

No. 83-1968

Supreme Court, U.S.

FILED

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IN THE  
**Supreme Court of the United States**

OCTOBER TERM, 1985

LACY H. THORNBURG, *et al.*,  
*Appellants,*

v.

RALPH GINGLES, *et al.*,  
*Appellees.*

On Appeal from the United States District Court  
for the Eastern District of North Carolina

**JOINT APPENDIX EXHIBITS**

**VOLUME I**

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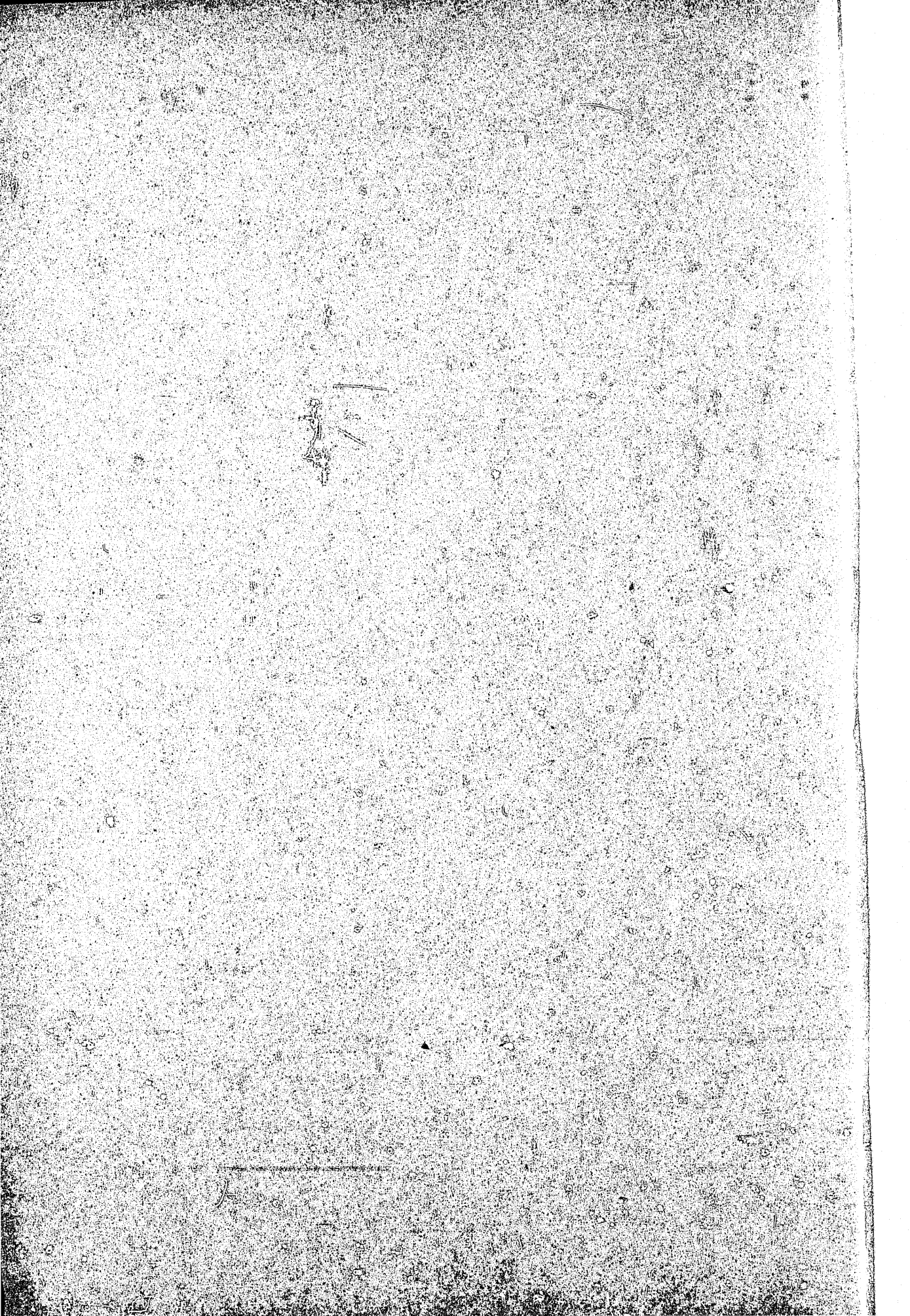
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**JURISDICTIONAL STATEMENT FILED JUNE 2, 1984**

**PROBABLE JURISDICTION NOTED APRIL 29, 1985**



## PUGH/EAGLIN PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT NO. 4

**Table 1-A**  
**Comparison of Black Population and Black**  
**Representation in the North Carolina Legislature**  
**1940-1982**

Year	# of Blacks	Population Total Population	% Black	NC Senate		NC House	
				# of Blacks	% Black	# of Blacks	% Black
1940	981,298	3,571,623	28	0	0	0	0
1942				0	0	0	0
1944				0	0	0	0
1946				0	0	0	0
1948				0	0	0	0
1950	1,078,808	4,061,929	27	0	0	0	0
1952				0	0	0	0
1954				0	0	0	0
1956				0	0	0	0
1958				0	0	0	0
1960	1,156,870	4,556,155	25	0	0	0	0
1962				0	0	0	0
1964				0	0	0	0
1966				0	0	0	0
1968				0	0	1	.8
1970	1,126,478	5,082,059	23	0	0	2	1.6
1972				0	0	3	2.5
1974				2	4	4	3.3
1976				2	4	4	3.3
1978				1	2	3	2.5
1980	1,316,050	5,874,429	22	1	2	3	2.5
1982				1	2	11	9.1

Sources: Thad Euro. *North Carolina Legislature, Director*, 1981-1982, 1983-1984

Thad Euro. *North Carolina Manual*, Raleigh, Publications Division, 1941-1979

U.S. Bureau of Census, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980

Six of these were elected from majority black districts that the General Assembly was forced to draw by the Federal Courts.

**PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT**  
**11 App 3 Gingles**

**Appendix 3: "Effects of Multimember House and State Senate Districts  
in Eight North Carolina Counties, 1978-1982"**

**CONDENSED SUMMARY TABLE 1**

Level of White Voter Support for Black Candidates vs. Black Voter Support for Black Candidates in Eight North Carolina Counties, House and Senate  
Primary and General Elections in which there was at least one Black Candidate, 1978-1982.

<i>GENERAL</i>	Proportion of white voters for black candidates)	Proportion of black voters for black candidates)	<i>PRIMARY</i>	Proportion of white voters for black candidates)	Proportion of black voters for black candidates)
(5) Mecklenburg & Cabarrus					
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.41	.91	(1, 5, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.47	.87
(1, 7, 1, 0) 1982 Senate	.33	.91	(1, 5, 4, 0) 1980 Senate	.23	.78
			(1, 6, 4, 1) 1982 Senate	.32	.83
(6) Mecklenburg					
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.40	.94	(1, 5, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.50	.87
(1, 16, 8, 0) 1980 House	.28	.92	(1, 5, 4, 0) 1980 Senate	.25	.79
(1, 7, 4, 1) 1982 Senate	.31	.91	(1, 13, 8, 1) 1980 House	.22	.71
(2, 18, 8, 1) 1982 House	.42	.88	(1, 6, 4, 1) 1982 Senate	.33	.83
			(2, 9, 8, 2) 1982 House	.39	.79
(5) Cabarrus					
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.38	.92	(1, 5, 4, 0) 1978 Senate	.35	.75
(1, 7, 4, 0) 1982 Senate	.37	.91	(1, 5, 4, 0) 1980 Senate	.21	.79
			(1, 6, 4, 0) 1982 Senate	.30	.76

Polk wins in  
1982 Meck. Sen.  
general.  
Alexander loses  
in 1978 Cabarrus  
primary.  
Polk loses in  
1982 Cabarrus  
primary.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	GENEAL	Proportion of white voters for black candidate(s)	Proportion of black voters for black candidate(s)		PRIMARY	Proportion of white voters for black candidate(s)	Proportion of black voters for black candidate(s)		
(6) Durham (1, 4, 2, 0)	1978 Senate (Rep. B)	.17	.05					.89	.92
(1, 3, 3, 1)	1978 House	.18	.79	(2, 7, 3, 1)	1978 House	.10	.16	.32	.90
(1, 3, 3, 1)	1980 House	.19	.90	No Primary	1980 House	N	N	N	N
(1, 4, 3, 1)	1982 House	.43	.89	(2, 1, 3, 1)	1982 House	.26	.37		
(7) Forsyth (2, 9, 5, 0)	1978 House (1 Rep B)	.32	.33	(3, 10, 5, 1)	1978 House	.28	.08	.76	.53
(1, 10, 5, 0)	1980 House	.32	.96	(1, 3, 2, 0)	1980 Senate	.12	.12	.61	.61
(2, 8, 5, 2)	1982 House	.42	.16	(2, 7, 5, 1)	1980 House	.40	.18	.86	.36
(5) Wake				(2, 11, 5, 2)	1982 House	.25	.36	.80	.91
(1, 6, 13, 1)	1980 House	.41	.90	(1, 12, 6, 0)	1978 House	.21	.21	.76	.76
(1, 17, 6, 1)	1982 House	.45	.91	(1, 9, 6, 1)	1980 House	.31	.31	.81	.81
				(1, 15, 6, 1)	1982 House	.39	.39	.32	.32
(6) E-W-N				1982 House	(1, 7, 1, 0)	.01	.01	.66	.66
				1982 1st Cong Primary	(1, 3, 2, 1)	.02	.02	.81	.81
				1982 2nd Cong Primary	(1, 2, 1, 0)	.05	.05	.91	.91
(6) Edgecombe				1982 House	(1, 7, 1, 0)	.02	.02	.63	.63
				1982 1st Cong Primary	(1, 3, 2, 1)	.02	.02	.81	.81
				1982 2nd Cong Primary	(1, 2, 1, 0)	.03	.03	.97	.97
(2, 1, 3, 2)	1982 County Commissioner	.38	.36	1982 County Commissioner	(1, 10, 3, 2)	0	.01	.11	.27
								.75	.82

Michaux wins in Edgecombe

TABLE 1 (continued)

	GENERAL	PRIMARY	Proportion of white voters for black candidate(s)	Proportion of black voters for black candidate(s)	Proportion of white voters for black candidate(s)	Proportion of black voters for black candidate(s)
(d) Wilson		1982 House			.02	.76
		1982 1st Cong Primary			.06	.96
		1982 2nd Cong Primary			.07	.98
		1976 County Commissioner			.32	.77
(e) Nash		1976 House			.02	.58
		1982 1st Cong Primary			.06	.73
		1982 2nd Cong Primary			.06	.81
		1982 County Commissioner			.09	.82

In Edgecombe, Wilson and Nash there was only black candidate for House or Senate in the period 1975-1982. Data for those counties are based in addition on a 1976 County Commissioner race in Wilson, 1982 Congressional Primaries, and Edgecombe and Nash 1982 County Commission Primaries and General Elections.

N 53  
 Actual district races 30 House & Senate (P&G)  
 1 County Commissioner (P&G)  
 2 Cong Primaries  
 36

CONDENSED SUMMARY TABLE 2

Ranking of White Voter Support for Black Candidates vs. Black Voter Support for Black Candidates in Eight North Carolina Counties, House and Senate Primary and General Elections in which there was at least one Black Candidate, 1978-1982.<sup>3</sup>

		GENEVA		MECKLENBURG & CABARRUS		MECKLENBURG		DURHAM		FORSYTH	
		Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)
				PRIMARY							
(5) Mecklenburg & Cabarrus	(1, 6, 1, 1)	1	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 1)	last	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1
				1980 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1	1980 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1
				1982 Senate	(1, 6, 1, 1)	5	1	1982 Senate	(1, 6, 1, 0)	5	1
(6) Mecklenburg	(1, 6, 1, 1)	1	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 1)	last	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1
				1980 House	(1, 13, 8, 1)	10	1	1980 House	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1
				1982 Senate	(1, 6, 4, 1)	5	1	1982 Senate	(1, 6, 1, 0)	5	1
				1982 House	(2, 9, 8, 2)	7	2	1982 House	(1, 6, 1, 0)	7	2
(5) Cabarrus	(1, 6, 4, 1)	5	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1	1978 Senate	(1, 5, 4, 0)	last	1
				1982 Senate	(1, 6, 1, 0)	5	1	1982 Senate	(1, 6, 1, 0)	5	1
(6) Durham	(1, 1, 2, 0)	last	3	1978 Senate (Rep B)	(2, 7, 3, 1)	last	1	1978 House	No Primary	last	1
				1978 House	(2, 1, 3, 1)	3	1	1980 House	(2, 1, 3, 1)	next to last	1
				1980 House	(3, 10, 5, 1)	last	5	1982 House	(1, 3, 2, 0)	7	1
				1982 House	(2, 7, 5, 1)	last	1	1980 House	(2, 7, 5, 1)	next to last	1
				1982 House	(2, 11, 5, 2)	last	2	1982 House	(2, 11, 5, 2)	8	2

Alexander loses in 1978 Cabarrus primary.  
Folk loses in 1982 Cabarrus primary.

TABLE 2 (continued)

	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	
<i>GENE/AL</i>			<i>PRIMARY</i>		
	(5) Wake (1, 13, 6, 1) (1, 17, 6, 1)	6 3	(1, 12, 6, 0) (1, 9, 6, 1) (1, 15, 6, 1)	1978 House 1980 House 1982 House	1 1 1
	(3) E-W-N		1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 1) (1, 2, 1, 0)	last last last
(5) Edgecombe			1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 1) (1, 2, 1, 1)	last last last
	(2, 4, 3, 2)	2	1982 County Commissioner	(4, 10, 3, 2)	last tied for last
	(4) Wilson	3			1 4 3 2 1
			1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary 1976 County Commissioner	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 0) (1, 2, 1, 0) (1, 13, 7, 0)	last last last 11

Michaux wins in Edgecombe only



TABLE 2 (continued)

	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)	PRIMARY	Ranking of white voters for black candidate(s)	Ranking of black voters for black candidate(s)
(4) Nash					
			1976 House (1, 7, 4, 0)	7	1
			1982 1st Cong Primary (1, 3, 2, 1)	tied for last	1
			1982 2nd Cong Primary (1, 2, 1, 0)	last	1
			1982 County Commissioner (1, 6, 3, 0)	6	1

GENERAL

In Edgewood, Wilson and Nash there was only black candidate for House or Senate in the period 1978-1982. Data for those counties are based in addition on a 1976 County Commission race in Wilson, 1982 Congressional Primaries, and Edgewood and Nash 1982 County Commission Primaries and General Elections.

N 53  
 Actual district races 30 House & Senate (P&G)  
 1 County Commissioner (P&G)  
 2 Cong Primaries  
 36

CONDENSED SUMMARY TABLE 3

Level of White Voter Support for Black Candidates vs. Black Voter Support for Black Candidates in Eight North Carolina Counties, House and Senate Primary and General Elections in which there was at least one Black Candidate, 1978-1982.\*

	$P'_{wb}$	Proportion of the votes cast by black voters which go to the black candidate(s)	$P'_{bb}$		$P'_{wb}$	Proportion of the votes cast by white voters which go to the black candidate(s)	$P'_{bb}$	Proportion of the votes cast by black voters which go to the black candidate(s)
<i>GENERAL</i>								
(5) Mecklenburg & Cabarrus				<i>PRIMARY</i>				
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.16	(1, 5, 4, 1)	.38	1978 Senate	.16	(1, 5, 4, 0)	.53	
(1, 7, 4, 0) 1982 Senate	.11	(1, 6, 4, 1)	.46	1980 Senate	.09	(1, 6, 4, 1)	.52	
				1982 Senate	.12		.49	
(6) Mecklenburg				1978 Senate	.17		.55	Alexander loses in 1978 Cabarrus primary.
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.15	(1, 5, 4, 1)	.38	1980 Senate	.09		.53	
(1, 16, 8, 0) 1980 House	.05	(1, 5, 4, 0)	.23	1980 House	.04		.34	
(1, 7, 4, 1) 1982 Senate	.11	(1, 13, 8, 1)	.47	1982 Senate	.11		.53	
(2, 18, 8, 1) 1982 House	.12	(1, 6, 4, 1)	.48	1982 House	.17		.54	
(5) Cabarrus				1978 Senate	.14	(1, 5, 4, 0)	.37	Polk loses in 1982 Cabarrus primary
(1, 6, 4, 1) 1978 Senate	.13	(1, 5, 4, 0)	.27	1980 Senate	.09		.37	
(1, 7, 4, 0) 1982 Senate	.12	(1, 6, 4, 0)	.03	1982 Senate	.16		.38	
(6) Durham				1978 House	.10		.99	
(1, 4, 2, 0) 1978 Senate (Rep. B)	.28	(2, 7, 3, 1)	.36	1978 House	X		X	
(1, 3, 3, 1) 1978 House	.32	No Primary	.35	1980 House	.35		.91	
(1, 3, 3, 1) 1980 House	.26	(2, 4, 3, 1)	.78	1982 House				
(1, 4, 3, 1) 1982 House	.16	(3, 10, 5, 1)	.34	1978 House	.14		.63	
(7) Forsyth				1980 Senate	.07		.51	
(2, 9, 5, 0) 1978 House (1 Rep B)	.07	(1, 3, 2, 0)	.24	1980 House	.15		.55	
(1, 10, 5, 0) 1980 House	.21	(2, 7, 5, 1)	.55	1980 House	.15		.55	
(2, 8, 5, 2) 1982 House		(2, 11, 5, 2)		1982 House				

TABLE 3 (continued)

	<i>GENERAL</i>		<i>PRIMARY</i>			
	Proportion of the votes cast by white voters which go to the black candidate(s)	$P'_{wb}$	Proportion of the votes cast by black voters which go to the black candidate(s)	$P'_{bb}$	Proportion of the votes cast by white voters which go to the black candidate(s)	$P'_{bb}$
(5) Wake (1, 13, 6, 1) (1, 17, 6, 1)	.09 .09		(1, 12, 6, 0) (1, 9, 6, 1) (1, 15, 6, 1)	.19 .18	1976 House 1980 House 1982 House	.40 .50 .41
(3) E-W-N			1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary	.01 .02 .05	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 1) (1, 2, 1, 0)	.36 .90 .94
(5) Edgecombe			1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary 1982 County Commissioner	.01 .02 .02 .02	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 1) (1, 2, 1, 0) (1, 10, 3, 2)	.31 .92 .99 .87
(2, 4, 3, 2) (4) Wilson	.40		1982 County Commissioner 1982 House 1982 1st Cong Primary 1982 2nd Cong Primary 1976 County Commissioner	.08	(1, 7, 4, 0) (1, 3, 2, 0) (1, 2, 1, 0) (1, 13, 7, 0)	.52 .98 .99 .30

Michaux wins  
in Edgecombe  
only

TABLE 3 (continued)

	Proportion of the votes cast by white voters which go to the black candidate(s)	Proportion of the votes cast by black voters which go to the black candidate(s)		Proportion of the votes cast by white voters which go to the black candidate(s)	Proportion of the votes cast by black voters which go to the black candidate(s)
(5) Nash					
	<i>GENERAL</i>				
			<i>PRIMARY</i>		
			1976 House	.01	.31
			1982 1st Cong Primary	.07	.79
			1982 2nd Cong Primary	.06	.82
			1982 County Commissioner	.04	.49

In Edgecombe, Wilson and Nash there was only black candidate for House or Senate in the period 1978-1982. Data for those counties are based in addition on a 1976 County Commission race in Wilson, 1982 Congressional Primaries, and Edgecombe and Nash 1982 County Commission Primaries and General Elections.

N 53

Actual district races

30 House & Senate (P&G)

4 County Commissioner (P&G)

2 Cong Primaries

36

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT 11, APP. 6#4 Gingles

APPENDIX 6 to "Effects Multimember Districts"  
 Black Legislative Representation in States with Black Population over 15%

	Percent population Black (1970)	Predominantly single member districts in areas of Black concentration as of July 1977	# of Black Reps. in July 1977	Predominantly single member districts in areas of Black concentration as of July 1982	# of Black Reps. in July 1982	Predominantly single member districts in areas of Black concentration as of July 1983	# of Black Reps. in July 1983
Alabama	26.4	YES	15	YES	16	YES	20
Arkansas	18.6	NO	4	NO	5	NO	5
Florida	15.5	NO	3	NO	5	YES	12
Georgia	25.9	YES	23	YES	22	YES	24
Louisiana	29.9	YES	10	YES	13	YES	13
Maryland	17.9	*	19	†	21	‡§	23
Mississippi	36.8	NO	4	YES	17	YES	17
North Carolina	22.4	NO	6	NO	4	YES & NO	13
South Carolina	30.5	YES	13	YES	15	YES	20
Tennessee	16.1	YES	11	YES	12	YES	13
Virginia	18.6	NO	2	NO	5	NO	7

1977 (omitting Maryland) 1982 (omitting Maryland) 1983 (omitting N.C. & Maryland)

Average # of Black Representatives in States with

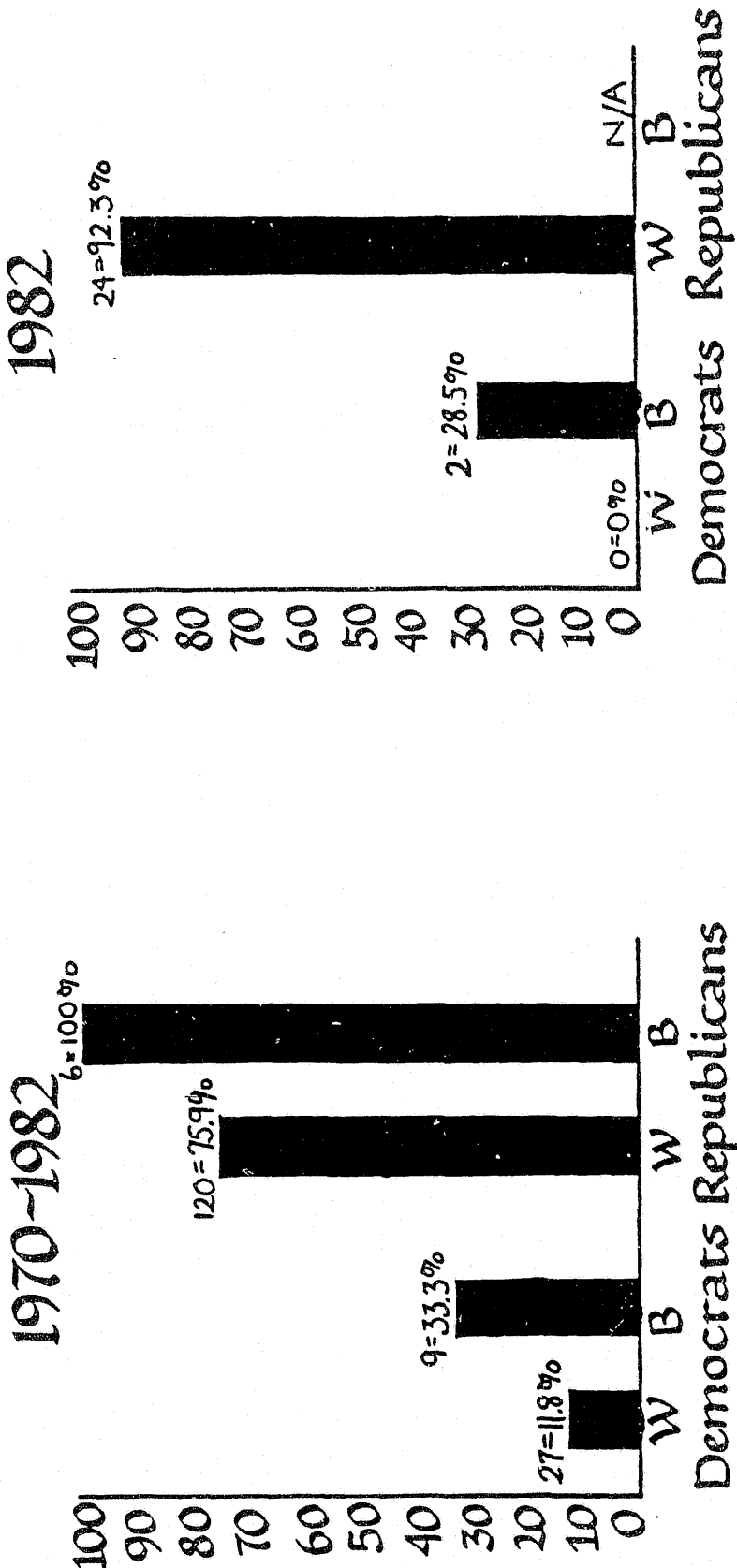
Predominantly Single Member Districts in Black Areas 3.8 (TOTAL 19, N 5) 4.8 (TOTAL 19, N 4) 6 (TOTAL 12, N 2)

Average # of Black Representatives in States with

Predominantly Single Member Districts in Black Areas 14.5 (TOTAL 72, N 5) 15.8 (TOTAL 95, N 6) 18.4 (TOTAL 129, N 7)

\* 3 member districts used throughout, Blacks only elected from majority Black municipalities.  
 † mix of 1, 2, and 3 person districts, Blacks only elected from majority Black municipalities, with one exception

# Success in General Elections (% of candidates that lose by party by race)



Gingles  
Exhibit 19

# Participation in General Elections (% of candidates of each party by race)

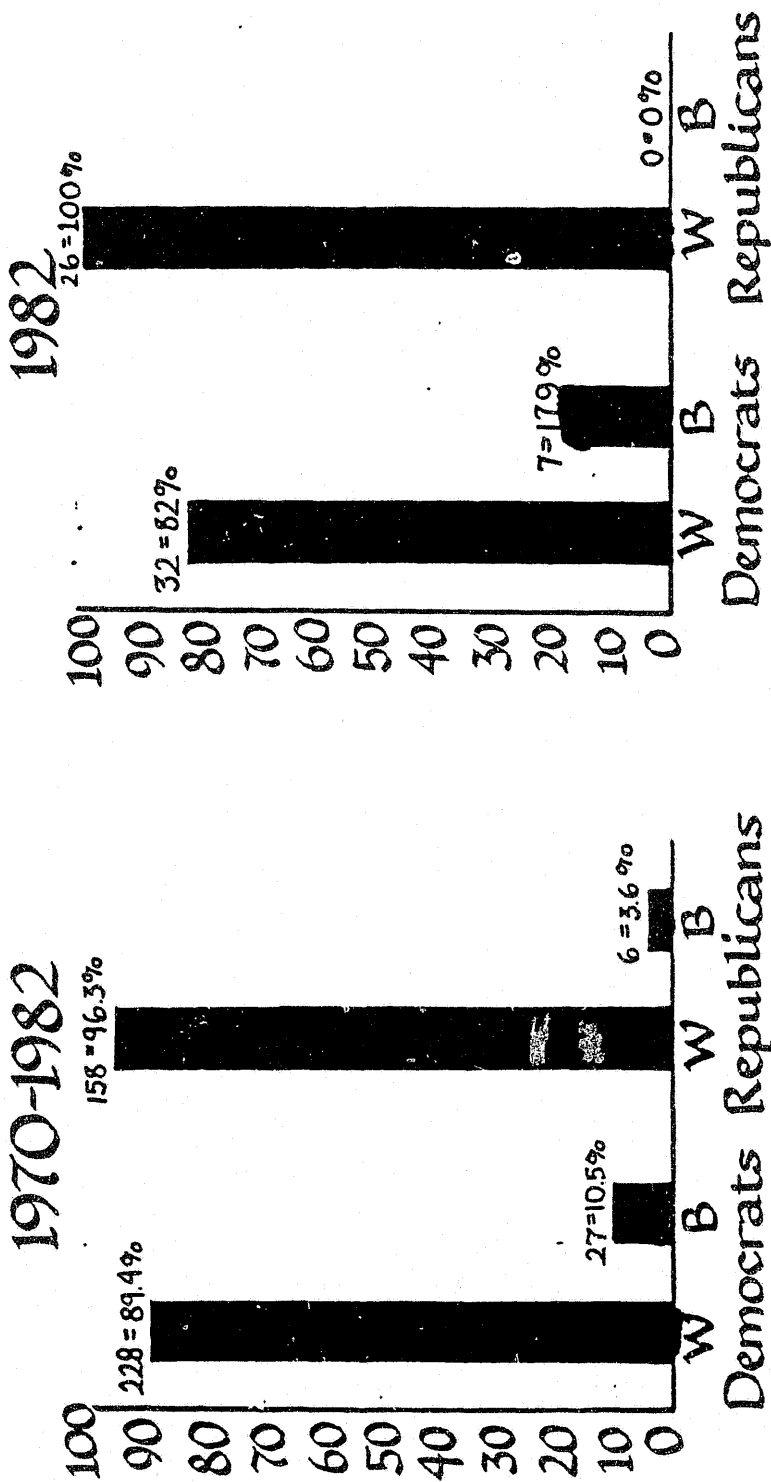


EXHIBIT 19

Gingles

**PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT 20 GINGLES**  
**The Disadvantageous Effects of At-Large Elections**  
**On the Success of Minority Candidates**  
**For the Charlotte and Raleigh City Councils**

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May 20, 1983

**I. Campaign Expenditures in the District-Based  
and At-Large Component of the Charlotte City Council and  
Raleigh City Council Elections in 1979 and 1981**

We would like to test the hypothesis that at-large elections are more expensive to run than district-based campaigns. Intuitively it would seem very reasonable that at-large elections, involving as they do larger constituencies, would be more costly.<sup>1</sup> However, there are a number of methodological problems in empirically validating what might appear commonsensically obvious; even though the few available studies (e.g., Grofman 1982; Jewell 1982) all support the truth of the proposed hypothesis:

(1) There are differences in spending patterns between incumbents and non-incumbents. Moreover, those differences are complicated by the considerable incumbency advantage in raising money versus the countervailing lesser need of highly visible incumbents to spend money to win elections. Also the magnitude of the incumbency

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<sup>1</sup>Campaign funds are often spent somewhat differently in at-large than in district elections; for the latter, use of city-wide media (e.g., radio, TV, city newspapers) is less efficient than for the former and this may reduce somewhat the cost advantages produced by the smaller scope of district-based campaigns.



advantage is often different in at-large than in single member district elections.

(2) Both at-large and district races contain candidates who run with little chance of victory (and with minimal campaign expenses), but the number of such candidates is generally greater in at-large elections.

(3) Many candidates largely finance city council campaigns through their own funds, and such personal resources vary widely, introducing idiosyncratic features which are hard to control for because of the small number of mixed system elections for which we have campaign funding data available for analysis.

Nonetheless, each of these methodological problems associated with analyzing comparative campaign expenditures across different types of election systems may be solved (or at least mitigated) if (1) we distinguish between incumbent and non-incumbent expenditures (2) for both incumbents and non-incumbents we focus on the expenditures of the *winning* candidates, and (3), we combine data so as to obtain a larger sample size and more reliable data estimates. We shall look at Charlotte City Council and Raleigh City Council campaign expenditures patterns, combining 1979 and 1981 data.

In Charlotte there were four at-large seats and seven district seats in both the 1979 and 1981 elections (see Appendices 1 and 2). Combining data for the two elections we find winners at large averaged over \$12,000 on campaign expenditures (whether they were incumbent or non-incumbent); while in the district based elections, winning challengers spent only \$5,815 and winning incumbents spent only \$3,198 (see Table 1). Thus, campaign costs in Charlotte City Council at-large elections were, on average, more than twice those for district elections in that city.

In Raleigh, for both the 1979 and the 1981 election, there were two at-large seats and five district seats (see Appendices 3 and 4). Combining data for the two elections we find incumbent winners at-large spent an average of \$9,105 while incumbent district winners spent an average of only \$5,344; non-incumbent at-large winners spent an average \$11,925 while non-incumbent district winners spent on average only \$5,213. Thus, at-large campaign costs in Raleigh at-large city council elections were, on average, roughly twice those for district elections in that city.

## **II. Success of Black Candidates in the District-Based and At-Large Component of Charlotte City Council and Raleigh City Council Elections**

The considerably higher expenditures required to run a successful at-large race in Charlotte imposes a burden on minority groups (such as blacks) who are economically disadvantaged. This financial burden, combined with racial bloc voting which makes for a greater difficulty of black success in at-large race with a primarily white electorate as compared to a district race with a primarily Black electorate (e.g., Charlotte Districts 2-3), has meant that Blacks are disproportionately excluded from the at-large council seats in Charlotte. In the period 1977-1981, of the 21 district seats contested, Blacks won 6 (28.6%); while of the 12 at-large seats contested Blacks won only 2 (16.7%), despite the fact that there were more Black candidates for the four at-large seats than for the seven district seats. In the preceding period, 1945-1975, under a pure at-large system, Black representation was even less, averaging only 5.4% (Heilig and Mundt 1981; see also Heilig, 1978; Mundt 1979).

As in Charlotte, Black electoral success in Raleigh was considerably greater in the district than in the at-large component of the city council elections in 1977-1981. Of

the 15 district seats contested, Blacks won three (20.0%), while of the six at-large seats contested, Blacks won no seats (0.0%), despite the fact that there were proportionally about as many Black candidates contesting the at-large elections as contesting the district elections. This finding of greater minority success in a district-based system (or the district-based component of a mixed system) than under an at-large or multi-member district system has been repeated in a large number of municipalities and other jurisdictions where there exists a substantial minority population and patterns of polarized voting (see esp. Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Karnig and Welch 1978, 1979; Grofman 1981; and overviews of the literature in Engstrom and McDonald 1984 forthcoming and in Grofman 1982b).

“Indeed, few generalizations in political science appear to be as well verified as the proposition that at-large elections tend to be discriminatory toward black Americans” (Engstrom and McDonald, 1984 forthcoming).

### III. Summary

We examined the campaign expenditure patterns for the at-large and district components of Charlotte and Raleigh, North Carolina city council elections and found that successful at-large election campaigns are more expensive to run than successful district campaigns. We then looked at the success of black candidates in recent Charlotte and Raleigh city council races and found dramatically greater success for black candidates running in the district-based elections than for those running for the city-wide seats. In reducing their likelihood of obtaining office if they do seek it, and/or in increasing the amount of money which must be spent to achieve office, at-large elections in Charlotte and Raleigh had a discriminatory effect on Black candidates, when compared with district elections in the same cities.

**Table 1<sup>1</sup>**  
**Campaign Expenses: Charlotte City Council, 1979-1981**

		Winning Incumbents <sup>2</sup>		Winning Non-Incumbents	
		At-large	District	At-large	District
1979				\$18,142	None
expenditures				19,100	
			1,907 (N = 2)	\$18,621	
		\$5,706	2,699		
		4,945	5,784		
average (N = 2)		\$5,326	\$3,031 (N = 5)		
1981				\$7,014	\$8,717
expenditures		\$18,452	1,936	5,292	2,913
		19,669	2,777 average	\$6,153 (N = 2)	\$5,815
average (N = 2)		\$19,061 (N = 5)	4,531 (N = 2)		
			4,800		
			\$3,433 (N = 5)		
1979 and					
average					
1981 (N = 4)		\$12,194 (N = 12)	\$4,198 (N = 9)	\$12,387 (N = 2)	\$5,815
combined					

<sup>1</sup>There were not enough winning black candidates to make it feasible to separately tabulate by race of candidate. The raw data on which this table was based is provided as appendices to this research note.

<sup>2</sup>In 1979 and 1981 all incumbents running for reelection to the Charlotte City Council won reelection. In 1979 9 of 11 incumbents sought reelection; in 1981, 7 of 11 did.

Table 12  
**Campaign Expenses: Raleigh City Council, 1979-1981**

	Winning Incumbents		Winning Non-Incumbents	
	At-large	District	At-large	District
1979 expenditures		\$15,723		
		4,187		
		257		
	\$3,598	5,048	\$10,016	\$8,962
average (N = 1)	\$3,598	\$ 6,304	\$10,016	\$8,962
	Winning Incumbents		Winning Non-Incumbents	
	At-large	District	At-large	District
1981 expenditures		\$5,310		
	\$14,611	1,301	\$13,834	\$1,463
average (N = 1)	\$14,611 (N = 4)	\$4,383 (N = 1)	\$13,834 (N = 1)	\$1,463
	Winning Incumbents		Winning Non-Incumbents	
	At-large	District	At-large	District
1979 and 1981 combined (N = 2)	\$9,105 (N = 8)	\$5,344 (N = 2)	\$11,925 (N = 2)	\$5,213

There were not enough winning black candidates to make it feasible to separately tabulate by race of candidate. The raw data on which this table was based is provided as appendices to this research note.

# WHITE PEOPLE WAKE UP

BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

**YOU MAY NOT HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE**

**DO YOU WANT?**

Negroes working beside you, your wife and daughters in your mills and factories?

Negroes eating beside you in all public eating places?

Negroes riding beside you, your wife and your daughters in buses, cabs and trains?

Negroes sleeping in the same hotels and rooming houses?

Negroes teaching and disciplining your children in school?

Negroes sitting with you and your family at all public meetings?

Negroes going to white schools and white children going to Negro schools?

Negroes to occupy the same hospital rooms with you and your wife and daughters?

Negroes as your foremen and overseers in the mills?

Negroes using your toilet facilities?

PENGAD-Bygone, N. I.  
PLAINTIFF'S  
EXHIBIT  
25  
Gingles

Northern political labor leaders have recently endorsed that all doors be opened to Negroes on union property. This will lead to whites and Negroes working and living together in the South as they do in the North. Do you want that?

**FRANK GRAHAM FAVORS MINGLING OF THE RACES**

**HE ADMITS THAT HE FAVORS MIXING NEGROES AND WHITES — HE SAYS SO IN THE REPORT HE SIGNED. (For Proof of This, Read Page 137, Civil Rights Report.)**

**DO YOU FAVOR THIS -- WANT SOME MORE OF IT?**

**IF YOU DO, VOTE FOR FRANK GRAHAM**

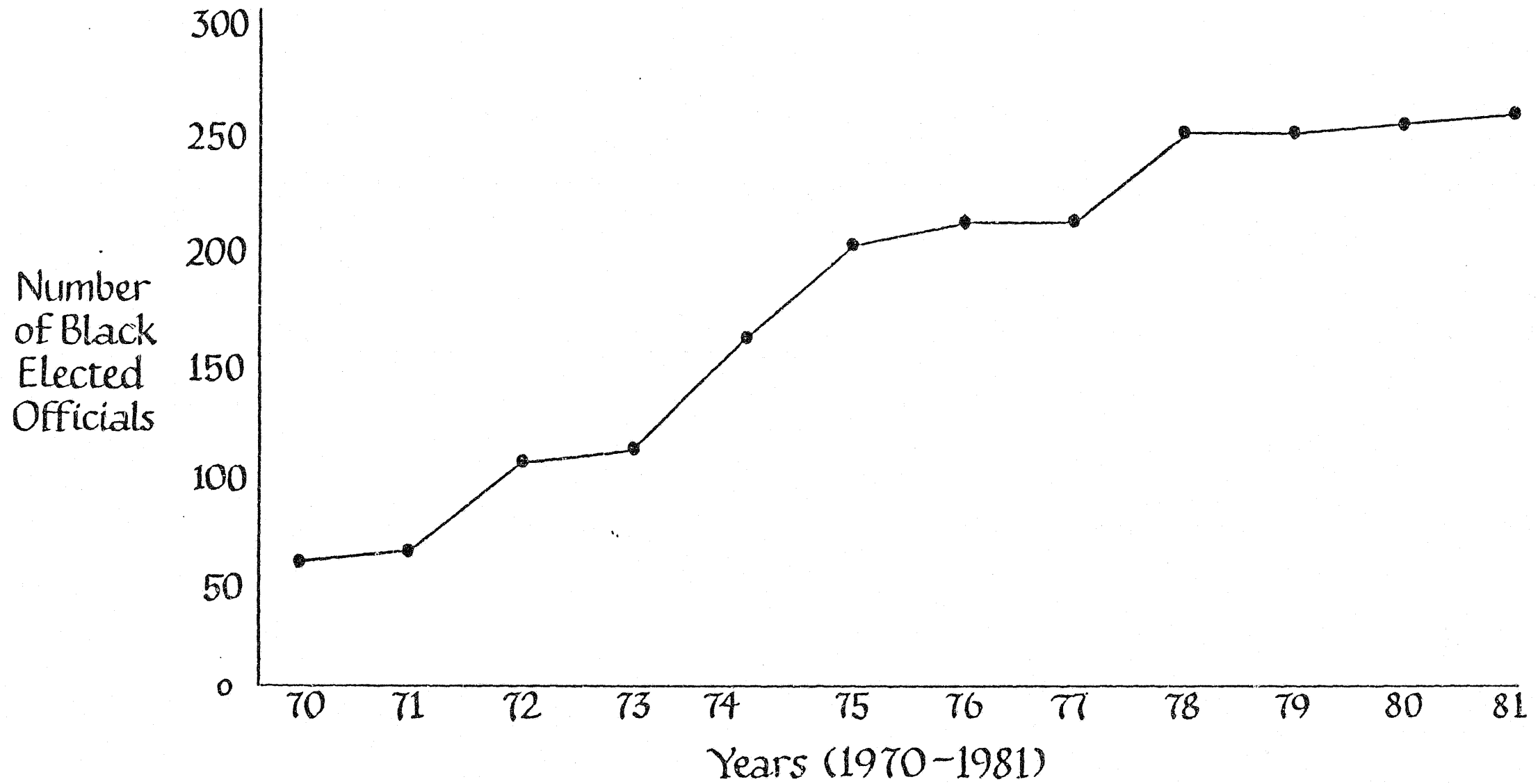
**BUT IF YOU DON'T**

**VOTE FOR AND HELP ELECT**

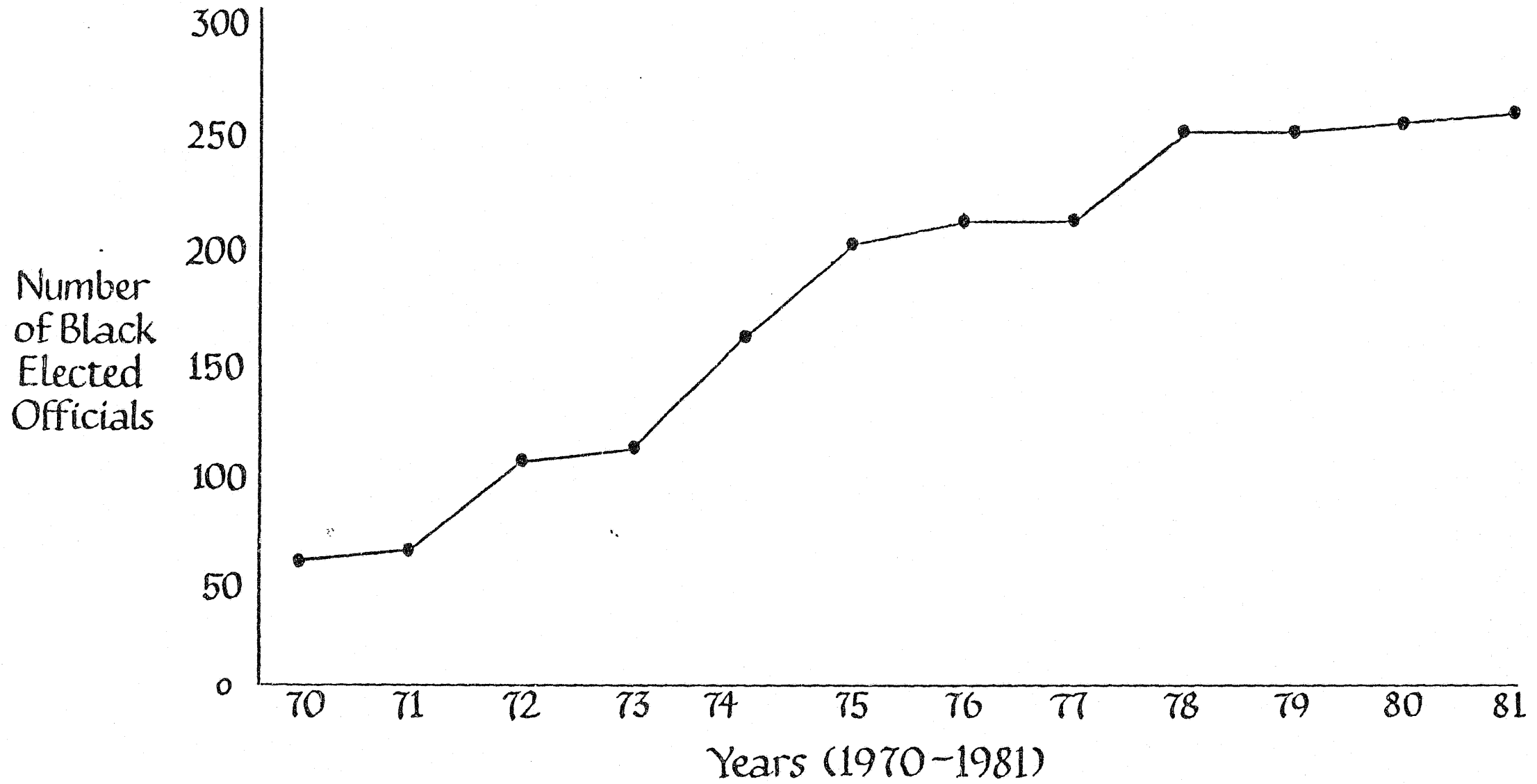
**WILLIS SMITH FOR SENATOR**

**HE WILL UPHOLD THE TRADITIONS OF THE SOUTH**

**KNOW THE TRUTH COMMITTEE**



Number of Black Elected Officials  
in North Carolina (1970-1981)



Number of Black Elected Officials  
in North Carolina (1970-1981)





Ex-23

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT

52

Gingles

**Vote  
Valentine  
For Congress**

Dear Fellow Democrat:

Tuesday, July 27th is a very important day for Democrats in Durham County. It is a day when you have a chance and obligation to influence the direction in which our national government will move during the critical years ahead.

That choice is whether you want to be represented in Congress by a big-government, free-spending liberal, or whether you want to be represented by a person whose thinking is much more in tune with the majority of our people.

I think the choice is very clear.

My opponent's liberal record is well-known.

While serving in the state legislature, among other things, he sponsored a bill which would have raised your personal income taxes by as much as 40 percent.

He also sponsored a bill which could have forced you to pay dues to a labor union whether you wanted to or not.

I am opposed to his kind of liberal thinking and I believe the majority of the people in our district are too.

Ex-24

I want you to know that I am opposed to higher taxes. I plan to introduce a constitutional amendment which would require a balanced federal budget, which would force the government to live within its means.

That would cause interest rates to come down which would revive agriculture, help industry grow and create more jobs for our people, thereby bringing down unemployment.

I have also made a commitment to open a fully-staffed Congressional Office in Durham, so that you will never be more than a local phone call away from help with your problems with the Federal Government.

I know it's July and it's hot. Many folks are on vacation. Many are busy with tobacco. It's easy not to stop and take the time to vote, but you must.

Our polls indicate that the same well organized block vote which was so obvious and influential on the 1st Primary will turn out again on July 27. My opponent will again be bussing his supporters to the polling places in record numbers.

If you and your friends don't vote on July 27 my opponent's block vote will decide the election for you.

## **A Congressman We Can Be Proud Of**

Paid for by the Tim Valentine for Congress Committee.

C.T. Lane, Treasurer, P.O. Box 353, Rocky Mount, N.C. 27801

A copy of our report is filed with the Clerk of the House and is available for purchase from The Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20515

Ex-25

Your vote will make the difference.

Please join me in voting on Tuesday, July 27. I promise to be a Congressman of whom you can be proud.

Sincerely,

Tim  
Valentine

P.S.

CALL TO ACTION

Please take the time to become personally involved in my campaign by listing below the names of five friends and neighbors, along with their telephone numbers, and call them on Tuesday, July 27 to make sure that each one votes.

NAME

TELEPHONE #

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

**Vote**  
**Valentine**  
**For Congress**

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**Vote  
Valentine  
For Congress**

Durham Headquarters  
202 Corcoran Street  
Durham, N.C. 27701

July 21, 1982

Dear Registered Voter,

We ask that you consider the voting pattern and results of the June 29 primary. There were many many precincts in Durham that voted over 60% of their registration, while our precinct only voted around 45%.

If you object to this domination—if you are resentful of having others elect your officials—then you should vote on July 27.

Join us in proving to ourselves that Tim Valentine can carry Club Boulevard precinct.

Regards,

Jim Dickson

Ex-27

From the Durham Morning Herald

June 30, 1982

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Valentine</u>	<u>Michaux</u>	<u>Ramsey</u>
Club Blvd.	264	209	282
Burton	9	1260	14
Hillside	1	883	9
Whitted	1	419	5
Shepard	2	744	9
Hillandale	302	192	313

## **A Strong Voice For Our District**

Paid for by the Tim Valentine for Congress Committee.  
C.T. Lane, Treasurer, P.O. Box 353, Rocky Mount, N.C. 27801  
A copy of our report is filed with the Clerk of the House and is  
available for purchase from The Federal Election Commission,  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 1**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

November 30, 1981

**SPECIAL MEMORANDUM**

**SUBJECT:** Increased Voter Registration

**FROM:** Robert W. Spearman, Chairman  
Alex K. Brock, Director

**TO:** All County Board Members and Supervisors

At its meeting on November 9, 1981, the State Board of Elections adopted and endorsed the goal of increased voter registration in North Carolina as a top Board priority.

The Board has directed us to communicate with each of you about its interest and concern in this important area.

A successful effort to increase voter registration will require pooling the efforts, talents, energy and ideas of

local board members, supervisors, elected officials, state board members and staff with the political parties, civic groups and all interested citizens.

We would request that at your next local board meeting you consider what specific steps can be taken in your county and statewide to make it easier and more convenient for citizens to register to vote. We also request you provide our board with the voting age population in your county, based on the most recent U.S. census.

We would very much appreciate any guidance and suggestions you can give us as to steps the state board and its staff can take to increase registration, whether those be by adopting or altering regulations, recommending legislation to the General Assembly, sponsoring registration drives or other techniques.

We are aware that certain voter registration techniques work better in some areas than in others. Among the approaches that you may wish to consider using in your county are:

1. Running public service spots on TV or radio telling citizens the specific times and places they can register.
2. Encourage local political parties to work with precinct judges, registrars and special registration commissioners to have special voter registration days at community centers, schools and shopping centers.
3. Request local county (and municipal) officials to include information about how and where one can register in mailings that are routinely sent out from county or city offices (e.g., with tax listing notices, water and sewer bills, etc.).
4. In counties where such a system is not already in place, work with local library officials and library trustees to have public library employees designated as



Ex-30

special library registration deputies. (This is already authorized by G.S. 163-80 (6).)

5. Use supervisors, deputy supervisors of elections and local election board members as registrars for special registration efforts in schools, community centers, nursing homes, etc. (This is already authorized by G.S. 163-35 and 163-80.)

We very much look forward to working with you on voter registration and we would certainly appreciate any suggestions you can pass along to us.

DUPLICATE THIS FOR ALL BOARD MEMBERS

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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 2**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

December 14, 1981

**TO: NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY ELECTIONS BOARDS AND  
SUPERVISORS**

Recently questions have been raised concerning compensation of registrars, judges and special registration commissioners in voter registration efforts. Often the questions have come up when a civic or community group desires to have a qualified person eligible to register voters present at a rally, picnic, dinner or some other community occasion. In such situations, the following principles should be followed.

1. Under State law any registrar, judge of election or special registration commissioner can register voters anywhere in the county without regard to the precinct of the applicant unless the local board has restricted the authority of the registrar, judge or special commissioner. G.S. 173-67.

The State Board strongly encourages the use of registrars, judges and special registration commissioners for

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special registration efforts and suggests that any local board rules restricting their authority be reexamined.

2. There is no state law requirement that registrars, judges or special registration commissioners be compensated for registering voters. Frequently registrars and judges register voters (as opposed to performing their election day duties) on a volunteer basis without pay. (However, some county boards do pay for special registration work performed at public libraries or other places, and it is perfectly proper to do so.)

3. Private groups may not compensate registrars, election judges, or special registration commissioners. G.S. 163-275.

4. If a private group (e.g. civic club, community association, etc.) is willing to or desires to reimburse a county for the cost of paying registrars for special registration efforts it may properly do so. The proper procedure to follow is for the group to make a contribution to the board of county commissioners for the purpose of special voter registration and the commissioners could then appropriate the funds to the local Board of Elections for such purpose.

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Robert W. Spearman  
Chairman, State Board of  
Elections

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Alex K. Brock  
Executive Secretary-Director,  
State Board of Elections

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Senior Deputy Attorney General

DUPLICATE FOR ALL BOARD MEMBERS

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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 3**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

January 29, 1982

TO: COUNTY BOARD MEMBERS AND SUPERVISORS

FROM: BOB SPEARMAN, CHAIRMAN  
ALEX BROCK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: CITIZEN AWARENESS YEAR AND VOTER  
REGISTRATION

At the request of the State Board of Elections, Governor James Hunt has designated 1982 as a Citizen Awareness Year in which a maximum effort will be made to increase North Carolina voter registration.

The State Board will sponsor two major voter registration drives, from April 15, 1982 to July 5, 1982 before the primary and from September 1 to October 4 (when registration closes for the general election.)

The voter registration drive is officially sponsored and is nonpartisan. All political parties and civic groups are invited and encouraged to participate.

Obviously, the success of this effort will depend very much upon you because you are the public officials most familiar with the election process and closest to its day-to-day operation.

There will be two main thrusts to the voter registration drive: (1) Maximum publicity of existing voter registration opportunities and (2) Provision of special registration opportunities to maximize participation.

The State Board intends to take all possible steps to maximize statewide publicity, including holding press conferences and providing public service spots to radio and television stations. We request that your local board take similar steps in your county or municipality. Specifically, you may wish to consider the following:

Check with local T.V. and radio stations to determine if they will produce and broadcast public service spots telling county citizens when and where they can register to vote. (The spot announcements can be made by different board members.)

Issue press releases on Citizen Awareness Year in your area and registration opportunities.

Post signs or notices with registration information in public places (e.g. county offices, stores, community bulletin boards.)

Check with county and municipal officials to see if they would agree to have basic voter registration information included with routine official mailings (e.g. with tax notices or municipal water bills.)

#### Special Registration Opportunities.

In addition to publicizing existing registration opportunities, we need to take extra steps to reach groups whose registration has historically been low. Situations vary in different areas of the State, but frequently groups with low registration include elderly citizens, young people, and

minority groups. We request you consider using the following outreach techniques during Citizen Awareness Year, particularly from April 15, 1982 to July 5, 1982 and September 1 to October 4, 1982.

1. Staff registration tables in evening hours at places where large groups of people congregate (shopping centers are often excellent.)

2. Have a "registration day" in the spring and again in the fall in local public high schools and community colleges; on these days send registrars and commissioners to register students and faculty at their educational institutions.

3. Send registrars or commissioners for special registration events to residential areas where registration is low. These may include nursing homes, public housing or mobile home parks.

4. Upon request; supply registrars or commissioners for special events being run by community groups, such as banquets, dinners, picnics, athletic contests, church suppers, etc. (Very frequently, this can be done without any cost to the board because registrars or commissioners will donate their time and not expect to be paid.)

We expect that local boards will receive requests from political parties and community groups for assistance in special registration efforts during Citizens Awareness Year.

When you receive such requests, try to be as helpful as you can in answering questions, supplying voter registration information and where necessary, helping to find registrars, judges, and special registration commissioners who can assist in registering voters at special events.

Paid Pol. Adv.

## WHAT NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPERS SAY ABOUT VOTER REGISTRATION



**GOV. HUNT, REV. JACKSON MEET** — Governor Jim Hunt and the Rev. Jesse Jackson met in the Executive Mansion March 11 to discuss a number of mutual concerns, including voter registration . . .

*The Carolinian*, 3-18-82

**“He (Jesse Jackson) said Gov. Jim Hunt, an expected Senate candidate in 1984, had ‘a limited future—unless we register.’”**

*Greensboro Daily News*, 5-16-83

**“We must register at least 200,000 black voters in North Carolina in the next two months.” (Jesse Jackson)**

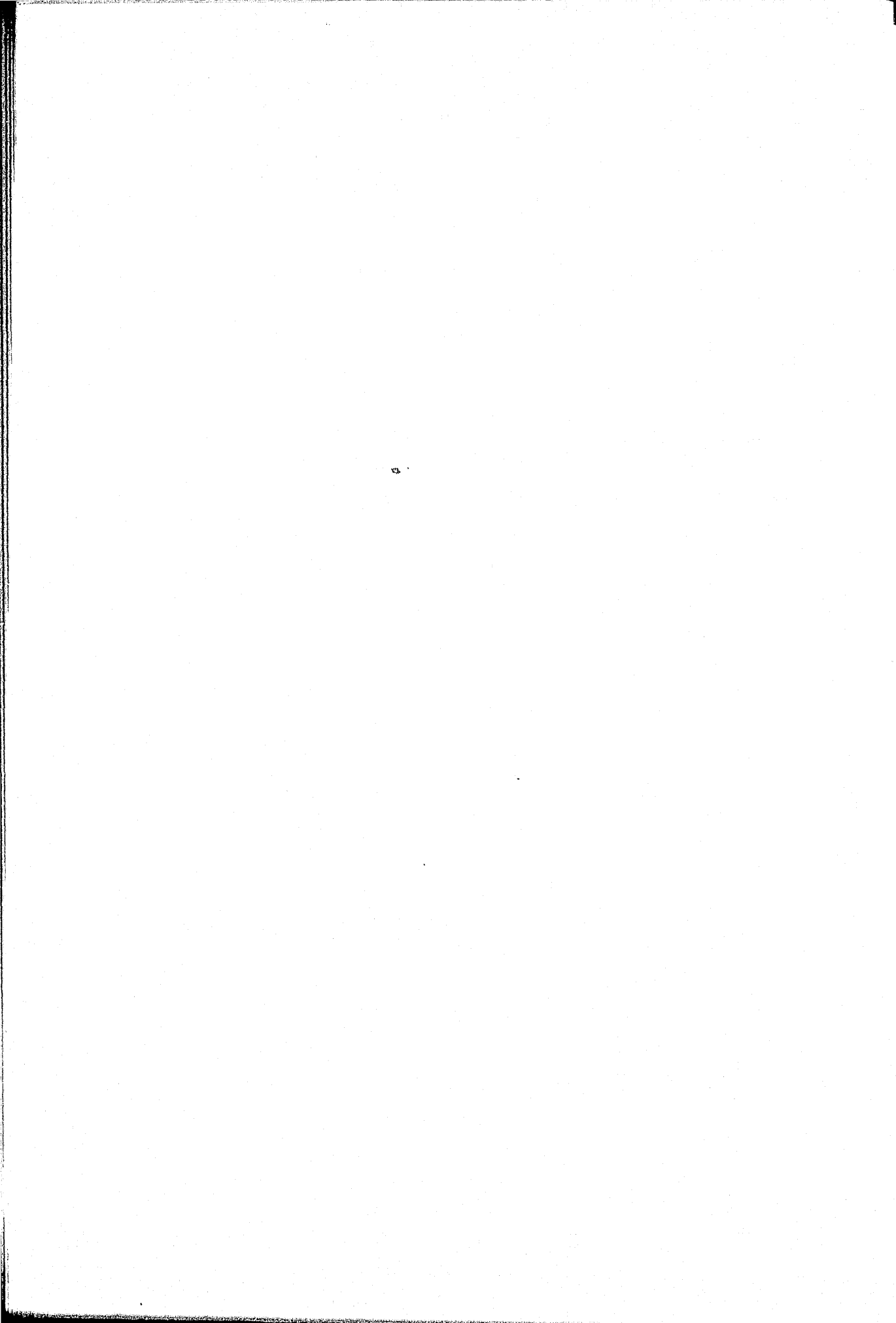
*News and Observer*, 4-22-83

**“Gov. James B. Hunt, Jr. wants the State Board of Elections to boost minority voter registration in North Carolina . . .”**

*UPI Chapel Hill Newspaper*, 11-10-81

**Ask Yourself:  
Is This A Proper Use Of Taxpayer Funds?**







## GINGLES EXHIBIT #56

## Mecklenburg County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	291,442	107,006	404,270
Percent of Population	72.1	26.5	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	5.5	25.7	10.9
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	61.7	27.9	53.6
Mean Income	27,209	15,519	24,462
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	57.0%		
Total Number of Housing Units	111,223	34,209	
Number of Renter Occupied	36,949	2,056	
Percent Renter Occupied	33.2	60.1	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	5.0	26.5	10.0
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	9.9	25.0	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	24.0		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	16.9		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #57

## Forsyth County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	182,647	59,403	243,683
Percent of Population	75.0	24.4	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	6.9	25.6	11.6
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	56.2	28.6	50.2
Mean Income	25,355	15,101	23,188
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	59.56%		
Total Number of Housing Units	69,699	19,885	
Number of Renter Occupied	19,320	11,934	
Percent Renter Occupied	27.7	60.0	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	5.9	27.4	10.7
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	16.7	26.6	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	22.0		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	20.3		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #58

## Durham County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	95,818	55,424	152,785
Percent of Population	62.7	36.3	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	7.6	24.9	14.0
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	57.8	28.5	47.9
Mean Income	24,984	15,357	21,719
Ratio Black to White Mean Income		-61.47%	
Total Number of Housing Units	36,792	18,343	
Number of Renter Occupied	13,953	11,462	
Percent Renter Occupied	37.9	62.5	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	6.9	25.2	13.0
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	14.6	26.6	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)		33.6	
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)		24.9	

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #59

## Wake County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	231,561	65,553	301,327
Percent of Population	76.8	21.8	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	6.2	23.4	10.0
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	63.7	28.7	56.8
Mean Income	26,893	15,347	24,646
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	57.07%		
Total Number of Housing Units	85,664	19,793	
Number of Renter Occupied	29,609	11,021	
Percent Renter Occupied	34.6	55.7	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	4.5	21.0	7.6
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	9.3	28.2	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)			
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)			

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #60

## Wilson County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	39,943	22,981	63,132
Percent of Population	63.3	36.4	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	9.6	37.8	20.0
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	45.5	17.1	36.5
Mean Income	21,687	12,241	18,732
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	56.44%		14.0
Total Number of Housing Units	14,725	6,781	
Number of Renter Occupied	4,818	4,368	
Percent Renter Occupied	32.7	64.4	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	7.1	29.1	14.0
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	23.0	44.2	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	32.4		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	23.0		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #61

## Edgecombe County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	27,428	28,433	55,988
Percent of Population	49.0	50.8	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	9.6	30.5	20.2
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	44.2	20.2	33.3
Mean Income	20,476	13,592	17,360
Ratio Black to White Mean Income		- 66.38%	
Total Number of Housing Units	10,246	8,117	
Number of Renter Occupied	2,782	4,258	
Percent Renter Occupied	27.2	52.5	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	7.7	26.2	16.0
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	23.8	40.3	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	46.7		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	34.6		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #62

## Nash County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	44,745	22,089	67,153
Percent of Population	66.6	32.9	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	8.9	41.8	19.9
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	46.7	13.9	37.5
Mean Income	21,785	11,434	18,937
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	52.49%		
Total Number of Housing Units	16,982	6,391	
Number of Renter Occupied	4,933	3,763	
Percent Renter Occupied	29.0	58.9	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	6.7	27.2	12.3
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less			
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	29.4		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	13.2		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #63

## Halifax County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	27,559	26,053	55,286
Percent of Population	49.8	47.1	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	12.6	47.8	
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	37.9	12.9	27.1
Mean Income	19,042	10,465	15,479
Ratio Black to White Mean Income		-54.96%	
Total Number of Housing Units	10,680	7,201	
Number of Renter Occupied	2,800	3,520	
Percent Renter Occupied	26.2	48.9	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	10.2	32.3	19.0
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	25.6	51.5	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)			
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	44.0	35.2	



## GINGLES EXHIBIT #64

## Northampton County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	8,824	13,709	22,584
Percent of Population	39.1	60.7	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	11.6	38.2	28.1
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	34.9	15.3	24.0
Mean Income	19,964	12,942	16,080
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	64.83%		
Total Number of Housing Units	3,248	3,849	
Number of Renter Occupied	549	1,261	
Percent Renter Occupied	16.9	32.8	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	10.5	27.9	19.9
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	23.1	54.6	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	56.2		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	51.4		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #65

## Hertford County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	10,285	12,810	23,368
Percent of Population	44.0	54.8	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	10.4	34.7	24.3
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	41.8	20.5	31.2
Mean Income	20,465	13,194	16,946
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	64.47%		
Total Number of Housing Units	3,727	3,709	
Number of Renter Occupied	950	1,452	
Percent Renter Occupied	25.5	39.1	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	10.0	28.1	19.2
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	21.9	48.1	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	56.2		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	51.4		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #66

## Gates County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	4,192	4,664	8,875
Percent of Population	47.2	52.6	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	7.9	30.5	19.7
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	43.4	22.1	33.4
Mean Income	21,025	13,204	17,380
Ratio Black to White Mean Income		-62.8%	
Total Number of Housing Units	1,605	1,274	
Number of Renter Occupied	265	343	
Percent Renter Occupied	16.5	26.9	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	7.2	21.9	13.7
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	21.3	43.4	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)		-49.4	
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)		-47.8	

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #67

## Martin County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	14,334	11,555	25,948
Percent of Population	55.2	44.5	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	10.8	40.3	24.1
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	*	*	*
Mean Income	*	*	*
Ratio Black to White Mean Income		*	
Total Number of Housing Units	*		
Number of Renter Occupied	*		
Percent Renter Occupied	*		
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	*		
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	25.2	47.9	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)			
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	40.6	33.1	

\*not available

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #68

## Bertie County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	8,488	12,441	21,024
Percent of Population	40.6	59.2	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	13.2	40.7	29.4
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	32.0	12.8	22.0
Mean Income	17,649	12,502	15,008
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	70.8%		
Total Number of Housing Units	3,346	3,533	
Number of Renter Occupied	678	1,293	
Percent Renter Occupied	20.3	36.6	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	8.8	24.2	16.6
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	28.8	45.1	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	54.5		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	44.2		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #69

## Washington County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	8,346	6,410	14,801
Percent of Population	56.4	43.3	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	10.9	35.9	21.7
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	48.5	22.4	38.9
Mean Income	20,868	13,019	17,998
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	62.39%		
Total Number of Housing Units	3,052	1,670	
Number of Renter Occupied	596	624	
Percent Renter Occupied	19.5	37.4	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	7.6	30.1	15.6
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	22.2	43.9	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	39.1		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	34.0		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #70

## Chowan County—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	7,294	5,210	12,558
Percent of Population	58.1	41.5	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	8.8	45.4	24.0
Percent of Family Income over \$20,000	41.5	9.5	29.1
Mean Income	20,622	10,704	16,877
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	51%		
Total Number of Housing Units	2,765	1,559	
Number of Renter Occupied	587	738	
Percent Renter Occupied	21.2	47.3	
Percent Units with No Vehi- cle Available	7.5	30.3	15.8
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Education or Less	23.2	48.9	
Percent Voting Age Popula- tion that is Black (1980)	38.1		
Percent Voters that is Black (1980)	31.2		

## GINGLES EXHIBIT #70A

## North Carolina—Demographic Data

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	4,460,570	1,319,054	5,881,766
Percent of Population	75.8	22.4	
Percent of Population Below Poverty	10.0	30.4	14.8
Percent of Family In- come over \$20,000	43.8	21.5	39.2
Mean Income	21,008	13,648	19,544
Ratio Black to White Mean Income	64.9%		
Total Number of Housing Units	1,624,372	391,379	
Number of Renter Occupied	442,060	191,925	
Percent Renter Occupied	27.2	49.03	
Percent Units with No Vehicle Available	7.3	25.1	10.8
Percent Over 25 with Eighth Grade Educa- tion or Less	22.0	34.6	
Percent Voting			



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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 1**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

November 30, 1981

**SPECIAL MEMORANDUM**

**SUBJECT:** Increased Voter Registration

**FROM:** Robert W. Spearman, Chairman  
Alex K. Brock, Director

**TO:** All County Board Members and Supervisors

At its meeting on November 9, 1981, the State Board of Elections adopted and endorsed the goal of increased voter registration in North Carolina as a top Board priority.

The Board has directed us to communicate with each of you about its interest and concern in this important area.

A successful effort to increase voter registration will require pooling the efforts, talents, energy and ideas of

local board members, supervisors, elected officials, state board members and staff with the political parties, civic groups and all interested citizens.

We would request that at your next local board meeting you consider what specific steps can be taken in your county and statewide to make it easier and more convenient for citizens to register to vote. We also request you provide our board with the voting age population in your county, based on the most recent U.S. census.

We would very much appreciate any guidance and suggestions you can give us as to steps the state board and its staff can take to increase registration, whether those be by adopting or altering regulations, recommending legislation to the General Assembly, sponsoring registration drives or other techniques.

We are aware that certain voter registration techniques work better in some areas than in others. Among the approaches that you may wish to consider using in your county are:

1. Running public service spots on TV or radio telling citizens the specific times and places they can register.
2. Encourage local political parties to work with precinct judges, registrars and special registration commissioners to have special voter registration days at community centers, schools and shopping centers.
3. Request local county (and municipal) officials to include information about how and where one can register in mailings that are routinely sent out from county or city offices (e.g., with tax listing notices, water and sewer bills, etc.).
4. In counties where such a system is not already in place, work with local library officials and library trustees to have public library employees designated as

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special library registration deputies. (This is already authorized by G.S. 163-80 (6).)

5. Use supervisors, deputy supervisors of elections and local election board members as registrars for special registration efforts in schools, community centers, nursing homes, etc. (This is already authorized by G.S. 163-35 and 163-80.)

We very much look forward to working with you on voter registration and we would certainly appreciate any suggestions you can pass along to us.

DUPLICATE THIS FOR ALL BOARD MEMBERS

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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 2**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

December 14, 1981

**TO: NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY ELECTIONS BOARDS AND  
SUPERVISORS**

Recently questions have been raised concerning compensation of registrars, judges and special registration commissioners in voter registration efforts. Often the questions have come up when a civic or community group desires to have a qualified person eligible to register voters present at a rally, picnic, dinner or some other community occasion. In such situations, the following principles should be followed.

1. Under State law any registrar, judge of election or special registration commissioner can register voters anywhere in the county without regard to the precinct of the applicant unless the local board has restricted the authority of the registrar, judge or special commissioner. G.S. 173-67.

The State Board strongly encourages the use of registrars, judges and special registration commissioners for

special registration efforts and suggests that any local board rules restricting their authority be reexamined.

2. There is no state law requirement that registrars, judges or special registration commissioners be compensated for registering voters. Frequently registrars and judges register voters (as opposed to performing their election day duties) on a volunteer basis without pay. (However, some county boards do pay for special registration work performed at public libraries or other places, and it is perfectly proper to do so.)

3. Private groups may not compensate registrars, election judges, or special registration commissioners. G.S. 163-275.

4. If a private group (e.g. civic club, community association, etc.) is willing to or desires to reimburse a county for the cost of paying registrars for special registration efforts it may properly do so. The proper procedure to follow is for the group to make a contribution to the board of county commissioners for the purpose of special voter registration and the commissioners could then appropriate the funds to the local Board of Elections for such purpose.

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Robert W. Spearman  
Chairman, State Board of  
Elections

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Alex K. Brock  
Executive Secretary-Director,  
State Board of Elections

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Senior Deputy Attorney General

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**DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 3**

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN**

**MEMBERS**

**MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE**

**WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM**

**MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE**

**ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH**

**JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO**

January 29, 1982

TO: COUNTY BOARD MEMBERS AND SUPERVISORS

FROM: BOB SPEARMAN, CHAIRMAN  
ALEX BROCK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: CITIZEN AWARENESS YEAR AND VOTER  
REGISTRATION

At the request of the State Board of Elections, Governor James Hunt has designated 1982 as a Citizen Awareness Year in which a maximum effort will be made to increase North Carolina voter registration.

The State Board will sponsor two major voter registration drives, from April 15, 1982 to July 5, 1982 before the primary and from September 1 to October 4 (when registration closes for the general election.)

The voter registration drive is officially spon-

sored and is nonpartisan. All political parties and civic groups are invited and encouraged to participate.

Obviously, the success of this effort will depend very much upon you because you are the public officials most familiar with the election process and closest to its day-to-day operation.

There will be two main thrusts to the voter registration drive: (1) Maximum publicity of existing voter registration opportunities and (2) Provision of special registration opportunities to maximize participation.

The State Board intends to take all possible steps to maximize statewide publicity, including holding press conferences and providing public service spots to radio and television stations. We request that your local board take similar steps in your county or municipality. Specifically, you may wish to consider the following:

Check with local T.V. and radio stations to determine if they will produce and broadcast public service spots telling county citizens when and where they can register to vote. (The spot announcements can be made by different board members.)

Issue press releases on Citizen Awareness Year in your area and registration opportunities.

Post signs or notices with registration information in public places (e.g. county offices, stores, community bulletin boards.)

Check with county and municipal officials to see if they would agree to have basic voter registration information included with routine official mailings (e.g. with tax notices or municipal water bills.)

#### Special Registration Opportunities.

In addition to publicizing existing registration opportunities, we need to take extra steps to reach groups

whose registration has historically been low. Situations vary in different areas of the State, but frequently groups with low registration include elderly citizens, young people, and minority groups. We request you consider using the following outreach techniques during Citizen Awareness Year, particularly from April 15, 1982 to July 5, 1982 and September 1 to October 4, 1982.

1. Staff registration tables in evening hours at places where large groups of people congregate (shopping centers are often excellent.)

2. Have a "registration day" in the spring and again in the fall in local public high schools and community colleges; on these days send registrars and commissioners to register students and faculty at their educational institutions.

3. Send registrars or commissioners for special registration events to residential areas where registration is low. These may include nursing homes, public housing or mobile home parks.

4. Upon request; supply registrars or commissioners for special events being run by community groups, such as banquets, dinners, picnics, athletic contests, church suppers, etc. (Very frequently, this can be done without any cost to the board because registrars or commissioners will donate their time and not expect to be paid.)

We expect that local boards will receive requests from political parties and community groups for assistance in special registration efforts during Citizens Awareness Year.

When you receive such requests, try to be as helpful as you can in answering questions, supplying voter registration information and where necessary, helping to find registrars, judges, and special registration commissioners who can assist in registering voters at special events.



**DEFENDANT'S  
EXHIBIT**

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**North Carolina Voter Registration February,  
1982-October, 1982**

	<u>White Voters Registered</u>	<u>Non-White Voters Registered</u>	<u>All Voters Registered</u>
2/9/82	2,081,836	401,962	2,483,798
3/31/82	2,108,211	416,735	
6/1/82	2,160,579	455,368	
10/4/82	2,201,189	470,638	2,671,827
Absolute Increase			
2/9/82 to 6/1/82	78,743	53,406	132,149
% increase			
2/9/82 to 6/1/82	3.7%	13.2%	5%
Absolute Increase			
2/9/82 to 10/4/82	119,353	68,676	188,029
% increase			
2/9/82 to 10/4/82	5.7%	17%	7.5%

\* \* \* \* \*

**Approximate Percent of Voting Age Population\*  
Registered**

2/9/82	58.6%
6/1/82	61.7%
10/4/82	63.1%

\*based upon February, 1982 population statistics.

**Voter Registration Increases For Selected Counties From  
February 1982 to October 1982**

County	Increase White		Increase Non-White		Total % Increase All Voters
	Registered Voters	% Increase	Registered Voters	% Increase	
Forsyth	4,105	4%	2,880	13%	6%
Mecklenburg	6,493	4%	2,896	9%	5%
Wake	4,416	4%	2,292	11%	5%
Durham	2,246	5%	3,565	21%	9%
Nash	802	4%	1,620	37%	10%
Edgecombe	215	2%	3,310	54%	19%
Wilson	952	5%	2,193	46%	14%
Halifax	676	5%	2,507	36%	16%
Bertie	431	10%	1,126	32%	20%
Chowan	131	3%	223	14%	6%
Gates	141	6%	451	21%	13%
Hertford	456	9%	1,143	31%	18%
Martin	202	3%	539	16%	7%
Northampton	1,029	22%	1,903	42%	32%
Washington	195	4%	403	18%	9%

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DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 15

STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS  
SUITE 801 RALEIGH BUILDING  
5 WEST HARGETT STREET  
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27601

ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
CHAIRMAN

MEMBERS

MRS. ELLOREE M. ERWIN  
CHARLOTTE

WILLIAM A. MARSH, JR.  
DURHAM

MRS. RUTH TURNER SEMASHKO  
HORSE SHOE

ROBERT W. SPEARMAN  
RALEIGH

JOHN A. WALKER  
NORTH WILKESBORO

January 14, 1983

Governor James B. Hunt  
State Capital  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Lieutenant Governor James  
Green  
Legislative Office Building  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Speaker Liston Ramsey  
North Carolina House of  
Representatives  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Representative J. Worth  
Gentry

North Carolina House of  
Representatives  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Senator Wilma C. Woodard  
North Carolina State Senate  
Raleigh, North Carolina

Gentlemen and Senator Woodard:

In recent months the North Carolina Board of Elections has given careful consideration to possible recommendations to you concerning the conduct and administration of the election laws.

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We have received proposals from interested citizens, political parties, county election boards and other groups.

We wish to recommend the following six items for legislative action in the 1983 Session. As you are aware the State board and County Boards have in the last year made extensive efforts to ease access to voter registration, and our recommendations include several items in this very important area.

1. Authorization to permit the State Election Board to name Department of Motor Vehicle drivers license examiners as special registration commissioners.

This would enable citizens to complete voter registration application when they obtain or renew their driver's license. Such a system has worked very well in Michigan; it has recently been recommended by Governor Robb in Virginia and voters in Arizona adopted it by referendum in the recent November election. This proposal is supported by the North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles.

2. Legislation to permit voter registration at public high schools with school librarians as registrars.

We are all aware that registration rates among young people are low and need to be raised. This proposal should lead to substantial registration increases.

3. Require public libraries to permit voter registration. Public library registration has been extremely successful in many counties in the state. The concept is strongly supported by county election boards.

4. Legislation providing for simultaneous issuance of absentee ballot application and absentee ballot itself.

This reform would reduce postage costs and make it easier for qualified persons to vote absentee without eliminating any of our existing safeguards.

5. Amendment of G.S. 163-22.1 to permit State Elections Board to order a new election when legally

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appropriate, after hearings have been held and findings of fact made by a county board.

This would clarify the authority of the State Board to order a new election without unnecessarily duplicating hearings already held by a county board. The amendment would save time, money and expedite the resolution of election contests.

6. Authorization of constitutional amendment to grant State Board authority to issue regulations to deal with "out of precinct" voting problem.

Citizens and election officials alike are frustrated by the situation where persons move from one precinct to another within a county but fail to transfer their registration. When registration has not been changed by election day citizens either lose their right to vote or vote improperly in their old precinct. A constitutional amendment is apparently needed here because the 30 day residency requirement for a precinct for eligibility to vote is a constitutional requirement.

\* \* \*

In addition to these six proposals we also suggest that the appropriate House and Senate committees may well wish to review the operation and administration of Article 23 and 24 or Chapter 163 regarding municipal elections and consider whether all municipalities should contract to have municipal elections administered by county election boards.

We look forward to working with you on these matters.

With best wishes,

Robert W. Spearman  
Chairman, State Board of Elections

Alex K. Brock  
Executive Director  
State Board of Elections

RWS/ehd

cc: Members, State Board of Elections  
James Bullock