the right to vote, and it is a right we must continue to exercise. I encourage others in my community to vote to honor that history and because it is our only choice to make sure that our representatives are actually representative of our community.
- 5. In the 2024 General Election, I voted in Congressional District 1. I cast my votes in that Election for Representative Don Davis and former Vice President Kamala Harris. Prior to 2024, I had been in Congressional District 1 for as long as I can remember. Before voting for Representative Don Davis to serve his first congressional term, I voted for many years for former CD 1 Representative G.K. Butterfield.
- 6. I have been a member of the NAACP for about 18 years. Currently I am the Wilson Branch President. From 2021 to 2023, I was the NC NAACP District Director for a Northeastern region of the state branch, serving Wilson, Edgecombe, Halifax, Bertie, Northampton and Hertford counties.
- 7. In my various roles with the NAACP I have worked on a variety of issues for my community including, for example, healthcare and drug rehabilitation, domestic violence awareness, gun violence awareness for young adults, and education equity. I have also from time to time voiced my opinion through actions at the North Carolina General Assembly.

Because of the critical importance of voting, one constant focus of my work with the NAACP over the years has been voter registration and Get Out the Vote ("GOTV") work.

- 8. My NAACP branch has engaged in GOTV work during elections involving Rep. Davis. For example, in 2024 we ran a five-to-six-week GOTV campaign in Wilson and Wayne counties that included door-to-door canvassing, phone calls aimed at turning community members out to vote, and voter registration drives. Though I remain non-partisan in my GOTV work associated with the NAACP, I certainly noted for community members the issues on which Rep. Davis's stances aligned more closely with NAACP stances.
- 9. While I have not agreed with Rep. Davis on every stance that he has taken, I have always felt that he is accessible and willing to listen to the voices of his constituents. This accessibility is important to me and my community to ensure that our interest are actually represented in Congress.
- 10. In the past I have been able to meet with Rep. Davis at town halls and in various zoom calls through which community members have been able to voice their concerns on issues important to our area of the state, such as gerrymandering and the SAVE Act (a piece of federal legislation that would make voting more difficult). In these calls I have been able to pass along concerns and perspectives of our membership and other community leaders with whom I am in contact. In certain circumstances, like with the SAVE Act, he has been open to changing his mind after hearing from his constituents. I appreciate that he seems to try to be responsive to the needs of the Black community and his district as a whole.
- 11. Just prior to the 2025 mid-decade redistricting, I had been coordinating with Rep. Davis's office to set up a town hall in Wilson at one of our local NAACP Wilson Branch meetings. Now that we have been removed from his district, it is no longer clear to me if Rep. Davis will continue to be accessible to us, or if it is still worthwhile to set up this town hall. I have put these plans on hold indefinitely.

- 12. In my many years living, working, and organizing in CD 1, and especially through my time as District Director, I developed a large network of NAACP leaders and community members in counties like Edgecombe, Martin, Bertie, and others, with whom I share common interests, needs, and priorities, and with whom I could work toward common goals in our advocacy. I felt that together we were able to make our voice heard by our elected representatives and make change in our community.
- 13. Now that I have been moved to CD 3, I have been removed from that network and community that I have spent years helping to build. I have never voted in CD 3 before. I do not know whether I share any common interests or needs with Jones, Onslow, Duplin, Sampson or the other counties in CD 3 because I simply do not know them. They are not my community, and my impression is that they do not care about my issues.
- 14. Organizing in CD 1, in the community I spent so long building, no longer seems feasible to me now that I have been removed. In order to build up the type of community I had cultivated in CD 1 in CD 3, I feel that I would have to build it from the ground up. At this point, I do not even know who will be running in this district. The community members I speak to who have also been moved out of CD 1 are overwhelmed and confused by the sudden change and about who represents them. Though I will try my best, these challenges feel insurmountable for my future organizing efforts in this moment.
- 15. I have no relationship with Rep. Greg Murphy and based on my knowledge of his positions, I have concerns that he would not be responsive to my needs or the needs of the other Wilson County voters who share my interests and have been moved out of CD 3. From my perspective, the new makeup of CD 3 encourages Rep. Murphy to be more responsive to those constituents whose interests are more similar to those of his current constituents, and our differing needs will go unheard.
- 16. Before the 2025 mid-decade redistricting, I felt that I had built power in my community and could ensure that even if our representative did not always agree with or vote consistent with our position our concerns could be expressed, our perspectives were

considered, our voices were heard. Now we feel our voice is silenced. It has been taken from us.

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: October 30, 2025

5

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

DECLARATION OF BARBARA SUTTON

October 31, 2025

- I, Barbara Sutton, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
 - 1. My name is Barbara Jean Sutton. I live in Kinston, North Carolina. I have lived in Lenoir County all my life.
 - 2. I identify as Black.
 - 3. I am registered to vote and am a longtime voter in Lenoir County. Since 2023, I have resided and voted in Congressional District 1 (CD 1). I now reside in Congressional District 3 (CD 3) because SB 249 moved me from CD 1 to CD 3.
 - 4. I intend to vote in Lenoir County in the future.
 - 5. In the 2024 general election, I voted for Congressman Don Davis to represent CD 1 and former Vice President Kamala Harris for President.
 - 6. I have been a member of the North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP since 2015. I have been the President of the Kinston Lenoir Chapter of the NAACP since 2019. I also serve on the Executive Committee of the North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP.
 - 7. I know Congressman Davis and have seen his responsiveness to constituents firsthand. He does not always agree with every constituent, and not every constituent always agrees with him, but he listens to our communities.
 - 8. Congressman Davis has spent extensive time meeting constituents in Lenoir County, including at MLK Day and Juneteenth events. He makes a concerted effort to listen to the concerns of people in Lenoir County, and believes in the importance of engaging with youth, who represent our future.
 - 9. I was invited to an event organized by Democracy North Carolina, where Congressman Davis listened to constituents' concerns about the SAVE Act, which was legislation Congress was considering that would have made it harder for many of us to vote. I listened to my neighbors share personal life stories to convey how

the SAVE Act would impact them, because many people do not have a birth certificate or similar documentation that matches their current legal name. Congressman Davis made clear before that meeting that he was planning to vote in favor of the SAVE Act. He ultimately voted against it, and I believe hearing directly from constituents was a big reason why. It was only because Congressman Davis was receptive to hearing our perspectives and took the constituents' concerns seriously that he voted to protect our civil rights in a major bill before Congress.

- 10. I have also attended a meeting organized by Congressman Davis for faith leaders in Congressional District 1, because he was seeking input on how to better serve faithbased communities.
- 11. As the President of the Kinston Lenoir Chapter of the NAACP, I have done extensive organizing to register, inform, and activate voters. Among our many nonpartisan voter education activities are regular candidate forums, family political nights, and the Do You Know campaign that we facilitate in the lead up to each election. Together with other NAACP members, I also help people exercise their right to vote through rides to register and rides to the polls.
- 12. My work with the NAACP to educate and activate voters has extended beyond Lenoir County to other neighboring counties in CD 1. For example, I work with Eastern North Carolina (ENC) Blueprint, a group of community organizers that meets twice a month to strategize on voter education and other pro-democracy initiatives. I have exchanged resources on voter education with people involved in ENC Blueprint, which has helped us all serve our communities. Through ENC Blueprint and the A. Philip Randolph Institute, I have built ties with other organizers and advocates in what used to be CD 1.
- 13. Because SB 249 moves Lenoir County into CD 3, my network of connections with other community advocates in the Black Belt region of what used to be CD 1 is severed. I will now have to change who I work with on a consistent basis and reach

out to form new connections in CD 3 to advocate for NAACP members and other

people in Lenoir County.

14. In addition, other NAACP members and I will now have to travel further to get to

counties in the southern part of CD 3 for voter registration, education, and get-out-

the-vote efforts. Transportation is a significant barrier to mobilizing members of the

Kinston Lenoir NAACP Chapter. It will be difficult for us to engage in get-out-the-

vote efforts in parts of CD 3 that are hours away.

15. I am familiar with Congressman Greg Murphy, who represents CD 3, through news

reporting. I have not built coalitional or personal relationships with him, as I have

with Representative Davis. The same is true for many members of our NAACP

chapter in Lenoir County.

16. SB 249 makes it harder to engage with voters who now think it is a waste of time to

vote. Instead of voters choosing their representatives, there is an understanding that

the line chooses them, which is made worse by SB 249.

17. I believe SB 249 was passed to show the power of the General Assembly over the

people of North Carolina. Part of the NAACP's mission is to speak out against

injustice. SB 249 is an effort to punish Black voters for speaking out against

injustice.

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: October 31, 2025

4

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

DECLARATION OF COURTNEY MURRAY PATTERSON

October 31, 2025

- I, Courtney Murray Patterson, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
- 1. I testified during the trial in this matter as a fact witness on June 18, 2025. All of my previous testimony is still true and correct to the best of my knowledge. I am now a Plaintiff in this matter.
- 2. I reside at 1105 Patterson Road, Kinston NC 28504, in Lenoir County. I have resided at this residence since 1978. I reside in current Congressional District 3.
 - 3. I identify as Black/African American.
- 4. I have been registered to vote and regularly voting in the state of North Carolina since 1970.
- 5. Voting is important to me because we as a people in a democracy are and should be obligated to choose our elected officials. In my personal capacity and through my roles with the NC NAACP, Blueprint NC, and the Lenoir County Board of Elections, I have spent my life encouraging other members of my community in Eastern North Carolina to go vote. For the last sixty years I have done everything I can to register new voters, increase voter participation, and help voters understand the importance of fighting against suppressive measures designed to inhibit their ability to elect a candidate of their choice.
- 6. In the 2024 General Election, for the first time in my life, I voted in Congressional District 1. I cast my votes in that Election for Representative Don Davis and former Vice President Kamala Harris. Prior to 2024, I had been in Congressional District 3 for as long as I can remember, aside from a brief period of time when I was in Congressional District 7.
- 7. I have known Rep. Davis for many years, since his time as mayor of Snow Hill and through his time in the North Carolina General Assembly representing Pitt and Greene County. Over the years, through my work organizing in Eastern North Carolina, we have had various conversations on a variety of bills and developed a positive working

relationship. While I do not always see eye to eye with Rep. Davis on every issue, my impression is that he has been receptive to the needs of the Black communities he has represented.

- 8. In the short time that I was his constituent in CD 1, I was able to band together with my fellow constituents to lobby Rep. Davis to win his support on issues important to our community. A notable example of this is the work we were able to do regarding the SAVE Act (a piece of federal legislation that would make voting more difficult). I was able to get Rep. Davis on the phone fairly quickly to hear about his position, and shortly thereafter I helped to coordinate a zoom gathering with many of his close constituents to voice our opposition to the Act. When, walking away from that zoom gathering, his position in opposition to the SAVE Act still had not solidified, we were able to coordinate a calling campaign reaching about 17,000 of Rep. Davis's constituents, and additionally, about 140 calls were made directly his office in opposition to the bill. Ultimately, Rep. Davis voted in opposition to the SAVE Act. This effort may not have been as effective with a different representative who was not as invested in my community's values.
- 9. Now, only two years after the latest congressional redraw, I have been moved back into CD 3. While this move will not erode the relationships I have built over my lifetime in Eastern North Carolina, I will once again be advocating with Rep. Davis as an outsider, rather than a constituent.
- 10. While I am somewhat familiar with Representative Greg Murphy as a doctor from my community, I did not elect him. We do not have a relationship, and nothing I know about him makes me believe that that he will be responsive to the needs of my community.
- 11. I know from my extensive organizing work that during the last congressional redraw, many members of my community and our surrounding counties were deeply confused and dismayed by the sudden change of their district lines and representatives. They did not know what candidates were on their ballot or what information to look to. It took a lot of work to get voters familiar with the correct candidate. I know this re-education

work will have to happen again. Therefore, during the short 2025 redistricting process, I prioritized holding a virtual community meeting to bring public awareness to the redistricting process that was taking place rather than advocating against the plan directly with the General Assembly, and I have continued this community work since.

12. Through the conversations that I have had in my community since the mid-decade redraw and through my years of experience, I know that all of this work that voters have to undertake to wrap their head around what district they are in and who even represents them distracts from the issues that they care about and creates voter apathy.

13. I feel that this keeps happening by design – the General Assembly has targeted my area of the state for this mid-decade redraw in order to confuse and discourage people, and I believe that is happening as a punishment for the views they have expressed with their vote. It is going to take a lot more energy to try to overcome this discouragement in my GOTV efforts than would have been necessary had we not been targeted in this way.

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: 10/31/25

Courtney Murray Patterson

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

FOURTH DECLARATION OF DEBORAH DICKS MAXWELL PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP

- I, Deborah Dicks Maxwell, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
 - I am the President of the North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP, which is a Plaintiff in this lawsuit. I previously provided declarations on September 23, 2024, October 2, 2024, and January 7, 2025, in this matter. I also testified at trial on June 16, 2025. All of my previous testimony remains true and correct to the best of my knowledge.
 - I am aware that SB 249, enacted by the General Assembly this month, changes the district lines for Congressional District 1 (CD 1) and Congressional District 3 (CD 3). I am opposed to this Bill because it splits apart communities in the Black Belt and destroys any opportunity for Black voters to elect a candidate responsive to their needs in CD 1.
 - 3. I was unable to attend any hearings at the Capitol for SB 249 because they were announced at the last minute, and I live about two hours away from Raleigh. I am a retired public health social worker and community activist in addition to my duties as the President of the North Carolina Chapter of the NAACP.
 - 4. The NAACP promotes the message that Black voters and other people of color should have an equal opportunity to choose a representative responsive to their communities. This message is crucial for educating, registering, and turning out voters.
 - 5. The NAACP and our members have referenced the success of Black voters in electing responsive representatives in CD 1 as a way to motivate voter registration and voter turnout. It has long been a point of pride for communities in the Black Belt that they have elected Congresspeople they support and who are responsive to them, including Congresswoman Eva Clayton and other trailblazing Black representatives such as Congressmen Frank Ballance and G.K. Butterfield.

- 6. I personally know Congressman Don Davis, the current Representative for CD 1. Congressman Davis is highly visible in communities in the Black Belt and frequently attends events, including those organized by the NAACP. For example, recently, Congressman Davis attended the funeral of Fred Yates, the former President of the Perquimans County Branch of the NAACP. Congressman Davis is a minister in Snow Hill and ministers in other parts of the District, providing constituents with opportunities to convey their needs to him.
- 7. Beginning with Congresswoman Eva Clayton, CD 1 has, for decades, elected representatives supported by and responsive to Black communities. This is one of the reasons that the North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP has invested resources in registering, educating, and activating voters in that part of the State. For example, we have made sure there are active NAACP chapters in every county that used to comprise CD 1 to elevate voices of people living in the Black Belt. We have been able to keep those chapters active with the support of local members because there are substantial Black populations in that part of the State. We have relied on leaders and members of local NAACP chapters to engage in voter registration, education, and turnout efforts each election, which is core to the NAACP's mission.
- 8. I am aware that SB 249 moves several counties with large Black populations from CD 1 into CD 3, and several counties with large White populations from CD 3 into CD 1. Anyone who is familiar with North Carolina knows that the areas moved out of CD 1, such as Wayne, Wilson, and Lenoir Counties, include substantial Black populations, and that relatively few Black people live in counties on the eastern coast.
- 9. SB 249 added counties to CD 1 that have not historically been a part of this District and communities that have not joined the coalitional advocacy efforts of the NAACP in the Black Belt. Because of this, it will be an uphill battle to establish

- voter registration, education, and advocacy efforts spanning CD 1, that the NAACP had before SB 249.
- 10. The NAACP does not have active branches in several counties that are now part of CD 1, including Hyde and Dare counties. SB 249 has harmed the ability of the NAACP and its members to organize and advocate in CD 1 by moving the district lines again. If SB 249 stays in place, the NAACP will try to establish active chapters in Hyde and Dare counties, which will involve some members and leaders of the North Carolina State Conference traveling to these counties. It is about a three-hour drive from the NAACP State Conference headquarters in Raleigh to Hyde and Dare counties, so it will require substantial effort and time for us to accomplish this. It is a much shorter trip from Raleigh to the counties that were taken out of CD 1 by SB 249.
- 11. Additionally, it will be harder to register and activate voters who believe, understandably, that the deck is stacked against them. If SB 249 stands, the NAACP can no longer credibly tell their members and other Black voters that they have a chance of electing a representative who is responsive to their communities. Instead, they will have to change how they communicate with prospective voters who are skeptical that their vote will matter and will have to spend more time educating voters as to which district they might be voting in during any given election cycle.
- 12. The NAACP chapter presidents in Lenoir, Greene, Wayne, and Wilson counties have been effective advocates for their communities, including by organizing members to register voters and get out the vote. They work with neighboring chapters across the Black Belt in CD 1. They have also conveyed the concerns of NAACP members and other community members to Representative Davis, who is receptive to hearing them.
- 13. These NAACP chapters in Lenoir, Greene, Wayne, and Wilson counties are now in CD 3. This harms the ability for chapter presidents and members in those counties

to advocate for their communities, because they have never voted in CD 3 and have

not built ties with communities in other parts of the District. These chapters are now

cut off from other chapters with whom they have long had ties.

14. I believe SB 249 was passed to punish Black voters in CD 1 for making their voices

heard, and for suing to strike down the previous congressional map in 2023. I am

aware that a lead sponsor of SB 249 used the phrase "sue until blue" to characterize

voters exercising their rights to challenge unlawful maps in North Carolina. That

phrase is abhorrent and inaccurate. The NAACP and its members sued against the

2023 map and SB 249 to make sure all voters, including Black voters, have a fair

chance to participate in the democratic 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: _10/31/2025

Deborah Dicks Maxwell

Debord Digo Maxwell

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

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

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as the President Pro Tempore of the North Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

DECLARATION OF JACKSON SAILOR JONES DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF COMMON CAUSE NORTH CAROLINA

- I, Jackson Sailor Jones, swear under penalty of perjury that the following information is true to the best of my knowledge and state as follows:
 - I am a resident of Alamance County, where I have lived since July of 2022. I am a native of Warren County, North Carolina, and have lived in North Carolina for 50 years.
 - 2. Warren County is the home of Congresswoman Eva Clayton, the first Black woman to represent North Carolina in the U.S. Congress. When she was elected in 1992, Congresswoman Clayton was the first Black member of the North Carolina Congressional delegation since 1901.
 - 3. I have worked at Common Cause North Carolina since 2022, first as Associate Director and then as Deputy Director.
 - 4. Common Cause is a 501(c)(4) nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to upholding the core values of democracy. Common Cause is a Plaintiff in this matter, and I am authorized to speak for Common Cause in this case.
 - 5. I am aware that earlier this month the General Assembly enacted SB 249, which changed the district lines for Congressional District 1 (CD 1) and Congressional District 3 (CD 3) for the second time in two years. I have lived or worked in the northeastern part of North Carolina that CD 1 encompasses for 50 years. A core part of my job is organizing and educating voters in CD 1. Anyone who is remotely familiar with the people and geography of this State knows that the Black Belt region, including the counties that were moved out of CD 1, includes substantial Black populations.
 - 6. Since Congresswoman Eva Clayton was elected to CD 1 in 1992, the District has been represented by a Black member of Congress responsive to Black voters.
 - 7. SB 249 was introduced and enacted following a trial on legal challenges to the 2023 maps. The General Assembly only allowed limited public comment for SB 249 and

allowed members of the public to speak only for one minute, whereas they usually have two minutes. Public comment was tacked on to the normal committee meetings rather than held as separate sessions. There were about 60 public comments across the in-person hearings; every member of the public who gave testimony at the hearings opposed SB 249. Many of the people SB 249 impacts, who live in CD 1 and CD 3, live over 200 miles away, making it difficult to attend a weekday hearing with short notice.

- 8. From my research, I know that over 12,400 public comments were submitted online, which is many times more than past redistricting bills. Fewer than 20 of those comments expressed support for SB 249.
- 9. Based on my work in CD 1, I know that Congressman Davis is responsive to constituents. Not everyone agrees with him on all issues, but people go to him in droves to advocate for their communities' needs, and he seeks to learn about and be responsive to them. Congressman Davis used to serve in the State Senate and represented Lenoir County, so constituents there have even deeper connections to him.
- 10. SB 249 directly harms Common Cause's work in the Black Belt region of the State. A core part of our work is educating voters on how to exercise their right to vote and building networks to inform and empower voters. The northeast part of the state is a media desert, especially when it comes to voter education and changes to voting laws.
- 11. This succession of redrawn districts in the Black Belt makes it difficult to present a consistent message to prospective voters about the candidates they can choose from and who they are represented by in Congress. SB 249 hampers an already resource-starved voter advocacy and education structure in the part of the State that CD 1 encompasses. When voters aren't familiar with who is on their ballot because the district lines continue to change, it is difficult for us to educate and motivate voters.

- 12. I have worked directly with community leaders in the Black Belt who used to be in CD 1 and are now in CD 3. SB 249 directly harms the coalitional organizing work we do together, because it breaks apart longstanding communities of interest and thereby increases the burdens on advocates to educate and empower voters. Leaders and organizers have spent years working together to advocate for their communities in CD 1, and many are now severed from those networks after being moved into CD 3. As a result, voters in these new districts will face additional challenges both in overcoming barriers to voting access and making informed choices at the polls.
- 13. A poll conducted by Opinion Diagnostics commissioned by Common Cause North Carolina in 2025 found that North Carolinians overwhelmingly believe voting districts should provide fair representation for all communities and viewpoints. This, and my longstanding advocacy experience, lead me to believe that since voters have been told CD 1 was changed so that the result of any election is essentially preordained, it will be significantly harder for Common Cause to successfully encourage people to register and vote in CD 1.
- 14. I am aware that a lead proponent of SB 249 described lawsuits challenging unlawful district maps as a "sue until blue" strategy. The Executive Director of Common Cause North Carolina, Bob Phillips, was called the "President of the sue until blue club" when Common Cause challenged redistricting previously. It is clear that SB 249 was passed to bring the hammer down on voters, communities, and organizations that advocated against past districting maps, including plaintiffs for challenging the 2023 maps.
- 15. SB 249 is an unprecedented, targeted attempt to retaliate against voters for advocacy in public and in the courts. As an organization, SB 249 chills our work. We will have to consider whether our members will be punished by targeted line drawing if we choose to advocate for maps that are lawful. It is antithetical to Common Cause's mission to be involved in litigation that could prompt the General Assembly to target marginalized communities through redistricting.

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: October 31, 2025___

Jackson Sailor Jones