

**Building Strength thru Unity,  
and Unity thru Organization**



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**Working for an accurate census count  
and to create fair political districts  
to empower African American and  
Latino communities across the  
Southern and Southwest Regions!**

*A Convening of the  
South X Southwest Experiment  
brought together by the:  
South West Organizing Project,  
Southwest Workers Union, and  
Southern Echo, Inc.*

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**Proposed Agenda**  
**Convening of the South X Southwest Experiment**  
**Friday, May 15 – Sunday, May 17, 2009**  
**on**  
**Working to Empower Communities**  
**through an Accurate Census Count in 2010**  
**and the**  
**Creation of Fair Political Districts in 2011**



**Building Strength thru Unity,  
and Unity thru Organization**

**A Convening with 6 moving parts:**

- **Understanding the historical and political context of our work**
- **Working with community to Achieve an Accurate Census Count in 2010**
- **Working with community to Create Fair Political Districts in 2011**
- **Sustaining work with community to enable the election of accountable representatives**
- **Sustaining work with community to impact the formation and implementation of public policies that are responsive to the needs and interests of low-wealth grassroots communities**
- **Where Do We Go From Here? Next Steps ...**

**Friday, May 15, 2009**

**Noon**            **DELICIOUS LUNCH .... 90 minutes**

**1:30 pm**        **Welcome, Invocation and Songs**

**1:40 pm**        **Brief Introduction of Participants**

4 questions:

- \* Who are you?
- \* Where are you from?
- \* What is your organizational affiliation?
- \* What is one thing you hope to get from this convening?

- 2:10 pm**      **Brief Introduction of Organizations**  
 4 organizational bases, perhaps more  
 \* Southwest Organizing Project  
 \* Southwest Workers Union  
 \* MS Delta Catalyst Roundtable  
     (Echo, Tunica, Tallahatchie, Greenville, Sunflower, Holmes,  
     Montgomery, Kilmichael, Grenada, Webster, Lee, Laurel ...)  
 \* South X Southwest Experiment  
     (New Mexico, Texas and Mississippi)
- 2:40 pm**      **Brief Overview of the Convening: *What we will do and why we are doing it ...***  
 \* Understanding the work by clarifying the nature of the struggle:  
     3 histories, multiple perspectives, many peoples, one struggle  
 \* So – a. Where have we been?  
     b. Where are we now?  
     c. Where do we need to go from here?  
     d. How best to get where we need to go?  
 \* Using the census and redistricting to empower the community to fight  
 racism (i.e. domination and control) by building strength through unity  
 and unity through organization
- 2:50 pm**      **Understanding the struggle through the lenses of the individual states**  
*4 questions for each state to answer in state-caucus small group work:*  
 \* In your state what have been the policies that have imposed on  
 communities of color low-wealth, systemic under-education,  
 substandard housing and limited access to effective health care?  
 \* Who has imposed these policies and what were their goals?  
 \* What is needed to change these conditions?  
 \* What are the primary strategies of low-wealth grassroots organizations  
 to make the changes that are needed?
- 3:50 pm**      **BREAK, with *snackies* .... 15 minutes**

- 4:05 pm**      **Report Back from New Mexico on the 4 questions re: Understanding the struggle**  
*Reports Back 20 minutes; Large Group Q & A, Discussion 10 minutes*
- 4:35 pm**      **Report Back from Texas on the 4 questions re: Understanding the struggle**  
*Reports Back 20 minutes; Large Group Q & A, Discussion 10 minutes*
- 5:05 pm**      **Report Back from Mississippi on the 4 questions re: Understanding the struggle**  
*Reports Back 20 minutes; Large Group Q & A, Discussion 10 minutes*
- 5:35 pm**      **Synthesis of the 3 Perspectives as seen through the 3 lenses**  
*Understanding the similarities and differences: Identifying common ground*
- 5:55 pm**      **Anticipating Saturday morning ...**
- 6:05 pm**      **SCRUMPTIOUS DINNER**
- 7:15 pm**      **Cultural program**
- 8:45 pm**      **Adjourn for the evening**

**Saturday, May 16, 2009**

- 8:30 am**      **Warm-up with some stretches, songs and the soothing warmth of mojo java ...**
- 8:45 am**      **Re-cap of Friday session**
- 9:00 am**      **I. The basics of the Census count process, and then some ...**
- \* **What is the Census?**
  - \* **When is the Census done?**
  - \* **Why is the Census done?**
  - \* **Who does the Census count and who is responsible for the Census count?**
  - \* **Where is the Census count done?**
  - \* **How is the issue of “race” handled in the Census count?**
  - \* **What is an “accurate” Census count and how do we achieve that?**
- Presentation (20 minutes); Group Discussion (10 minutes)*

- 9:30 am**      **II. Why is it critical that the Census count be accurate?**  
 \* Impact on the creation of fair political districts  
 \* Impact on allocation of federal funds to schools, towns, cities, counties and states  
*Presentation (20 minutes); Group Discussion (10 minutes)*
- 10:00 am**      **III. Employment opportunities for community are provided by the Census Bureau**  
 \* What are the jobs?  
 \* How do community people find the jobs, apply for them, test for them, etc.?  
 \* What are the timelines for the various jobs and how do we determine them?  
 \* Why is it so important to have community people in these jobs to ensure that there is an accurate census count?  
 \* How can community people work together to monitor the census count even when not employed by the Census Bureau?  
*Presentation (15 minutes); Group Discussion (15 minutes)*
- 10:30 am**      **BREAK, with snackies ... 15 minutes**
- 10:45 am**      **IV. What are the primary obstacles to an accurate Census count?**  
 \* ... as viewed through the New Mexico lens?  
 \* ... as viewed through the Texas lens?  
 \* ... as viewed through the Mississippi lens?  
 \* **What are the remedies to overcome these obstacles?**  
*Presentation (10 minutes each state)*
- 11:15 am**      **Visualizing why an accurate count is so important**  
*Group exercise that illustrates the impact of an inaccurate count vs. an accurate count*
- 11:45 am**      ***Understanding the connectivity between the census and redistricting***  
 \* *How an accurate census lays the foundation for:*  
 a. *the creation of fair political districts that reflect the communities of interest among low-wealth grassroots communities*  
 b. *the creation of fair political districts enable the community to impact the election of accountable representatives*  
 c. *the election of accountable representatives provides the basis for the formation and adoption of public policies that are responsive to the needs of the community*  
 d. *sustainable community organizations that can hold representatives accountable on a continuing basis between election cycles*

- \* The central goal of redistricting is to create political districts – where and how are these districts created?
  - \* The primary task of redistricting is to:
    - a. Create plans that comply with the One person – one vote under the 14th Amendment equal protection clause; and
    - b. Create plans that comply with the Voting Rights Act that do not dilute the voting strength of people of color
  - \* Why it is so important to create political districts that provide people of color a reasonable opportunity to elect representatives of their own choice who will be accountable to the needs and interests of low-wealth grassroots communities
  - \* Who has the authority to create political districts at the state, county, municipal, school board and judicial levels?
    - a. Public bodies adopt the redistricting plans
    - b. Demographers and attorneys often draw plans, but any person has the right to draw and submit plans to the public bodies for consideration
  - \* Why it is so important for community people to be involved in the redistricting process at every stage of the process, including the creation of the redistricting plans that are considered by the public bodies
  - \* Why it is so important for community people to participate in an organized manner, through unity and organization, to impact the formation and adoption of redistricting policies and plans
- Presentation, Questions and Answers and Group Discussion*

**12:30 pm**      **FABULOUS LUNCH .... 60 minutes**

**1:30 pm**      **Understanding connectivity between the census and redistricting - CONTINUED**  
 Presentation, Questions and Answers and Group Discussion

**2:45 pm**      **What are the obstacles that people of color have faced in their struggles to generate an accurate census count and create fair political districts?**  
**What are the remedies to overcome these obstacles?**  
 2 questions to be answered by each state in state-caucus **small group work**

**3:30 pm**      **BREAK, with snackies.... 15 minutes**

- 3:45 pm**      **What are the obstacles that people of color have faced in their struggles to generate an accurate census count and create fair political districts?**  
**What are the remedies to overcome these obstacles?**  
*Reports back on the 2 questions by NM, TX and MS (10 minutes each)*
- 4:15 pm**      **Synthesis of the 3 Perspectives as seen through the 3 lenses**  
*Understanding the similarities and differences: Identifying common ground*
- 4:30 pm**      **Understanding the *successes* of community organizing as key to building sustainable grassroots organizations that have the skills, tools and capacity to generate an accurate census count, create fair political districts, elect accountable representatives, and build the basis for the adoption of public policies that are responsive to the needs and interests of grassroots communities**
- \* **The New Mexico experience**  
*Presentation (20 minutes), Group Discussion (10 minutes)*
  - \* **The Texas experience**  
*Presentation (20 minutes), Group Discussion (10 minutes)*
  - \* **The Mississippi experience**  
*Presentation (20 minutes), Group Discussion (10 minutes)*
- 6:00 pm**      **Anticipating Sunday morning ...**
- 6:15 pm**      **“Mm mm mm Hmmm” DINNER**
- 7:30 pm**      **Cultural program**
- 9:00 pm**      **Adjourn for the evening**



**Sunday, May 17, 2009**

**8:30 am Warm-up, songs and prayer**

**8:45 am Re-cap of Saturday session**

**9:00 am What is to be Done? Vision, Strategies and Program of Work for each state  
2 questions:**

**\* Where do we go from here?**

**\* How best do we get there?**

*State-caucus small group work to outline a strategic work plan*

**10:30 am BREAK, with snackies .... 15 minutes**

**10:45 am What is to be Done? Vision, Strategies and Program of Work for each state  
2 questions:**

**\* Where do we go from here?**

**\* How best do we get there?**

*Reports back from each state (10 minutes each)*

**11:15 am Synthesis of the 3 Perspectives as seen through the 3 lenses**

*Understanding the similarities and differences: Identifying common ground*

**11:30 am Wrap-up of the Convening and discussion of where we go from here**

**Noon Feedback, Evaluation and Adjournment**

**12:15 pm LUNCH**

*Lots of smiles, hugs, and exchanges of phone numbers and emails and “stuff”*



## Empowerment key to democracy

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*Empowerment means enabling grassroots community people to develop the tools and skills needed:*

- to pool their strengths and resources across traditional political and geographic barriers to impact the formation and implementation of public policy at all levels of government;*
  
- to build new, accountable leadership and new, accountable organizations rooted in community to sustain the struggle to empower the community;*



- ❑ to build an *intergenerational model* of struggle in which younger and older people work together on the same basis; and
- ❑ to pool their strengths and resources across traditional political and geographic barriers to build new *models of accountable governance* at all levels of government.
- ❑ to hold public officials accountable to the needs and interests of grassroots communities.



## Accountability

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*Accountability means:*

- putting community interest over self-interest;
- being responsive to the needs and interests of the community;
- taking responsibility for understanding what has been, what is, and what ought to be ... and
- when understanding is achieved -- to make a commitment and to do the work needed to fight for the empowerment of the community.



## Fighting Racism

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- ❑ *Racism is not about hate -- it is about domination and control.*
- ❑ *Hate is merely a tool through which to manipulate people to get them to do what you want them to do.*
- ❑ *In Mississippi racism has been, and still is, about the domination of the African American community by the white community.*
- ❑ *We are in the third stage of domination and control. First stage -- slavery. Second stage -- racial segregation. Third stage -- colonialism, which we are fighting against today.*

## 2010 Census: Accurate Count Key to Fair Distribution of Power and Resources

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- *What is the United States Census?*

The United States Constitution requires the federal government every 10 years to conduct a census of the United States, or investigative search, to determine how many people live in the US and where they live (state, county and municipality).

The next decennial census is in 2010.

The decennial census is the foundation for measuring the nation's population. It provides a count of the population every 10 years, and is the starting point for estimates of population made in years between the censuses.

*Govt. Accounting Office Report, Oct. 29, 2007.*

Also, Congress has passed laws that require the US Census Bureau to determine specific information about people, such as race, ethnicity, gender, age, extent of education, and levels of income. The Census Bureau uses this data to create a *demographic profile* of the entire US, the states, counties and municipalities.

Federal agencies use this data to allocate federal program dollars.

- Why is an accurate and complete 10-year US Census profile important?
  1. Census data is used to draw political districts (redistricting) for the US House of Representatives (Congress) and all elected state, county and municipal offices. These districts must be drawn in compliance with 1 person – 1 vote and Voting Rights Act guidelines. Accurate census data about “who and how many people live where” is needed to comply with these requirements. When some parts of the population are systematically undercounted the result is that these undercounted communities obtain through the redistricting process fewer representatives and less representation than they are entitled to have.
  2. Census data is used to apportion the 435 seats in the US House of Representatives (Congress) among the 50 states based on the relative size of the total population in each state. Accurate census data to determine how many people live in each state is crucial to a fair and appropriate apportionment of these powerful seats among the states. Congresspersons in the US House of Representatives have far-reaching impact on every aspect of American life, including federal programs, education, immigration, social welfare, housing, economic growth and development, civil rights and voting rights, and much more.

3. Census data is used to allocate federal program funds. An accurate count helps states, counties and municipalities to obtain their fair share of federal program funds. An inaccurate undercount of some parts of the population means that some states, counties and municipalities will receive less than a fair share of the federal program funds to which they are entitled. An undercount in some places results in a corresponding relative overcount for other places, which means that some communities will receive more than a fair share of federal program resources.

In fiscal year 2000, GAO found that 85 percent of federal government obligations in grants to state and local governments were distributed on the basis of formulas that use data such as state population and personal income.

*2010 Census: Population Measures Are Important for Federal Funding Allocations  
Government Accounting Office Report, October 27, 2007*

In 2007 the US allocated through federal grants to the states, counties and municipalities more than 495 Billion Dollars (\$495,841,887,542), according to the Consolidated Federal Funds Report on the US Census Bureau website: <http://harvester.census.gov/cffr/asp/Geography.asp>



According to a 2001 PriceWaterhouseCoopers analysis on behalf of the Census Monitoring Board, the 2000 census undercounts cost 31 states a cumulative 4.1 Billion Dollars and 58 counties a cumulative 3.6 Billion Dollars in federal grant funds they should have received. The Report summary noted that its estimates of losses were conservative and further noted:

The PricewaterhouseCoopers report, which was conducted at the request of the Presidential members of the U.S. Census Monitoring Board, examined eight programs most affected by the census:

Medicaid, Foster Care, Rehabilitation Services Basic Support, Social Services Block Grants, Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment Block Grants, Adoption Assistance, Child Care and Development Block Grants, and Vocational Education Basic Grants....

"Inaccuracies in the census can cause federal funds to be distributed in a way that is not fully consistent with congressional intent," said Dr. Peter Merrill, head of PricewaterhouseCoopers' National Economic Consulting group. "The census undercount not only misallocates funds among jurisdictions, it also causes a net loss to the states of funds from federal entitlement programs. Compounding the problem, many state-funded grant programs to localities also rely on census counts." ....

## PriceWaterhouseCoopers Report, continued:

"The undercount not only deprives Congress of its ability to direct federal funds where they are needed, it also denies taxpayers the right to have their money come back to their community in the form of federal program funds," added Casellas....

The Census Bureau estimates that the 2000 census missed 6.4 million people, disproportionately minority, children and the poor, and counted 3.1 million people twice, largely white and affluent, for a net undercount of 3.3 million people....

The report found states and counties with large metropolitan areas were the most adversely affected. California and Texas, two of the worst counted states, risk losing the most, \$1.5 billion and \$1 billion respectively over the fiscal 2002 to 2012 period.

4. Hard-to-Count Areas: One of the reasons there are undercounts is that in some communities it is harder to obtain an accurate count than in other areas. There are multiple reasons for this.

In some places there may be vast stretches of difficult to reach locations because travel is difficult and persons live far apart from each other. Parts of Alaska, for example.

However, many of the hardest-to-count areas are in low-wealth urban centers or racially-divided rural and small town areas in such states as Texas, New Mexico, Mississippi, New York and California. Unlike the Alaskan outback these communities are accessible. But many people in low-wealth and racially polarized communities are fearful of government “investigators”, agents or employees trying to obtain information, especially in light of the history of abuse of personal information by human services and federal immigration agents. This anxiety, distress or fear is compounded when the census takers are not from the community and, therefore, appear as “strangers” to the community. In these situations many families avoid the census takers. Hence, there are significant undercounts in such hard-to-count communities.

*Note: It is against federal law for a census employee to share any census information about specific persons with any other federal agency. This data is strictly confidential. The problem is, in light of experience, few people actually believe that any information held by one government agency can be kept free from abuse by other government agencies.*

*Fear is not unwarranted when it is rooted in experience.*

*In addition, we know from experience that in many states many of the people who are hired at the local level to knock on doors to obtain census data did not come from the race, ethnicity or class background of the communities to which they are assigned. As a result, they were often afraid to walk in these neighborhoods. So they pretended that they knocked on doors and faked the count. Hence the significant undercounts.*

50 COUNTIES WITH HIGHEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HARD-TO-COUNT AREAS

Rank	State	Hard-to-Count Population	Total County Population	Percent of County Population Living in Hard-to-Count Areas
1	Cook County, Illinois	1,218,914	5,376,741	22.7%
2	Kings County, New York	1,047,233	2,466,326	42.5%
3	Bronx County, New York	922,154	1,332,650	69.2%
4	New York County, New York	661,371	1,537,195	43.0%
5	Harris County, Texas	649,947	3,400,578	19.1%
6	Miami-Dade County, Florida	614,053	2,253,382	27.3%
7	Maricopa County, Arizona	460,019	3,072,149	15.0%
8	Wayne County, Michigan	383,665	2,061,162	18.6%
9	San Diego County, California	368,749	2,813,833	13.1%
10	Dallas County, Texas	364,226	2,218,898	16.4%
11	Hidalgo County, Texas	324,862	589,463	57.0%
12	Essex County, New Jersey	298,954	793,633	37.7%
13	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	294,018	1,517,550	19.4%
14	Queens County, New York	273,795	2,229,379	12.3%
15	Fresno County, California	244,207	798,407	30.5%
16	Clark County, Nevada	236,361	1,375,765	17.2%
17	San Bernardino County, California	233,076	1,709,434	13.6%
18	Orange County, California	225,958	2,846,289	7.9%
19	Riverside County, California	223,284	1,545,387	14.4%
20	District of Columbia	210,732	572,059	36.8%
21	Hudson County, New Jersey	210,593	608,976	34.6%
22	Milwaukee County, Wisconsin	201,159	940,164	21.4%
23	Cuyahoga County, Ohio	192,430	1,393,978	13.8%
24	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	192,357	689,807	27.9%
25	Baltimore city, Maryland	187,262	651,154	28.8%
26	Fulton County, Georgia	178,485	816,006	21.9%
27	Broward County, Florida	165,016	1,623,018	10.2%
28	St. Louis city, Missouri	161,548	348,189	46.4%
29	Sacramento County, California	161,442	1,223,499	13.2%
30	Alameda County, California	155,642	1,443,741	10.8%
31	Providence County, Rhode Island	150,801	621,602	24.3%
32	Bexar County, Texas	147,872	1,392,931	10.6%
33	Kern County, California	147,310	661,645	22.3%
34	Passaic County, New Jersey	144,975	489,049	29.6%
35	Orleans Parish, Louisiana	144,015	494,674	29.7%
36	Tarrant County, Texas	134,461	1,446,218	9.3%
37	New Haven County, Connecticut	130,081	824,008	15.8%
38	Travis County, Texas	124,508	812,280	15.3%
39	Hartford County, Connecticut	123,113	857,183	14.4%
40	Erie County, New York	117,618	950,265	12.4%
41	Pima County, Arizona	113,916	843,746	13.5%
42	El Paso County, Texas	113,782	679,622	16.7%
43	Hennepin County, Minnesota	106,169	1,116,200	9.5%
44	Hamilton County, Ohio	102,693	845,303	12.1%
45	Cameron County, Texas	100,317	336,227	29.9%
46	Shelby County, Tennessee	96,585	887,472	10.8%
47	Palm Beach County, Florida	96,135	1,131,194	8.5%
48	Monroe County, New York	95,789	736,343	13.0%
49	Westchester County, New York	95,625	923,459	10.4%
50	Oklahoma County, Oklahoma	95,082	660,448	14.4%

This table was developed from the Census Bureau's Hard-To-Count Database by Dr. William O'Hare and Edwin Quiñones at the Annie E. Casey Foundation January 9, 2008. It is based on hard-to-count areas and data from the 2000 Census. The total hard-to-count population for the 50 counties = 13,442,369



States Ranked by Number of People Living in Hard-to-Count Areas

Rank	State	Hard-to-Count Population	Total Population	% State Population Living in Areas Hard to-Count
1	California	5,326,970	33,870,823	15.7%
2	New York	3,554,746	18,974,875	18.7%
3	Texas	2,686,836	20,851,377	12.9%
4	Illinois	1,469,645	12,418,789	11.8%
5	Florida	1,443,618	15,982,285	9.0%
6	New Jersey	1,009,881	8,414,038	12.0%
7	Arizona	824,633	5,130,309	16.1%
8	Michigan	640,703	9,938,119	6.4%
9	Pennsylvania	575,242	12,280,771	4.7%
10	Ohio	543,692	11,352,838	4.8%
11	Massachusetts	539,321	6,348,980	8.5%
12	Georgia	499,622	8,186,435	6.1%
13	Connecticut	361,630	3,405,516	10.6%
14	Louisiana	344,596	4,468,809	7.7%
15	North Carolina	316,874	8,049,313	3.9%
16	Missouri	293,549	5,595,118	5.2%
17	Nevada	284,286	1,998,155	14.2%
18	Washington	271,631	5,894,002	4.6%
19	New Mexico	260,075	1,818,918	14.3%
20	Wisconsin	258,907	5,363,870	4.8%
21	Tennessee	249,286	5,889,277	4.4%
22	Maryland	233,730	5,296,388	4.4%
23	Indiana	227,484	6,080,485	3.7%
24	District of Columbia	210,732	571,898	36.8%
25	Virginia	197,775	7,078,488	2.8%
26	Oklahoma	188,776	3,450,505	5.5%
27	Alabama	184,334	4,447,081	4.1%
28	Minnesota	165,683	4,918,479	3.4%
29	Mississippi	161,669	2,844,823	5.7%
30	Colorado	159,938	4,301,257	3.7%
31	Rhode Island	155,678	1,048,319	14.9%
32	Oregon	146,085	3,421,389	4.3%
33	Kentucky	135,624	4,041,744	3.4%
34	South Carolina	124,627	4,012,012	3.1%
35	Hawaii	111,989	1,211,481	9.2%
36	Arkansas	106,990	2,673,400	4.0%
37	Kansas	102,433	2,688,385	3.8%
38	Utah	84,538	2,233,111	3.8%
39	Alaska	73,910	626,924	11.8%
40	Iowa	72,885	2,926,273	2.5%
41	Nebraska	59,711	1,711,202	3.5%
42	South Dakota	40,928	754,755	5.4%
43	Maine	28,711	1,274,848	2.3%
44	Idaho	26,986	1,293,898	2.1%
45	West Virginia	23,877	1,808,344	1.3%
46	New Hampshire	22,415	1,235,786	1.8%
47	Delaware	19,697	783,600	2.5%
48	Montana	18,979	901,934	2.1%
49	North Dakota	10,320	641,993	1.6%
50	Wyoming	3,692	493,888	0.7%
51	Vermont	2,996	608,827	0.5%
	Total	24,858,935		

This table was developed from the Census Bureau's Hard-To-count Database by Dr. William O'Hare and Edwin Quiamba at the Annie E. Casey Foundation January 9, 2008. It is based on hard-to-count areas and data from the 2000 Census.

5. Community planning: Census data is important because it is used for community planning by states, counties and municipalities. The data helps to provide a snapshot of population density, demographics, distribution of residential, commercial and industrial establishments and relatively open spaces. This data is used in the creation of municipal or county comprehensive plans as the foundation for the crafting of zoning ordinances to permit, control, prohibit and “grandfather” different kinds of land uses throughout a community. This data shows population trends that are used to assess whether and where new public schools, different kinds of roads, community centers, or social and elderly services are or will be needed. Inaccurate data, such as substantial undercounts or overcounts, will result in faulty premises on which to base analyses of these critical community needs.
6. “Census Day”: In 2010 the “Census Day” is April 1, 2010. The Census Day is not necessarily the day when the census “enumerators” knock on doors, or when the families fill out their census forms. Rather, the Census Day is the “day” used to answer the census questions. For instance, the number of persons living in the household, the ages of persons, and such questions, are answered “as of the Census Day”, even if the questions are actually being answered on another day.

- *What can community do to work for an accurate count?*
  1. *Community people can become census workers. There are thousands of jobs available in 2009 and 2010 to assist in the many different parts of the census process. The majority of census workers will be hired in late 2009 or early 2010. Every state has a statewide office and regional offices within the state. State and regional offices are required to make employment information available. Check Census Bureau regional and state office websites for application forms and qualifications for the different kinds of jobs.*
  2. *There will be jobs at the state, county and local levels. Thousands of census workers will be needed to update address lists and conduct interviews with community residents. There will be jobs in supervisory roles, as crew leaders and as field enumerators who work inside communities. Most positions will require a valid driver's license.*
  3. *Census workers will get paid on a weekly basis, and will be reimbursed authorized mileage and related expenses. Pay scales in 2010 may not be as high as they have been in the past. Check with local offices.*



4. Community organizations can partner with the national and state census bureau agencies to assist at the local community level to ensure an accurate count. For example, community organizations can work to include community people on *Census 2010 Complete Count Committees*. If there is no official Complete Count Committee, then the community can start one, even if it is not official.

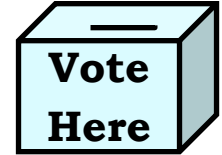
*A Complete Count Committee is comprised of a group of community people -- who do not work for the US Census Bureau -- who will work with the local census offices to verify that all of the people are counted accurately in a given political jurisdiction, such as a county, municipality or school district. A “jurisdiction” is defined as a political body that has the authority to create voting districts.*

*Complete Count Committees can be established by each political jurisdiction in each county, municipality or school district. The Complete Count Committee should use all means to verify the count of the US Census workers in that county or municipality.*

*Example: The County Board has established a Complete Count Committee. Once the preliminary census count is reported after April 2010 the Complete Count Committee will seek to verify the US Census workers’ data. If the Census workers’ report that the county population count is 10,500 persons, but the Complete Count Committee contends that the county population is actually 18,000, then the Census workers must recheck the census count to verify their data and account for the discrepancy.*



## Redistricting: the struggle to create fair districts



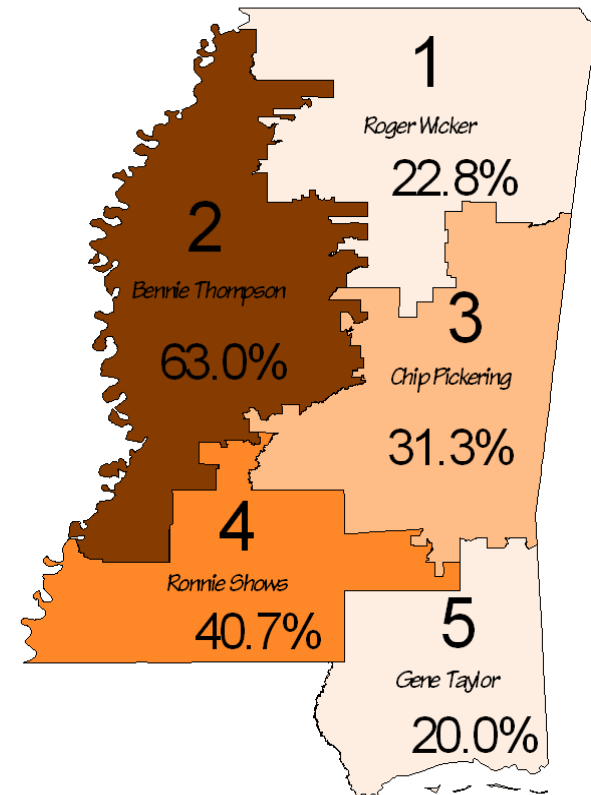
- 
- Redistricting is the process for adjusting the political boundary lines for every elected office at the state, county and municipal level for which candidates run for office from districts or wards.
  
  - Redistricting is generally done every 10 years after the new census data is released by the federal Bureau of Census in Washington, DC. The next census will be taken in 2010 and the data will be released in early 2011.
  
  - The 2000 Census data for Mississippi was released April 1, 2001. The new census data showed that the total population in Mississippi increased from more than 2.5 million people to more than 2.8 million people.

Community people have an absolute right to participate in the redistricting process. Community people can:

1. Submit their own redistricting plans to the decision-making body;
2. Testify at public hearings held to review redistricting plans;
3. Negotiate with their public officials about what constitutes a "fair plan" and how such redistricting plan should look;
4. Make sure that the decision-making body sends the community's redistricting plans to the Justice Dept. for review along with the redistricting plan submitted by the decision-making body;
5. Comment in writing and by phone with the Justice Dept. during the pre-clearance process;
6. Review the Justice Dept. determination and negotiate with Justice Dept. officials;
7. Bring a lawsuit under the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

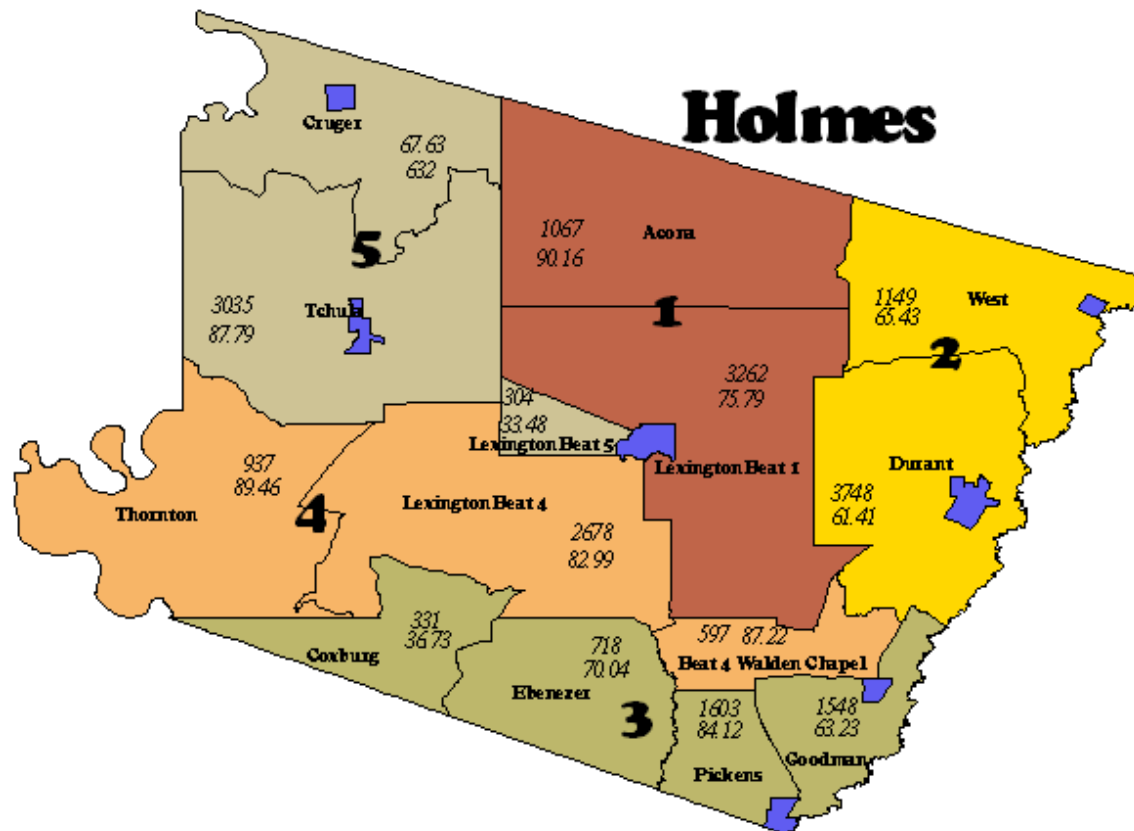


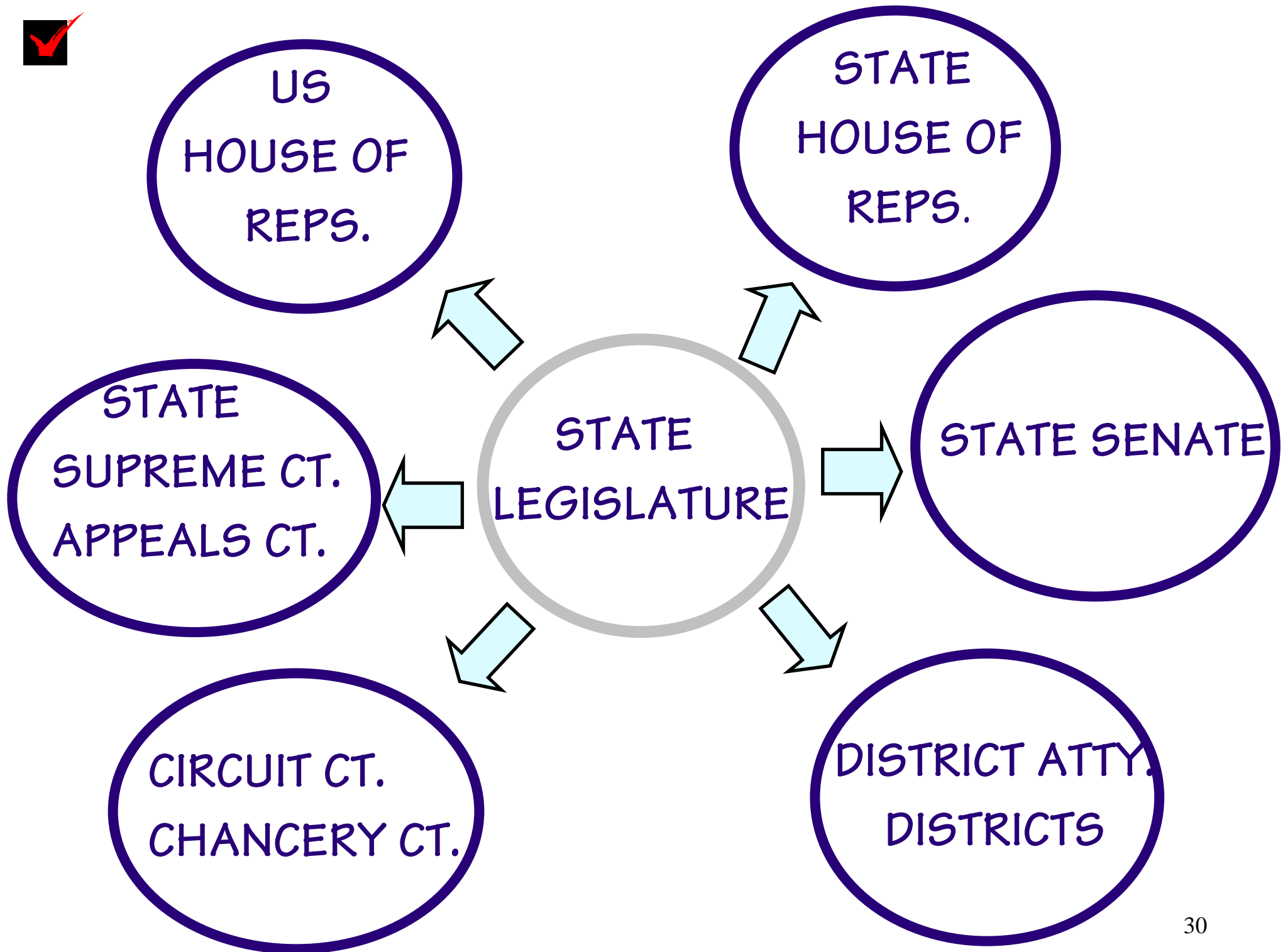
- ❑ The State Legislature redistricts the seats for the US Congress, the state House and Senate, the state courts, and the district attorney boundaries.
- ❑ These were the 5 districts before the 2001 redistricting, with 2000 census data showing black voting age percentages in each district.

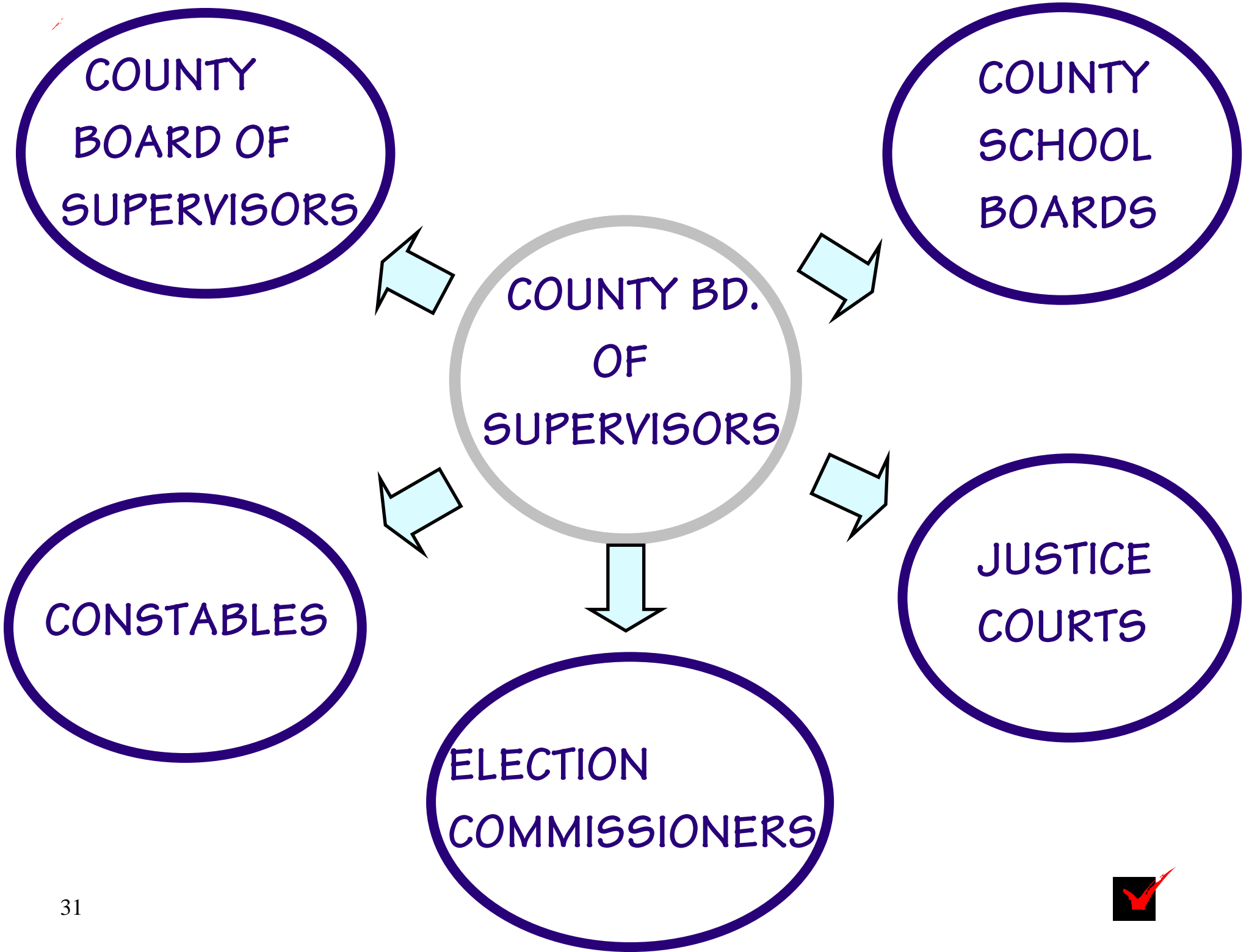




- The County Boards of Supervisors redraw the boundary lines for the county board of supervisors, justice courts, county school boards, election commissioners, and constables.
- The city councils and boards of alderpersons draw the lines for the city council or aldermanic board.







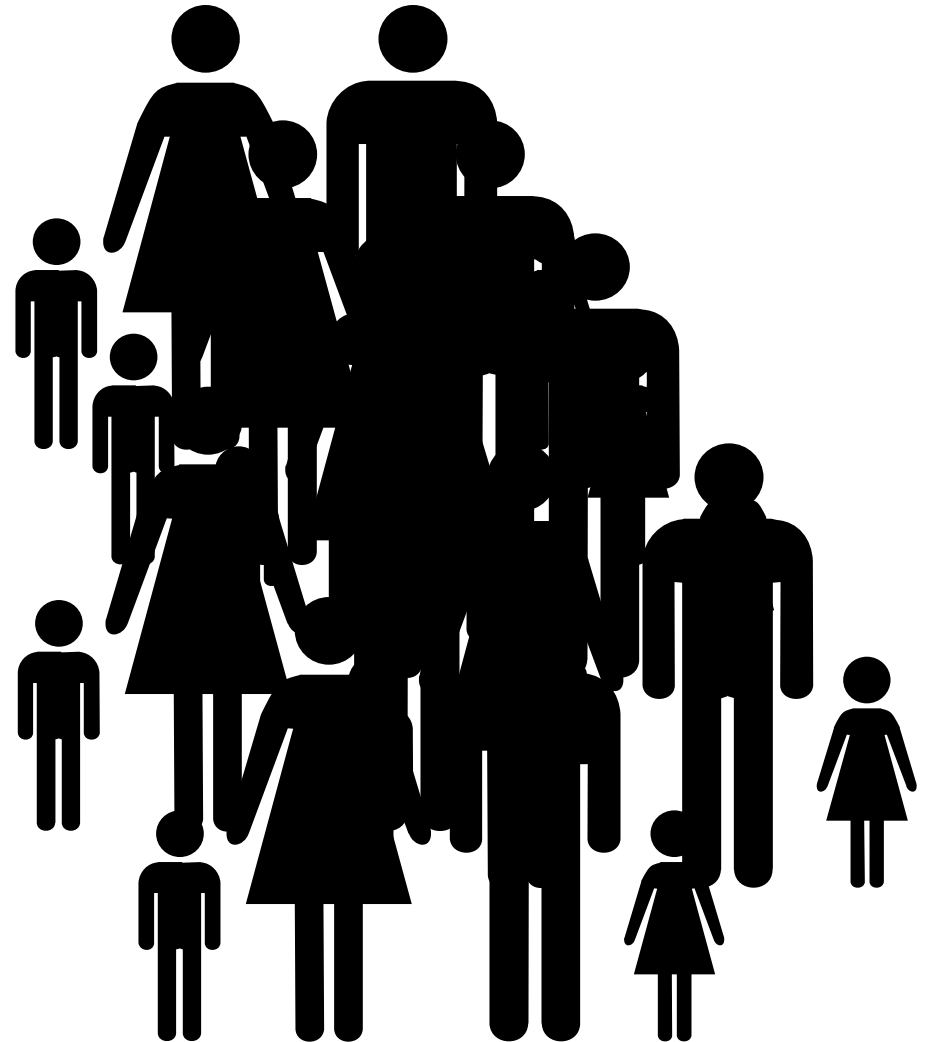


## Mississippi loses a Congressional seat

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In the 2000 Census Mississippi gained more than 300,000 people. Officially, Mississippi has 2,844,658 people.

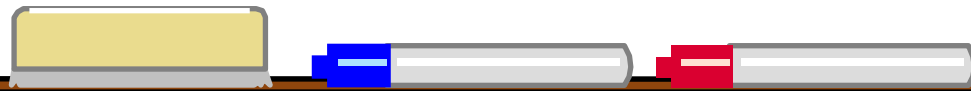
Mississippi had 5 seats in the US House of Representatives. But, Mississippi lost a seat because the population of other states grew faster.







- ❑ *To reapportion the 435 US Congress seats, the US population of 281,421,906 was divided by 435 Congressional seats.*
- ❑ *As a result, each seat or district requires 646,947 persons.*





- To determine how many seats Mississippi was entitled to have, we divided the total Mississippi population of 2,844,658 by 646,947.*
- The result was 4.4, which is less than 5.*
- Therefore, Mississippi got only 4 seats in the new Congress as a result of the 2000 Census.*





- Each state then determined the ideal size of its own Congressional districts by dividing its total population by the number of Congressional districts.*





- *When you divided the 2000 Mississippi population of 2,844,658 by 4 Congressional districts the result was 711,165.*
- *Therefore, the ideal size or norm in Mississippi for each Congressional District was 711,165 persons.*

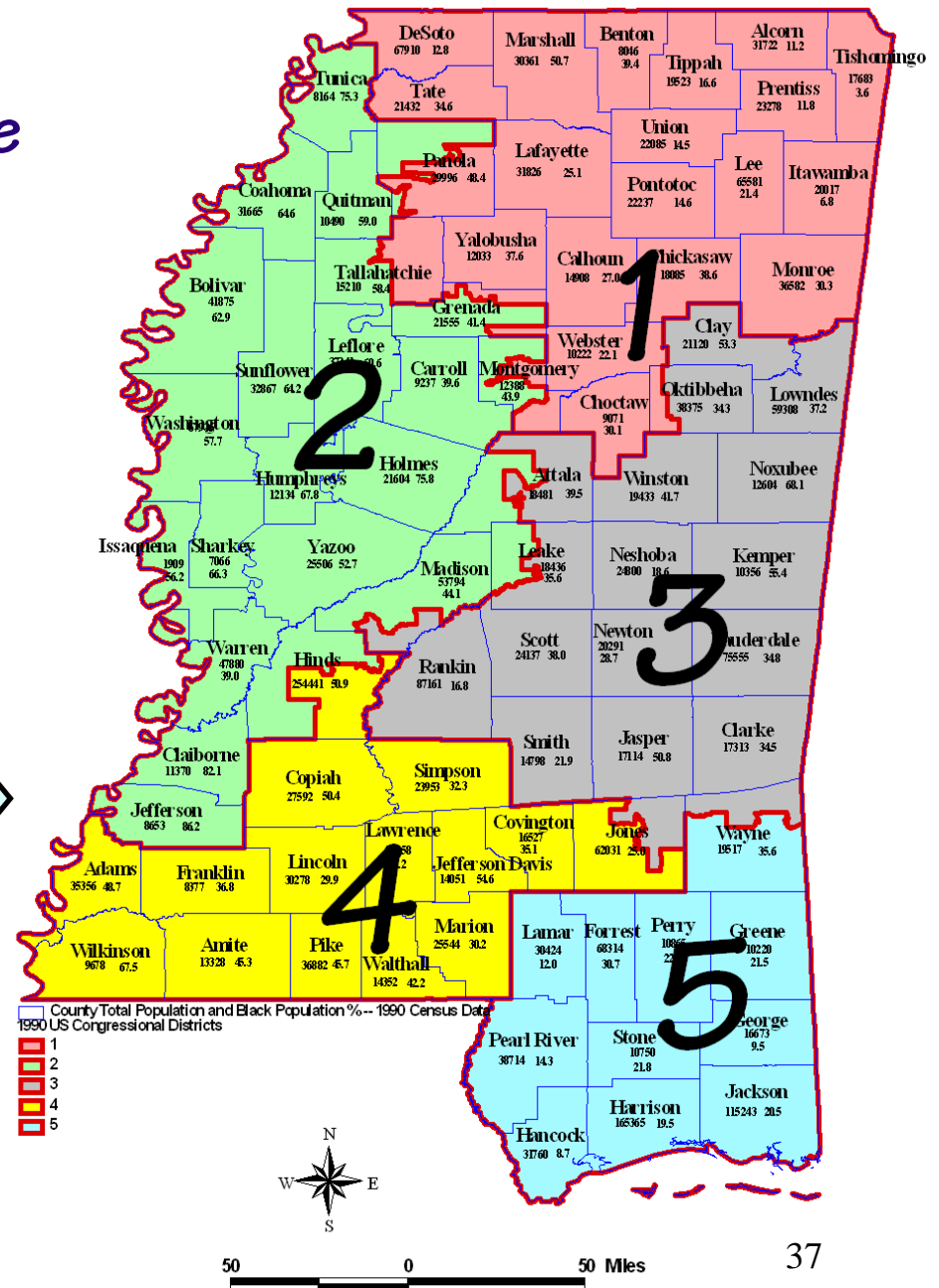
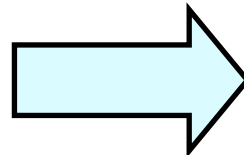




1990 MS Congressional Districts  
 1990 Census Data  
 County Total Population  
 County Black Population Percentage

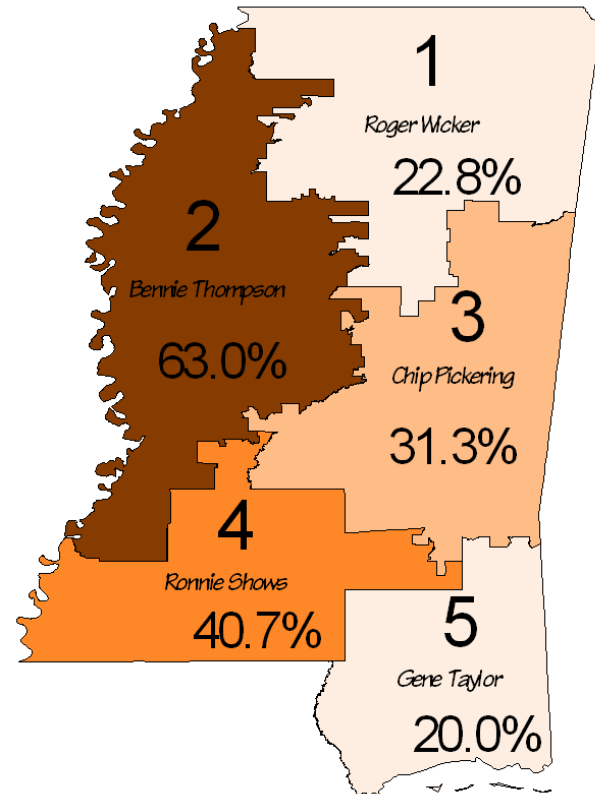
This is what Mississippi's Congressional districts look like as a result of the redistricting that was completed in 1992.

1992 Congressional Districts  
 1990 Census Data  
 Total County Population  
 Black Population Percentage





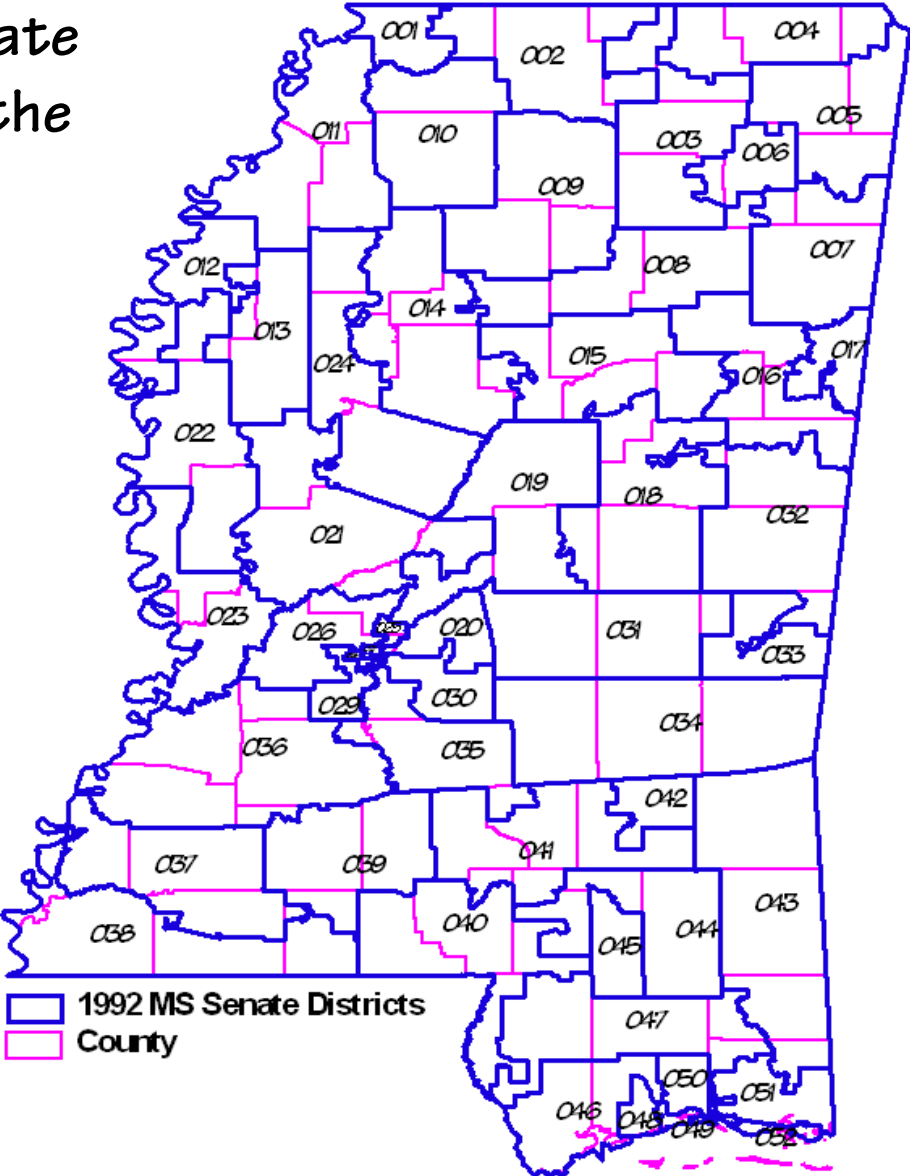
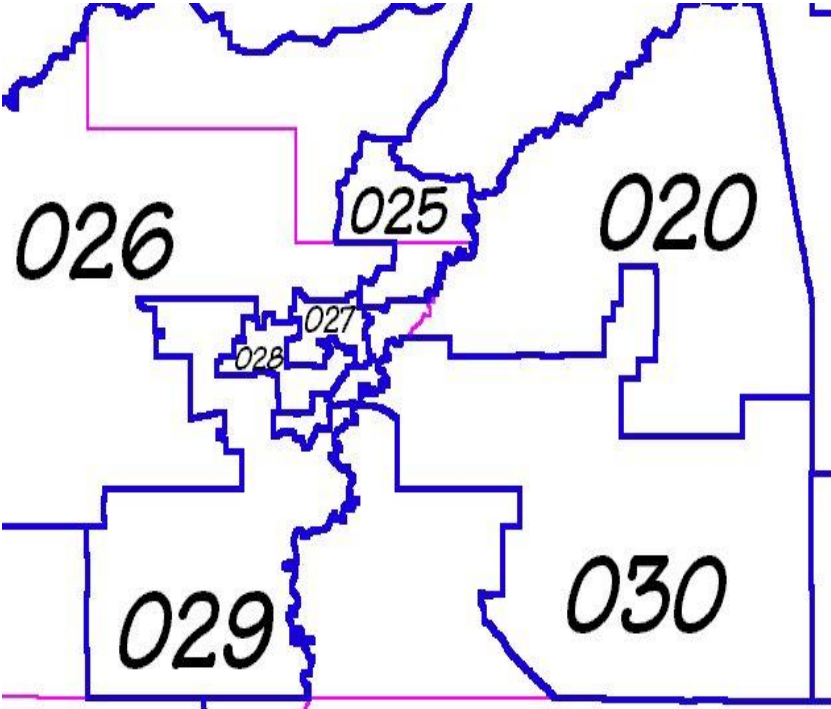
# 1992 Congressional Districts Incumbent Congresspersons Black Population Percentage by Congressional District





This is what the Mississippi Senate Districts look like as a result of the 1992 redistricting.

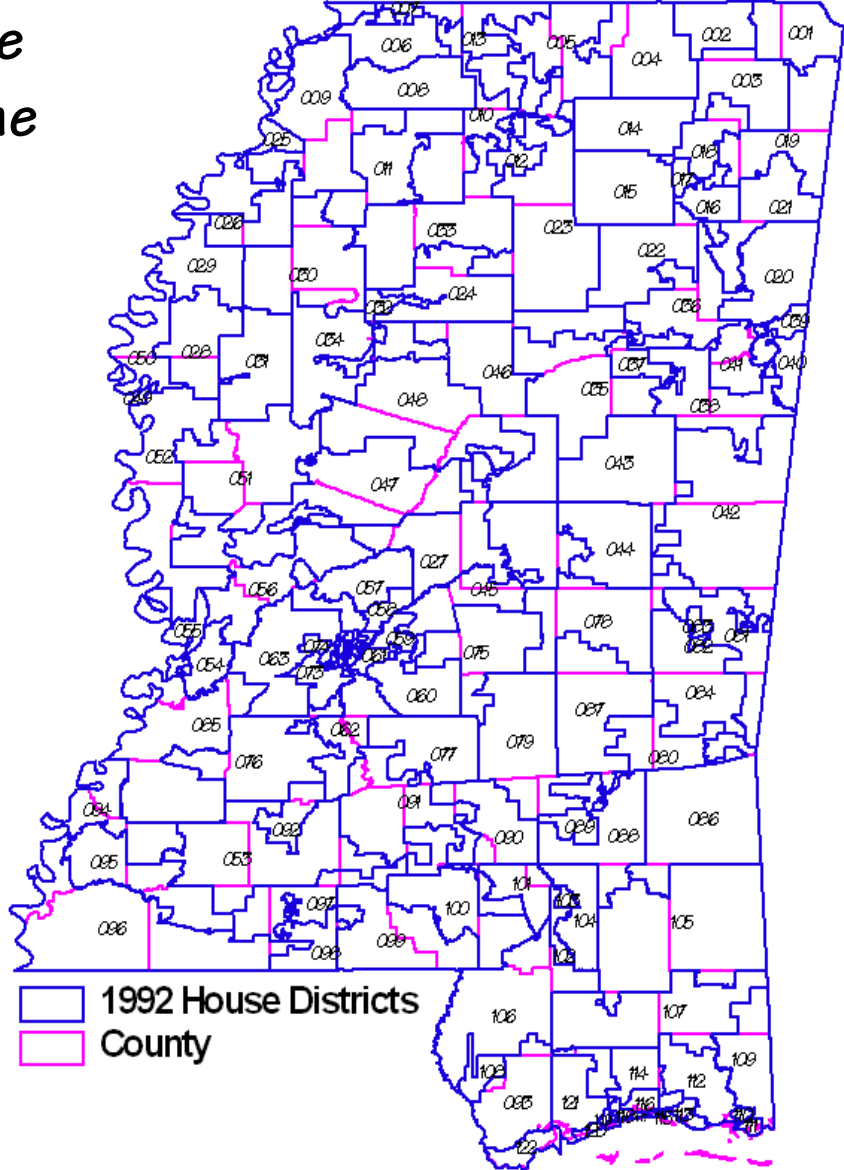
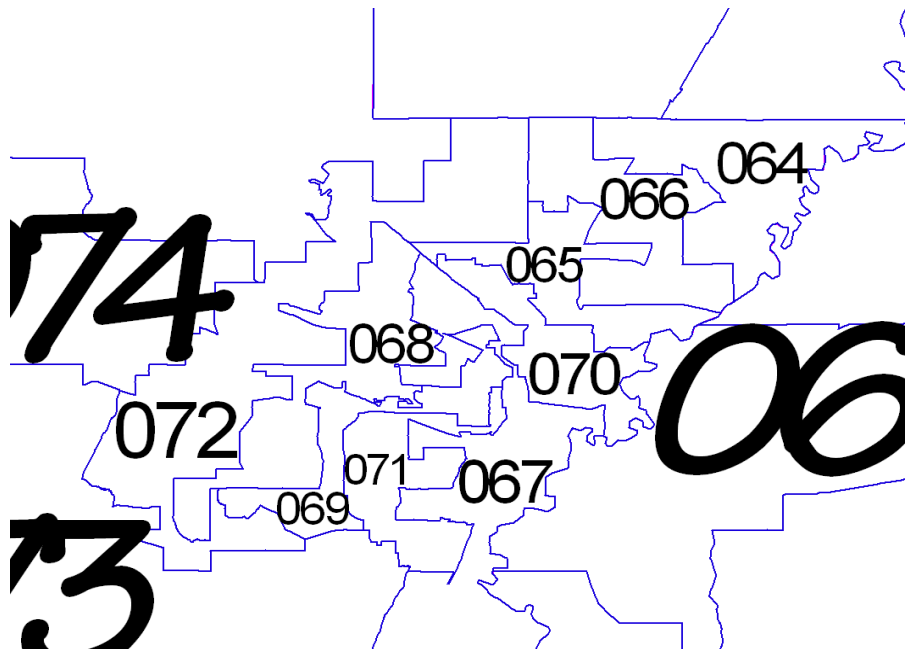
Below is an enlargement of the districts in the Jackson area.





This is what the Mississippi House Districts look like as a result of the 1992 redistricting.

Below is an enlargement of the districts in the Jackson area.



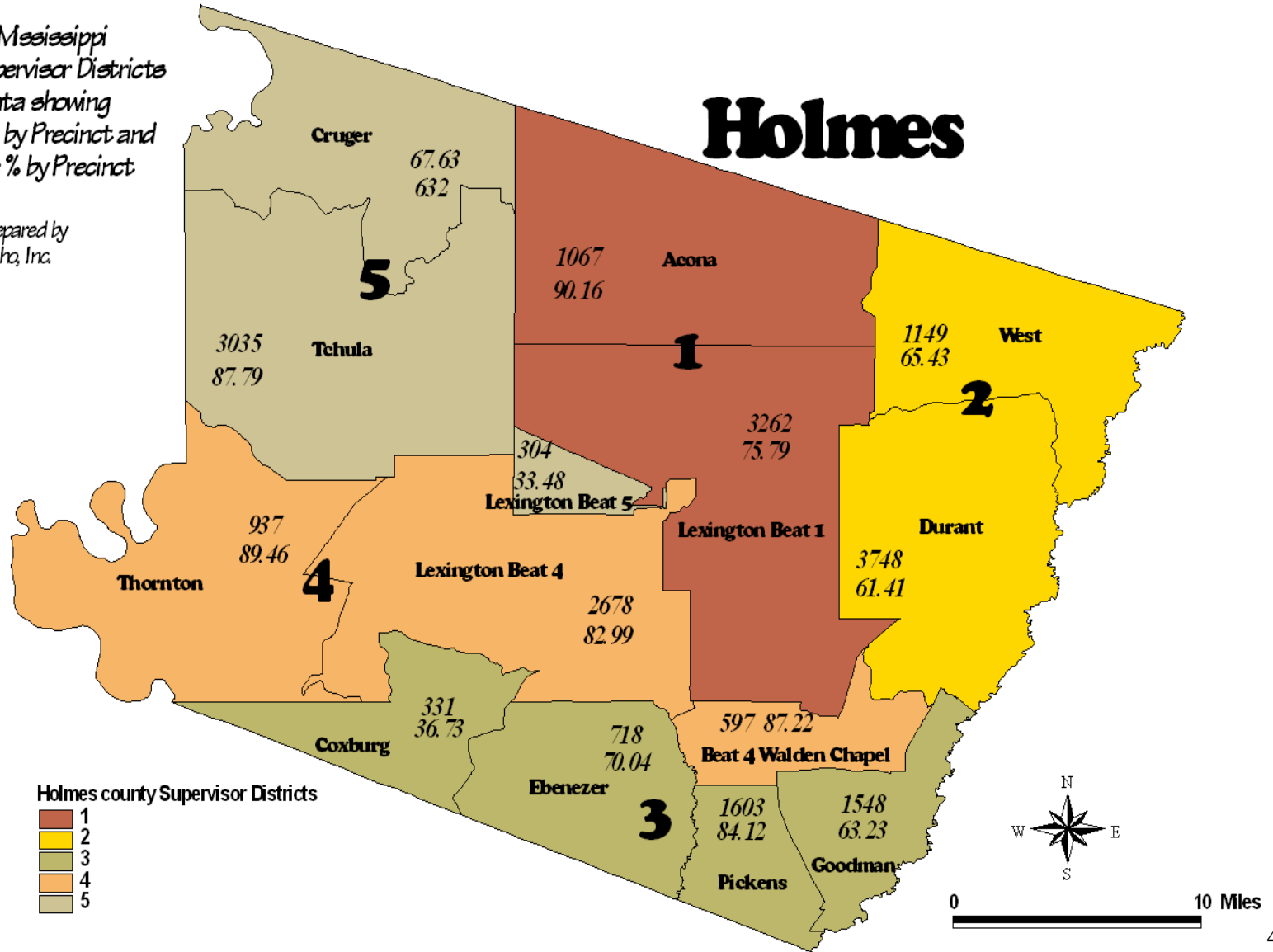


This is what some County Supervisor districts look like as a result of the redistricting which was completed in 1991.

Holmes County, Mississippi  
 1990 County Supervisor Districts  
 2000 Census Data showing  
 Total Population by Precinct and  
 Black Voting Age % by Precinct

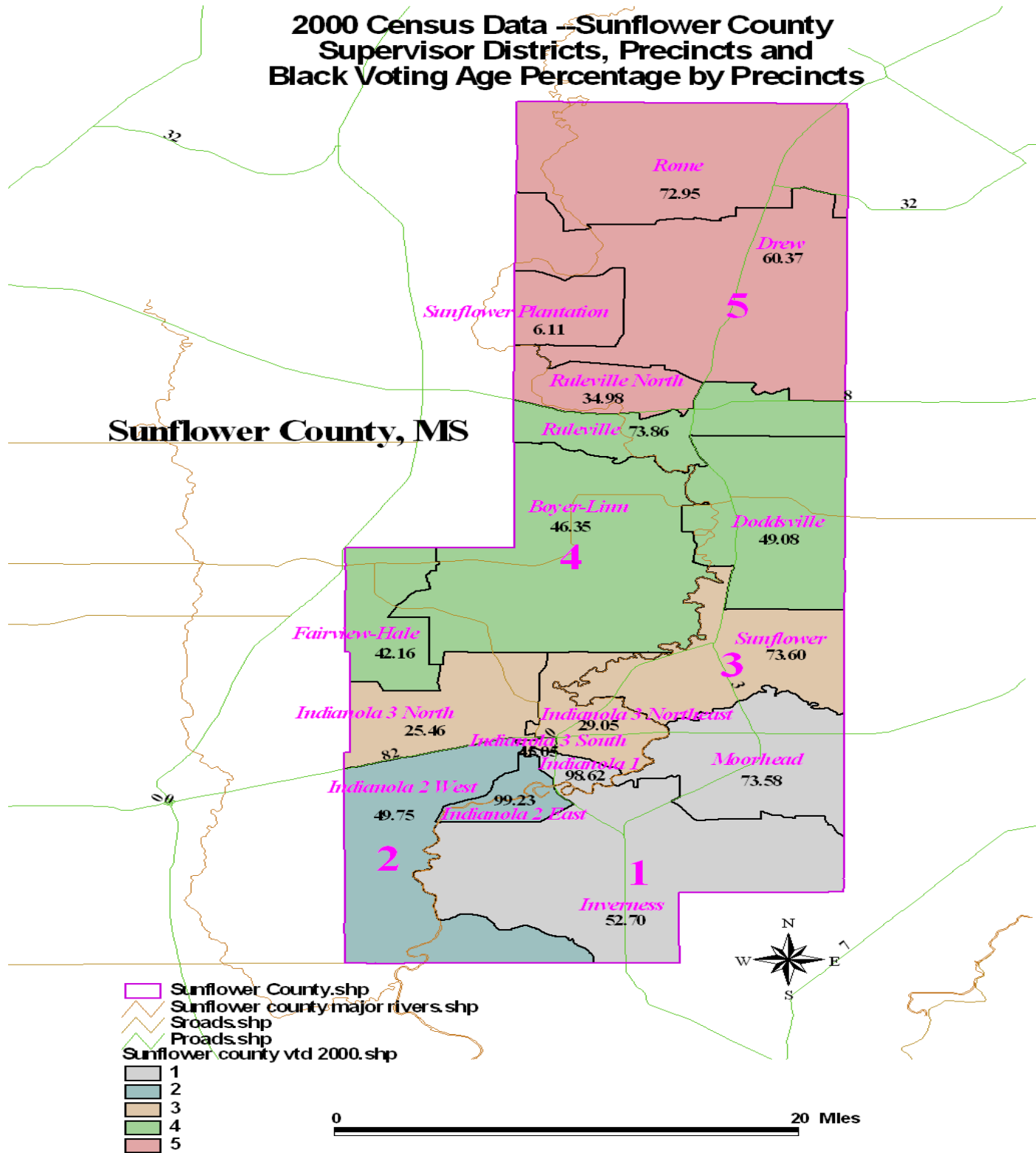


This map prepared by  
 Southern Echo, Inc.  
 5-22-01





# 2000 Census Data --Sunflower County Supervisor Districts, Precincts and Black Voting Age Percentage by Precincts





Political district maps are drawn for municipalities, counties and the state.

There are several building tools used to create maps:

blocks,

block groups,

census tracts, and

precincts.

Blocks are the *smallest* unit and precincts are the *largest* unit.

When doing redistricting maps, most legislators prefer to work with precincts. But -- sometimes legislators and others drawing plans work with units as small as blocks to create desired results.





Precinct lines are drawn by the County Board of Supervisors in each county. Precinct lines do not cross county lines. Blocks and block groups are created by agents of the US Census Bureau.

The US Census Bureau collects a lot of data about people: where they live, race, income, housing and educational backgrounds. They report this information in huge databases by census block, block group, precincts and counties. Other organizations use this information to create additional databases to be used to analyze the circumstances of Americans all over the country.

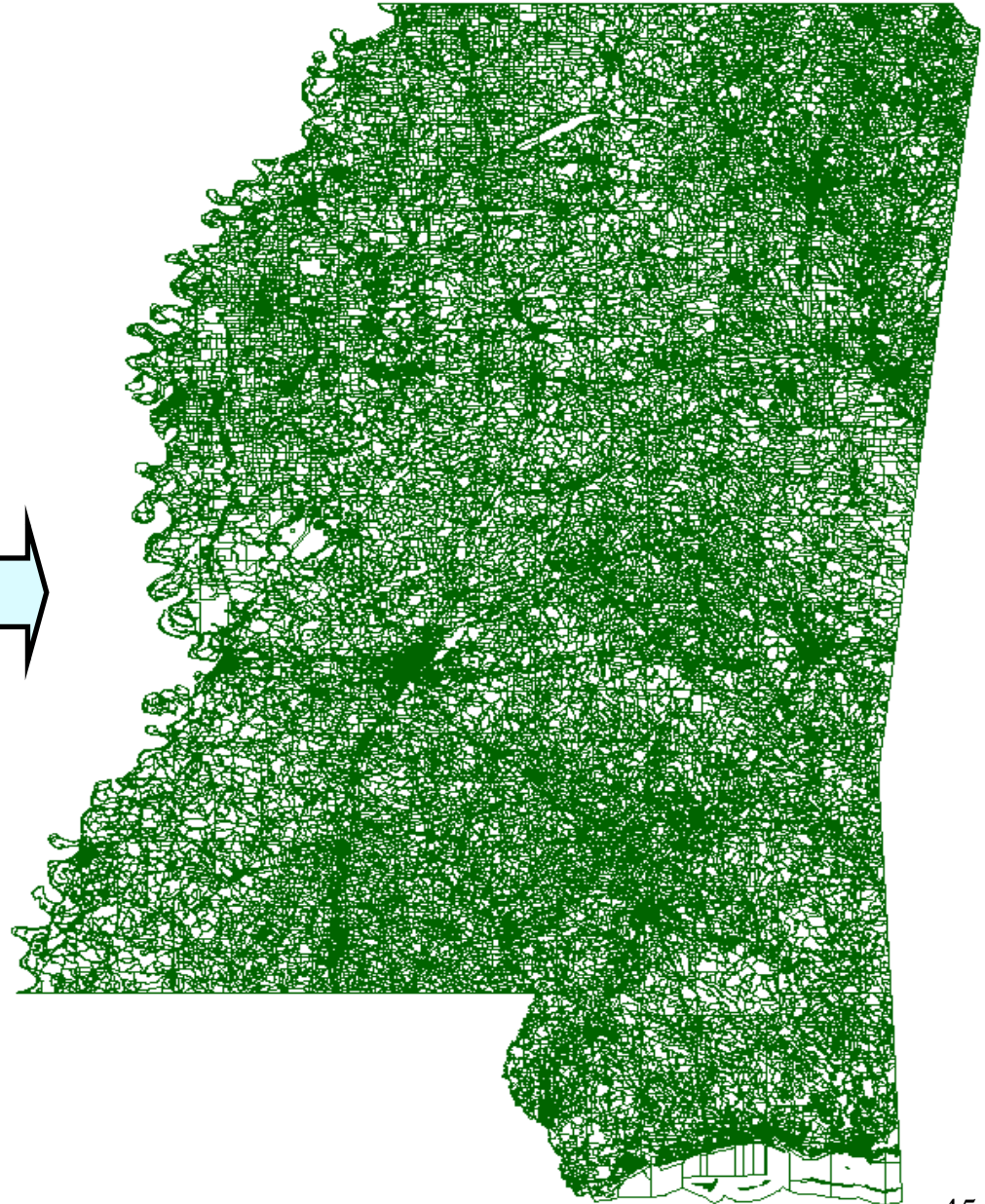
This information can then be used to draw maps to show the similarities or differences that exist among people in relation to where they live.





Mississippi has:  
126,462 blocks,  
2,392 block groups,  
2,089 precincts, and  
82 counties.

This is a state map  
showing all 126,462  
blocks.



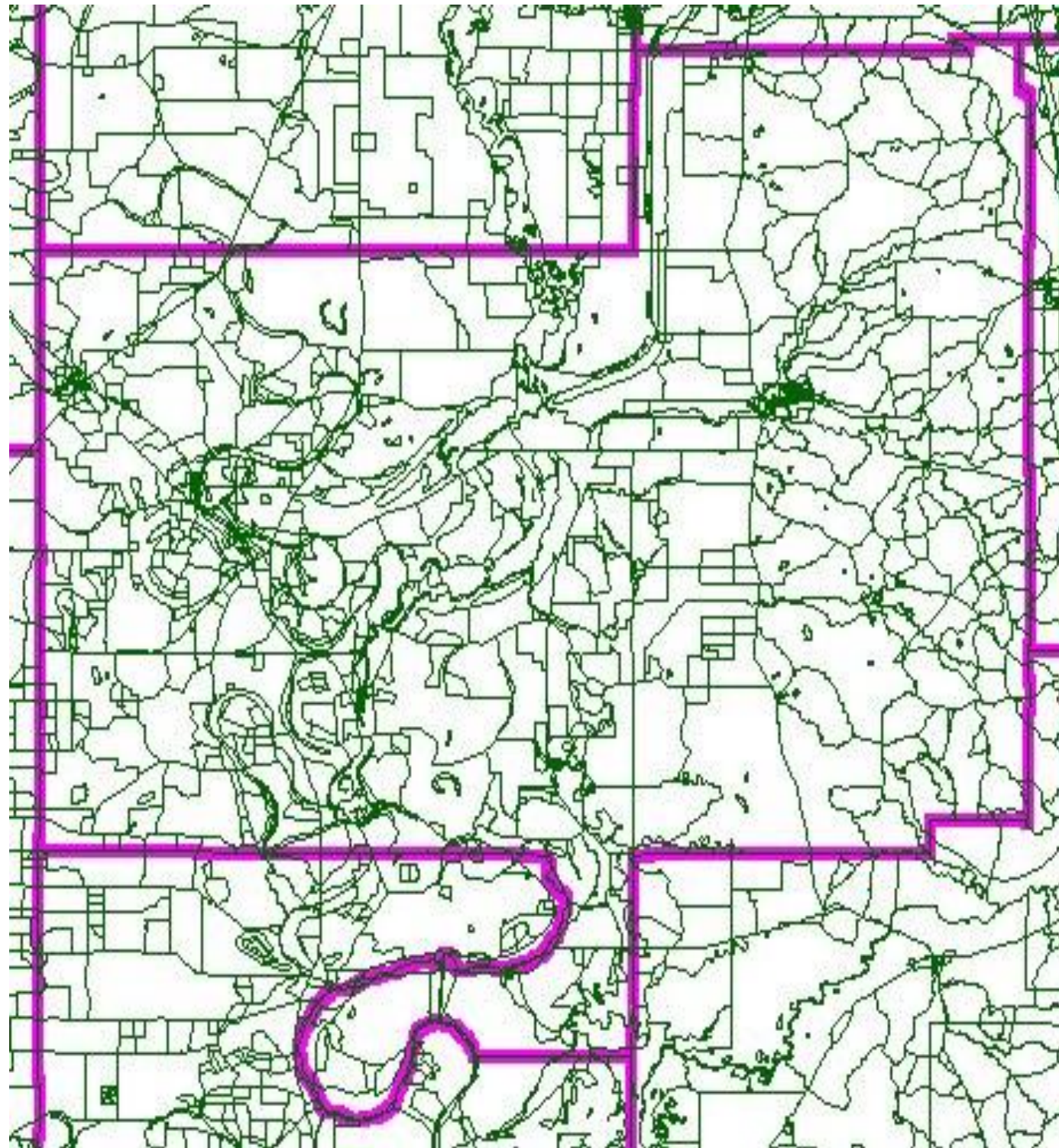
That's very dense!





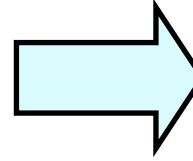


This is Tallahatchie County, with the census blocks shown in green.

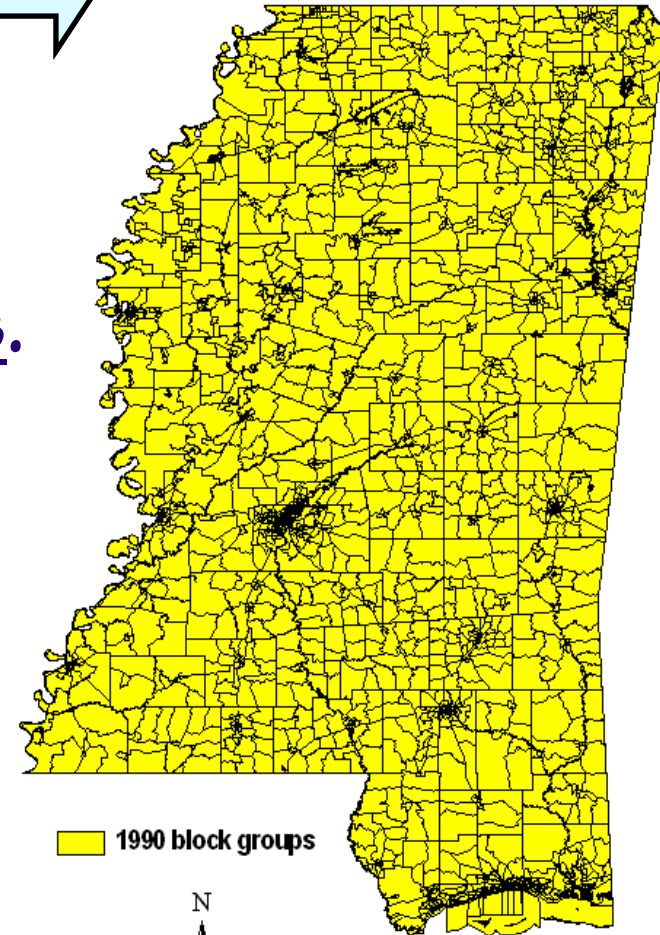
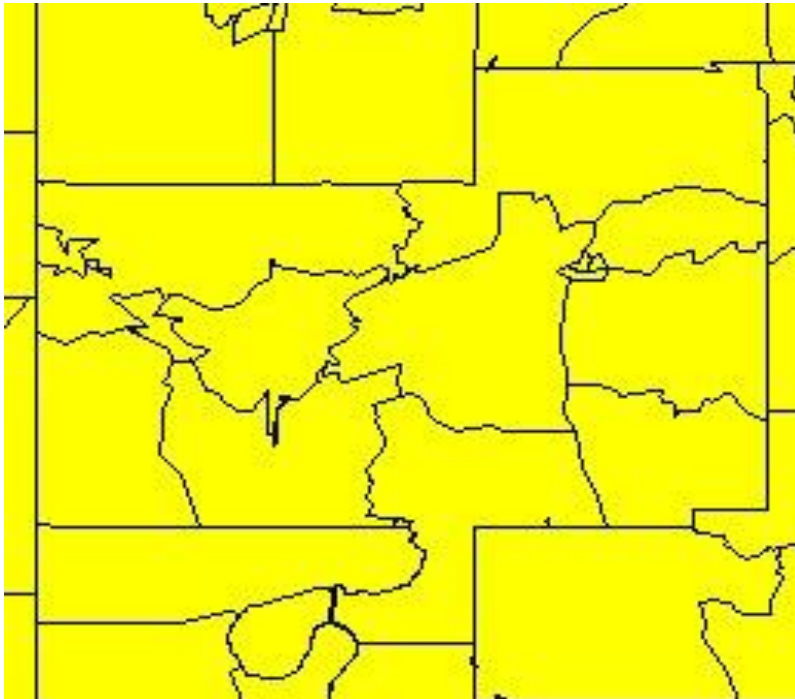


This is the State of Mississippi divided up into block groups:  
1990 Census data.

State of Mississippi – 1990 Block Groups



Below is Tallahatchie County enlarged to show the block groups.

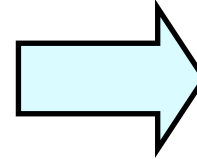




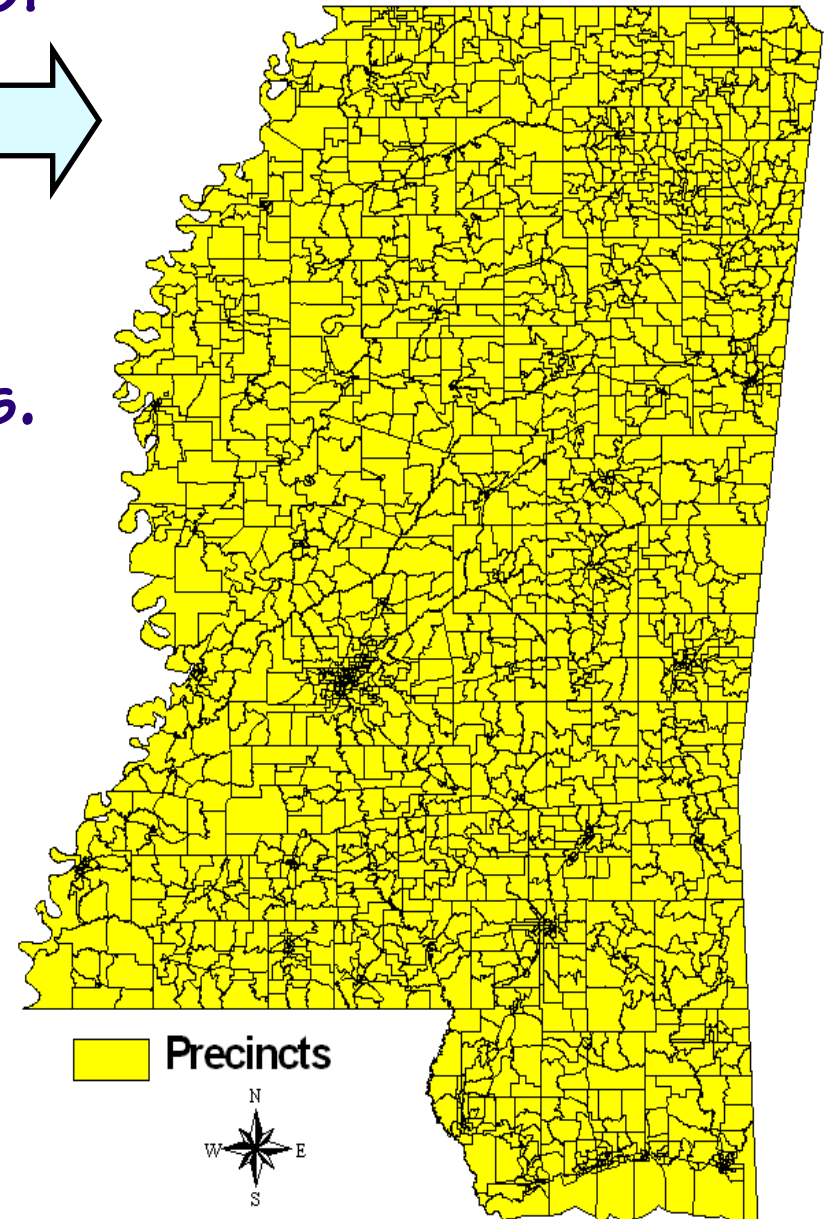
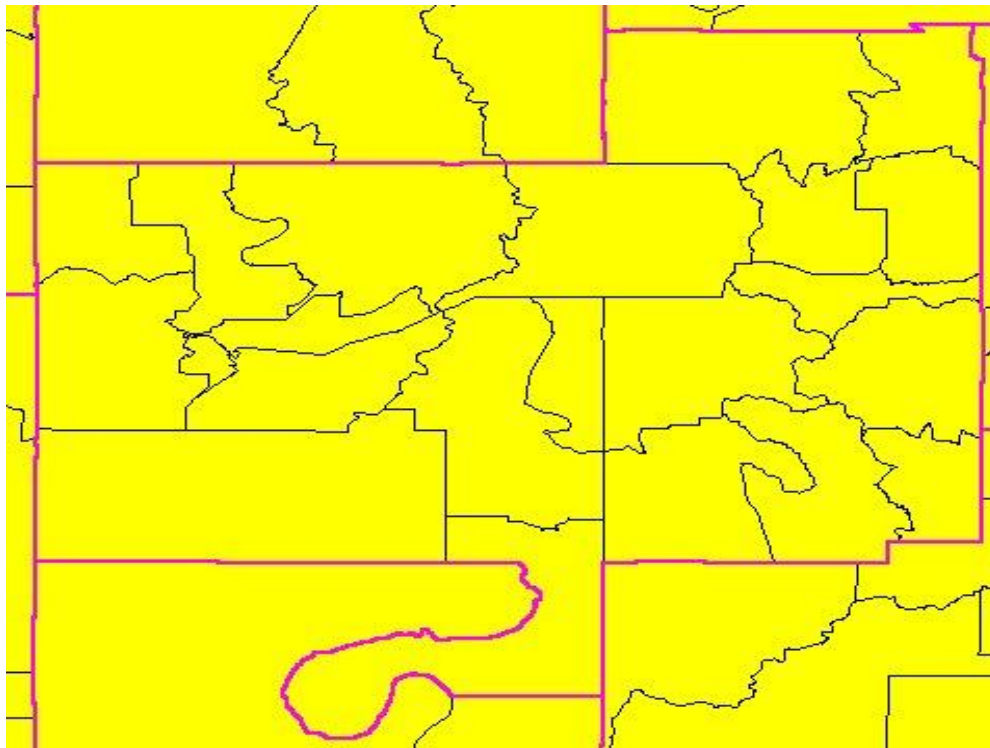


*State of Mississippi -- Precincts -- 2000*

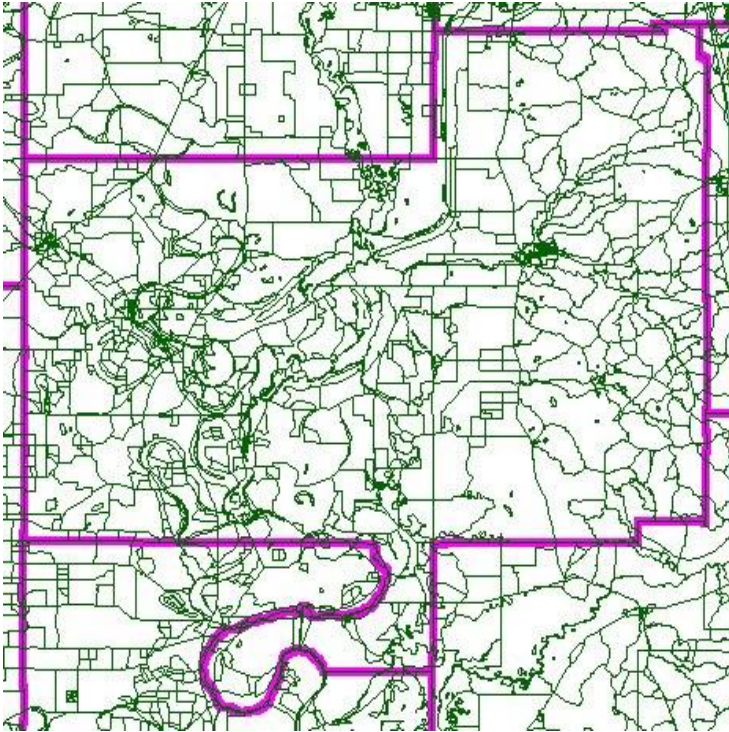
This is the State of Mississippi divided up into precincts.



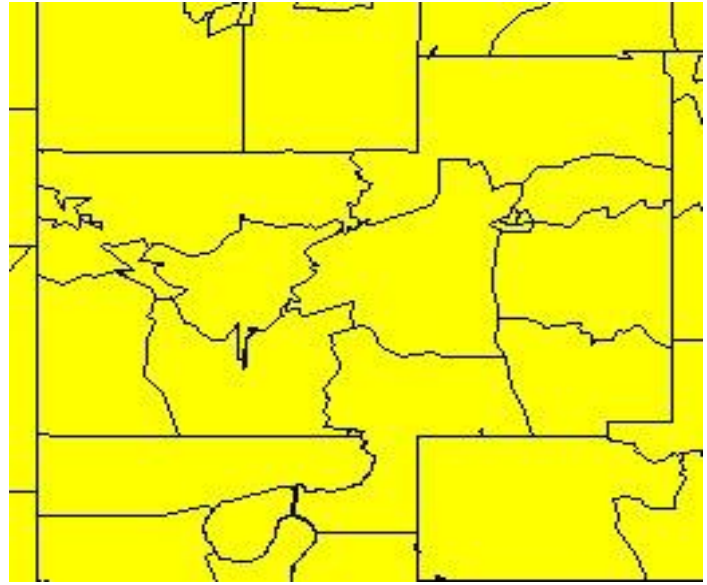
Below is Tallahatchie County enlarged to show the precincts.



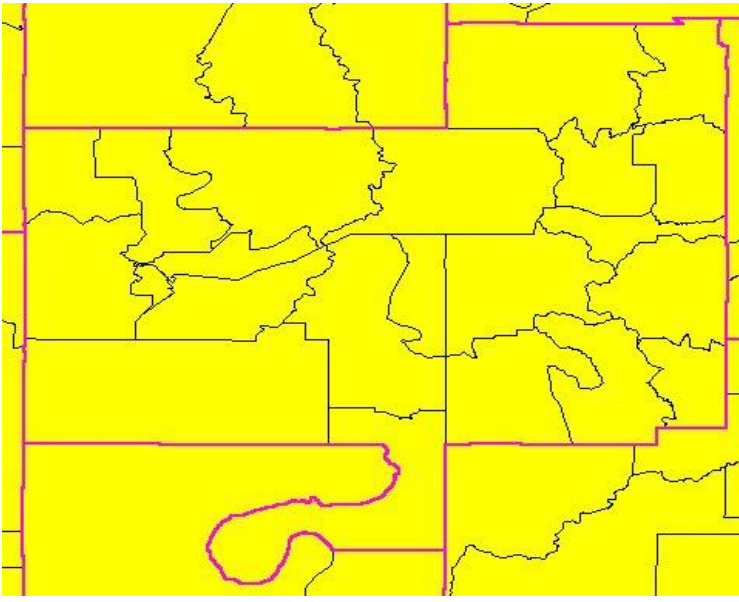




Blocks  
Tallahatchie County



Block Groups  
Tallahatchie County



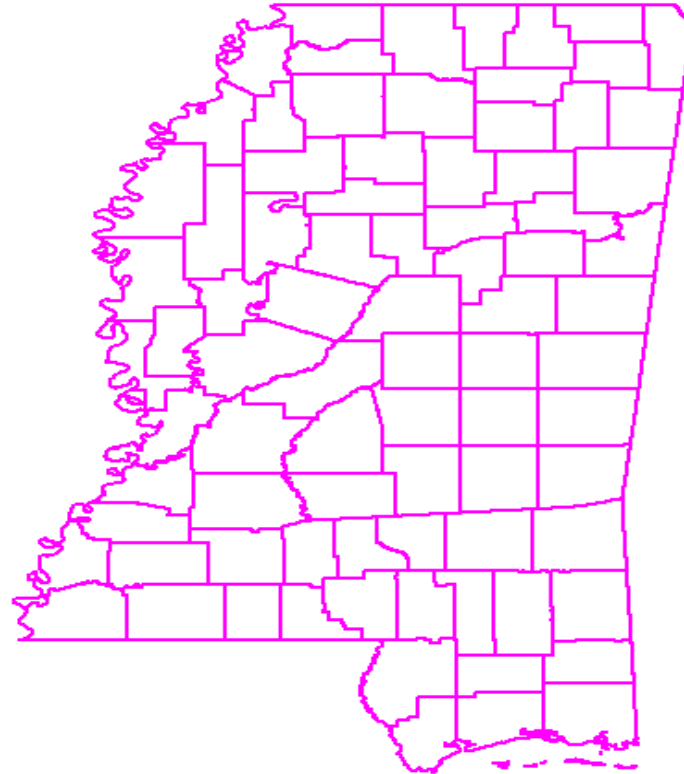
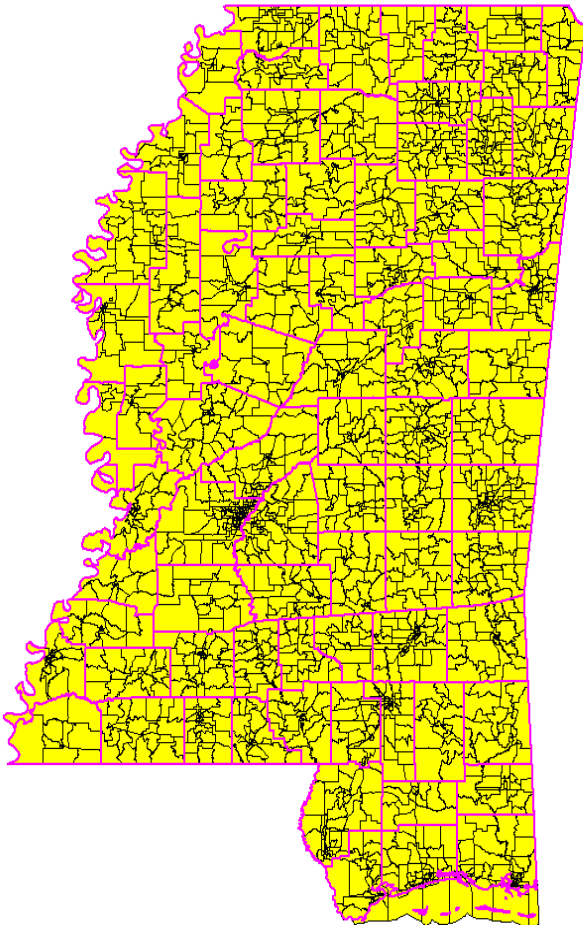
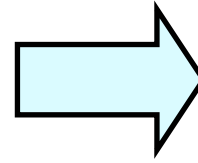
Precincts  
Tallahatchie County

*As you can see, the block lines, block groups lines, and precinct lines are each a different size building block with which to work. Each, therefore, will have a different number of persons.*



This is a map of Mississippi with the counties outlined.

Below is a state map with the counties and precincts outlined.



Precincts are especially important because polling places, or "the boxes", are located in each precinct.



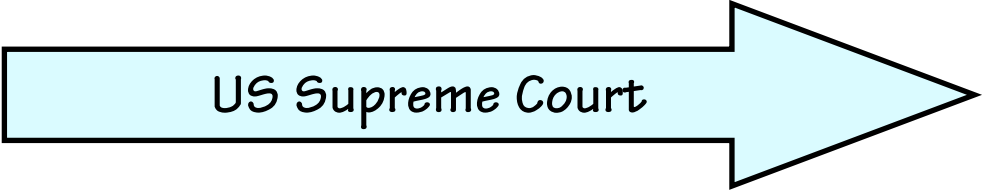
## Redistricting must comply with the law

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There are two fundamental principles, embodied in law, with which all redistricting efforts must comply:

1. One person - one vote, under the 14th Amendment, and
2. The 1965 Voting Rights Act, as amended by Congress and interpreted by the US Supreme Court.





14th Amendment  
Equal Protection Clause

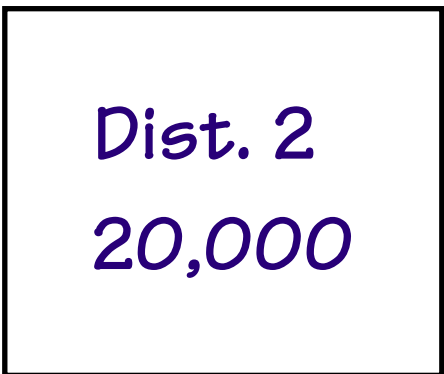
One Person - One Vote was mandated by the US Supreme Court in 1962. It means that the population in each district must be of relatively equal size. The purpose is to ensure that the vote of each person carries about the same weight or value.

Example: In a county supervisor race:  
District 1 has 10,000 persons  
District 2 has 20,000 persons ...

Each district has 1 supervisor. But the value of a vote in Dist. 2 is only 1/2 that of a vote in Dist. 1 because the representative in Dist. 2 has to be accountable to twice as many people as there are in Dist. 1.



1 supvr.



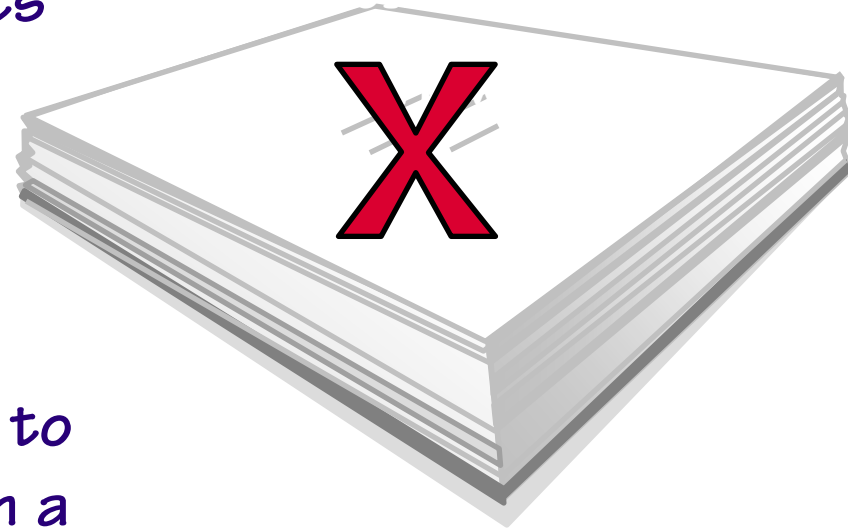
1 supvr.



The 1965 Voting Rights Act was passed to protect the right to vote guaranteed by the 15th Amendment to the US Constitution.

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act prohibits any law, rule, regulation or scheme which dilutes minority voting strength. Sect. 2 applies to all 50 states.

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act applies to specific states, primarily in the South, with a history of systematic exclusion of minorities from the right to vote. Sect. 5 requires that any change in voting laws, redistricting plans, and polling places be pre-cleared by the US Justice Dept. before becoming effective.



**PLEASE NOTE:** In 2006 Section 5 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act was re-authorized for another 25 years. But the power of Congress to re-authorize Section 5 is under serious attack before the U.S. Supreme Court in a pending case brought by a sewer district in Texas. The case was argued April 29, 2009 and should be decided by June 2009.



States entirely subject to Section 5:

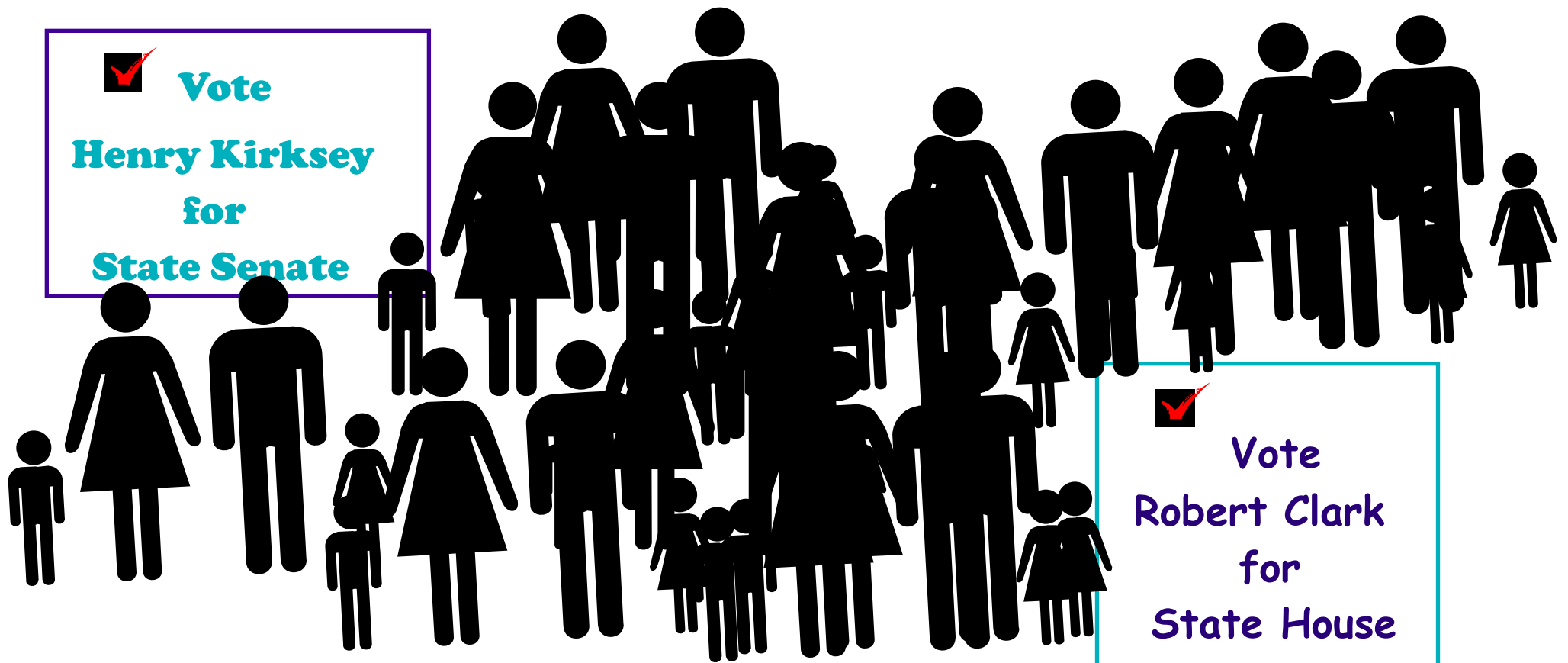
Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.


States subject only in part to Section 5:

California, Florida, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota



 **Vote**  
**Henry Kirksey**  
**for**  
**State Senate**



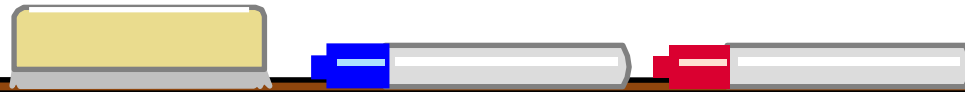
 **Vote**  
**Robert Clark**  
**for**  
**State House**

When the Voting Rights Act passed in 1965 the white leadership in Mississippi realized that they could no longer prevent black citizens from registering to vote and from voting. Not that they didn't continue to try. Violence and intimidation remained a serious problem! But, they turned to all kinds of voting schemes to dilute black voting strength. In particular, in areas of substantial black populations, officials used redistricting as a means of cracking, packing and stacking black voters to try to prevent black citizens from becoming public officials.





Packing is a redistricting device to concentrate more Black or Hispanic voters than are necessary to have an *electable Black or Latino district*, in a single or small number of districts, to prevent the community of color from winning enough seats to gain a majority of votes on a municipal or county board, or to win enough seats at the state level, to impact the formation of public policy.

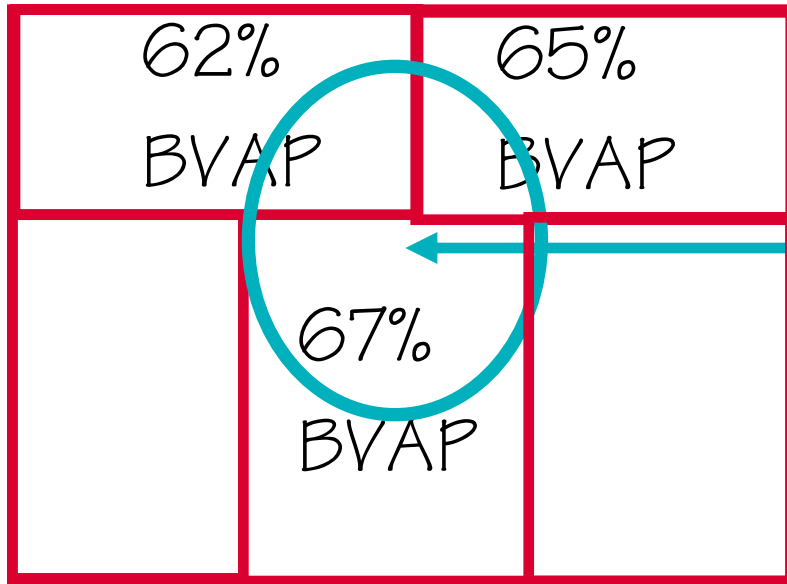






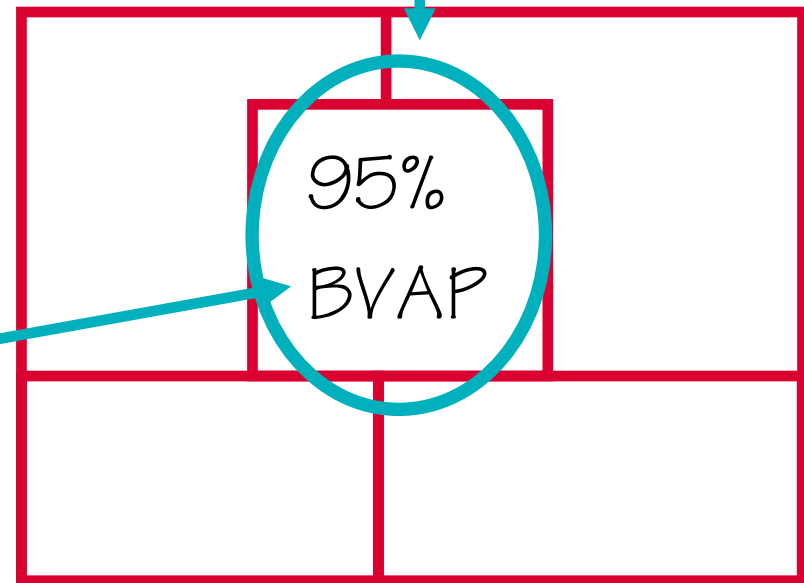
## Example of Packing:

The County Board of Supervisors *could* create this plan:



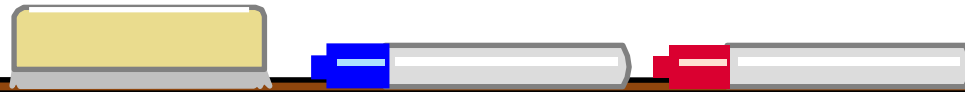
Concentration of  
Black or Latino  
voting age population

Instead, the Supervisors create this **packing** plan with only *one* district with a majority black voting age population.





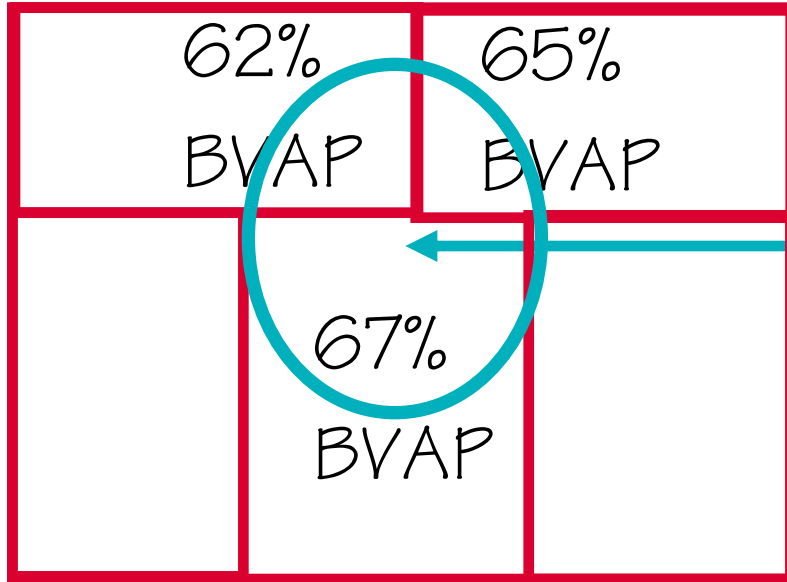
Cracking is a redistricting device by which concentrations of Black or Latino voters are divided up or fragmented among several districts or wards, to prevent the community of color from winning enough seats to gain a majority of votes on a municipal or county board, or to win enough seats at the state level, to impact the formation of public policy.





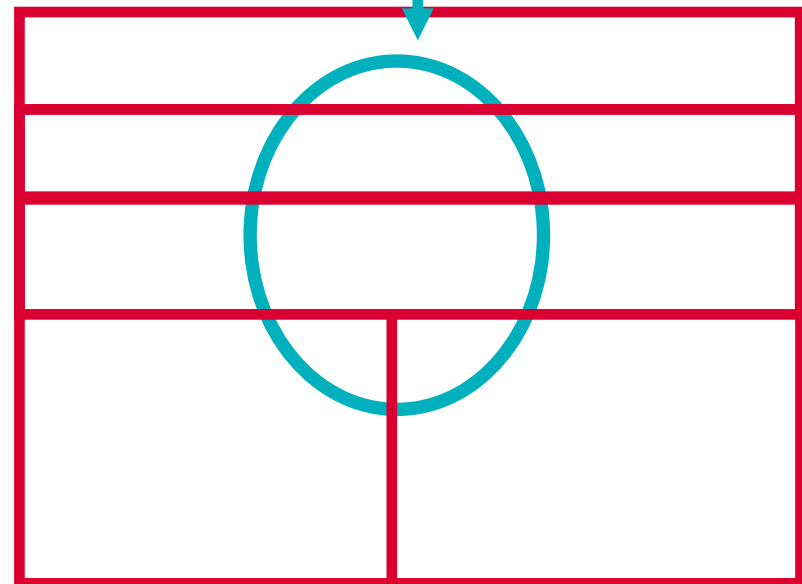
## Example of Cracking:


The County Board of Supervisors could create this plan:



Concentration of  
Black or Latino  
voting age population

Instead, the Supervisors create this **cracking** plan with **no** districts with a majority Black or Latino voting age population.





*Stacking is a redistricting tactic to concentrate very low income Black or Latino citizens, with less education, in the same district with whites with high income and more education to create the illusion of a majority Black or Latino district. Voter turnout is affected by the level of income and education. People with less income and education tend not to vote to the same extent as those with more income and education. The white candidate will have the best chance to win because of lower minority voter turnout and racial bloc voting.*





Racial bloc voting refers to the situation where there is a Black or Latino candidate running against a white candidate and virtually all white voters cast their ballots for the white candidate regardless of the fact that the Black or Latino candidate is or may be more qualified for the position than the white candidate.

Studies show that white voters engage in racial bloc voting to a far greater extent than do minority voters.

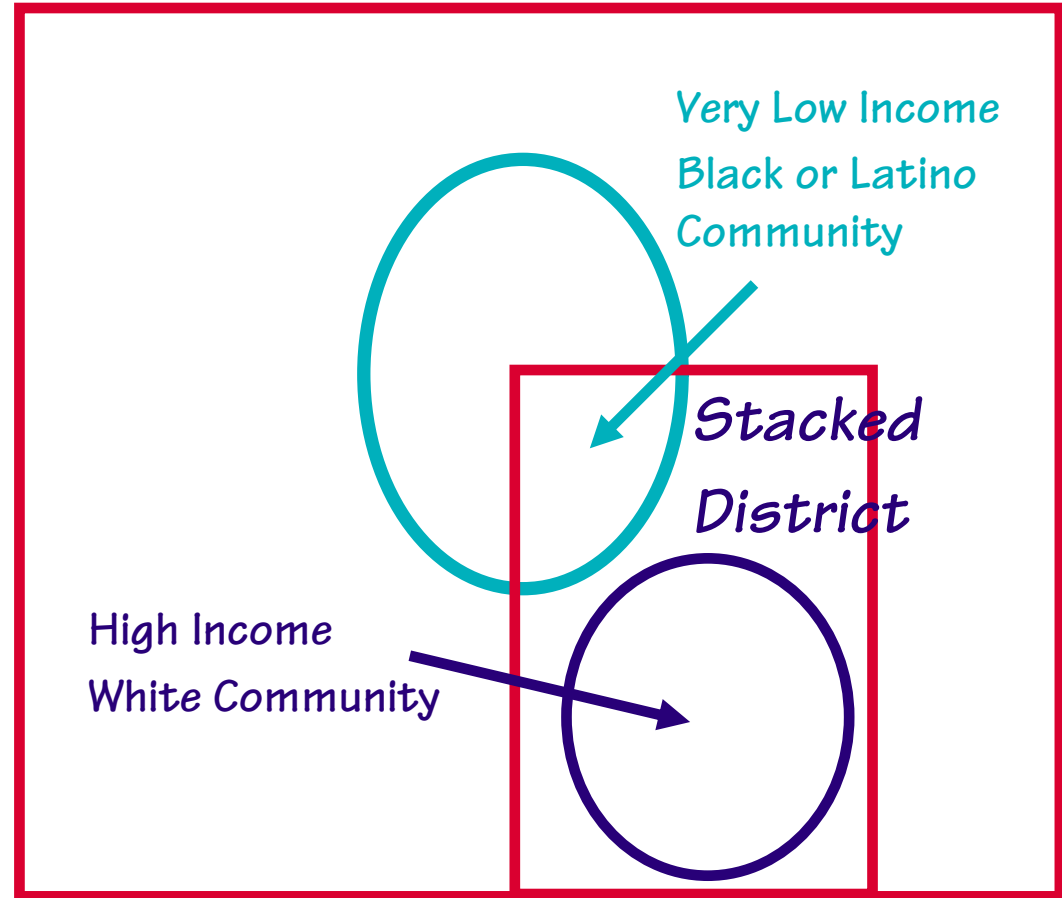


Remember, racism is about domination and control. Decisions by public officials impact control! Elections can determine who controls!



### *Example of Stacking:*

The County Board of Supervisors in a majority Black county try to sell the idea of two electable black districts, two electable white districts and a so-called swing district. But the swing district is stacked:



In the *stacked* district the

BVAP is 53%. The WVAP is 47%. The *Black* community is very low income, with very low high school graduation rates.

The *white* community is upper income, with high college graduation rates. At election time there is likely to be a higher percentage rate of white voter turnout.

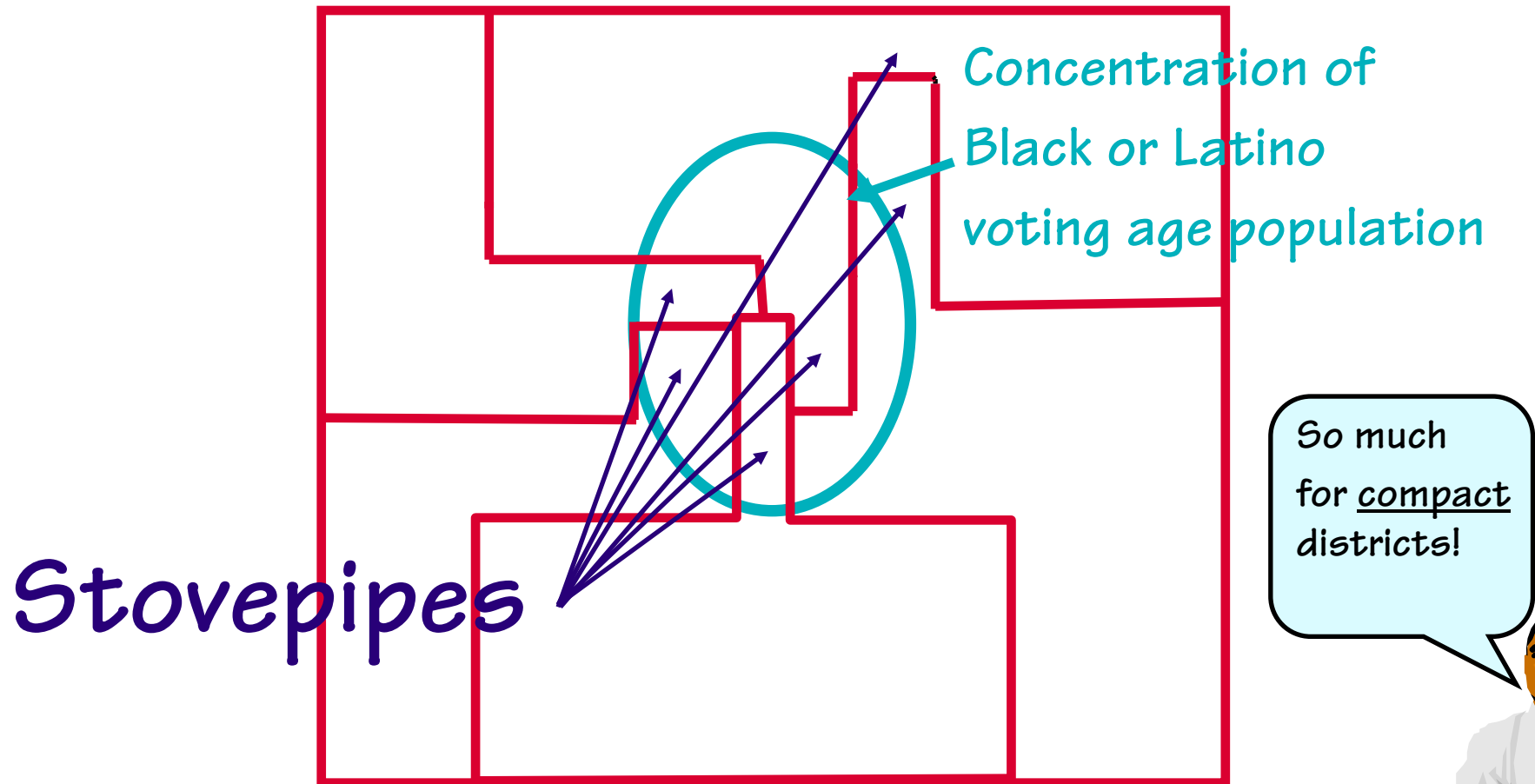


Stovepiping is a redistricting tactic used to connect two parts of a district that are geographically separated. This has been used to create majority white districts, to pack Black or Latino majority districts, to crack concentrations of Black or Latino voters, to stack low income Black or Latino areas with high income white areas, and to gerrymander bizarre-looking districts to ensure either a Democratic party or Republican party majority in the district.





Example of stovepiping to crack the concentration of a Black or Latino majority population and divide it among the five districts so that no district will have a majority BVAP or HVAP:







## Phantom Black or Latino majority districts

Phantom majority districts refers to the creation of districts that are, according to the general population statistics (*total population data*), *technically* majority Black or Latino, but that are *not* districts in which Black or Latino candidates can get elected.

In these districts, the *total* Black or Latino population is in the majority -- above 50 percent. But, in Mississippi, for example, the Black community has more young people under the age of 18 than the white community. Therefore, the *black voting age* population averages about 5% lower than the *total* population. For example, if the total Black population % is 53%, the total Black voting age % will be about 48%.

Racial bloc voting and lower Black voter turnout will make it more difficult for a Black candidate to win.





## Aberration elections

In Mississippi there are some situations in which Black candidates have won elections in districts where the BVAP has been less than 50%. This does not mean that such a situation can readily be duplicated elsewhere. Here are circumstances that explain an aberration or unusual election:

1. A single Black candidate ran against 2 white candidates who split the white vote.
2. A Black person was appointed to fill a vacancy and ran in the election as the incumbent.
3. The white candidate in the race did something to anger the white community and white voters didn't turn out.
4. The white community has identified a Black candidate who will be more loyal to white interests than Black interests and the white community will support that Black candidate against any other Black candidates.



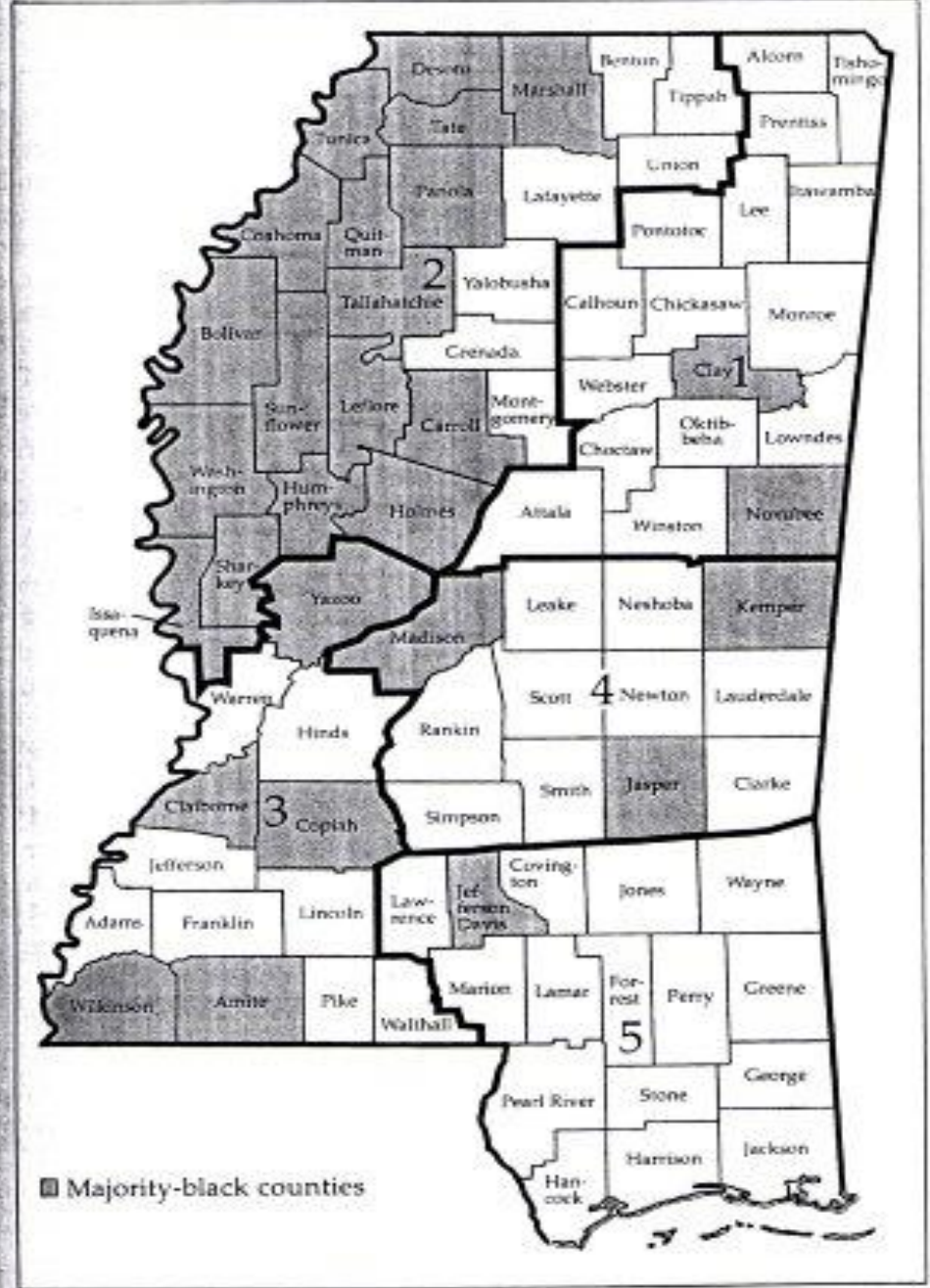






This is the 1962 Congressional redistricting plan based on the 1960 census. Note that the state lost one congressional district. The Delta District became the 2nd after the legislature combined what had been the 3rd and 2nd districts.

Note the majority black counties of Desoto, Tate, Panola, Carroll, Madison and Amite, which are no longer majority black.

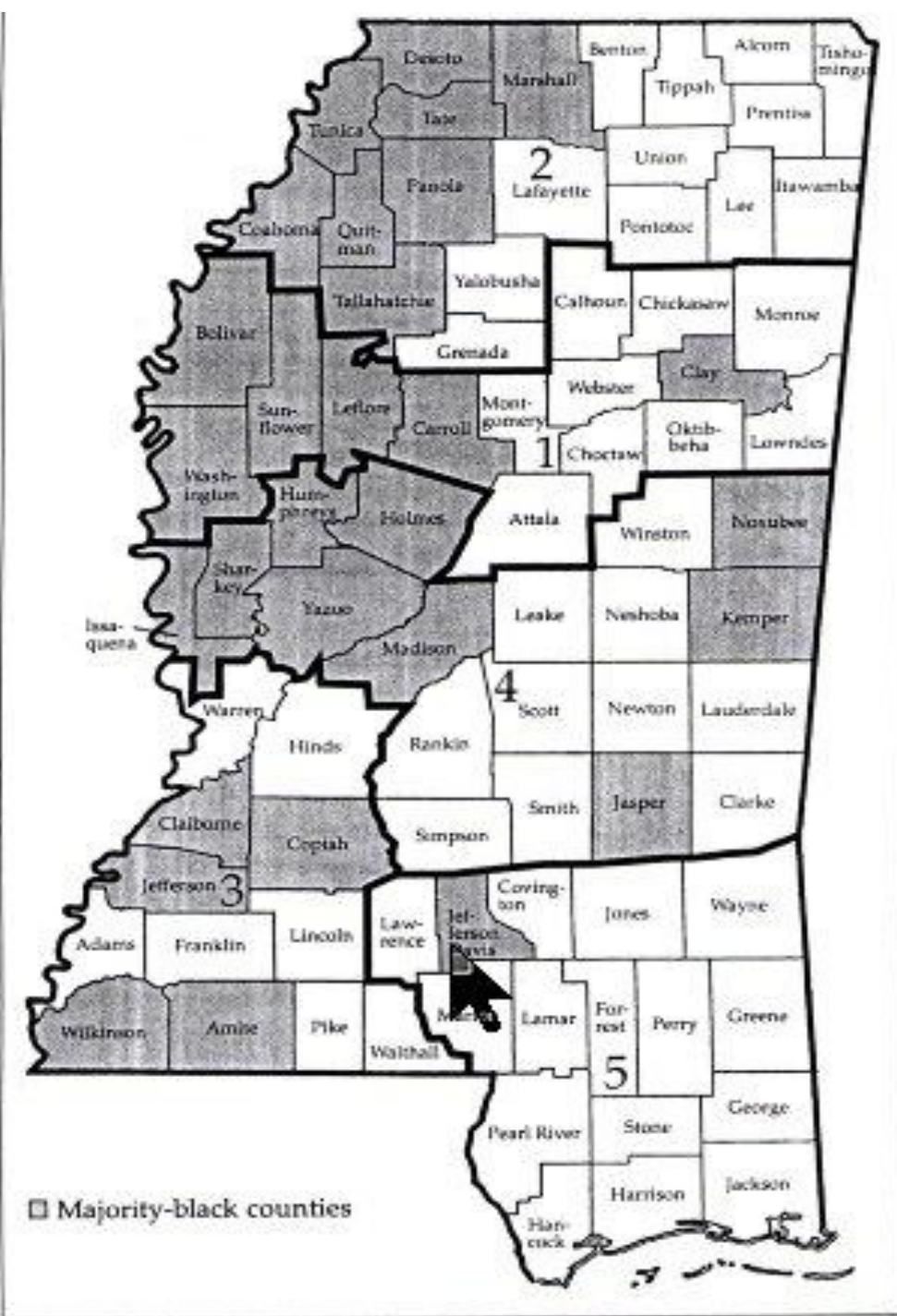


Map 2.3. Congressional Districts Adopted by the State Legislature in 1962. After the 1960 census, as a result of the reapportionment of congressional seats, Mississippi lost a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. The Second and Third Congressional Districts were simply combined to form a new Second District, which included the Delta area and was almost 60 percent black in population.



This is the 1966 Congressional redistricting plan drawn by the state legislature immediately after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Note that the majority black counties along the Delta region are "cracked" among 4 of the state's 5 districts: districts 1, 2, 3, and 4.

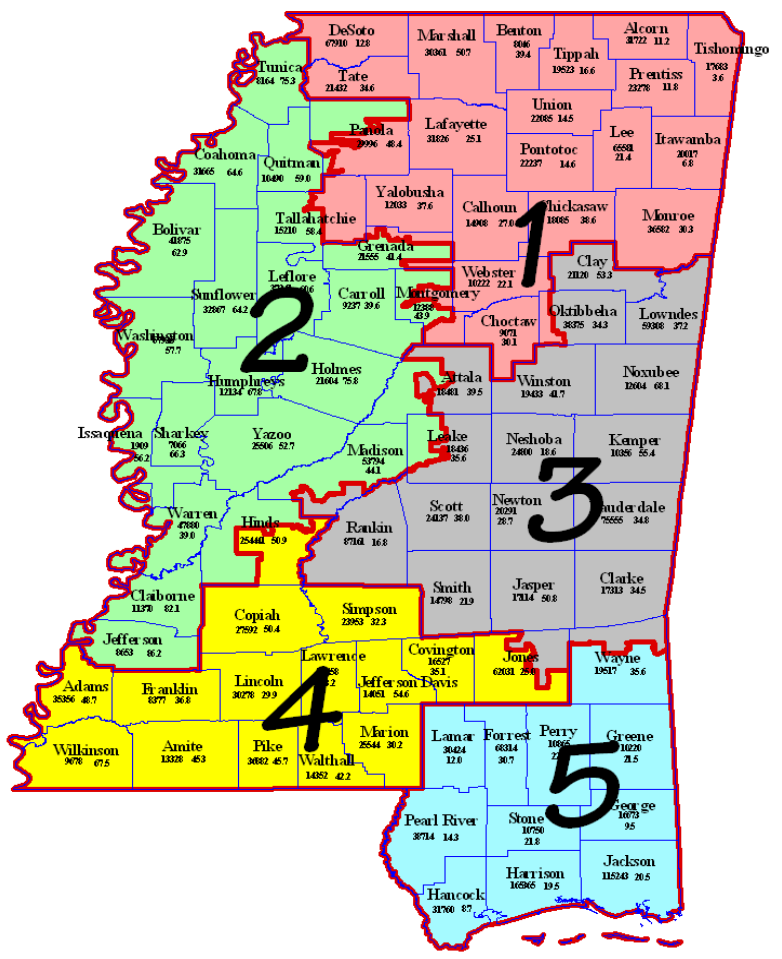


Map 2.6. "Compromise" Congressional Redistricting Plan Adopted by Both Houses of the State Legislature in 1966. The plan divided the Delta area among three of the state's five districts, depriving blacks of a voting majority in any of the districts.



This is the 1992 Congressional redistricting plan drawn by the MS legislature, with the direct and active participation of the African American community through their several accountable organizations: *Mississippi Redistricting Coalition, Delta Redistricting Working Group, Southern Echo, 10 county redistricting groups, Legislative Black Caucus, and many other groups and individuals too numerous to detail here.*

1992 MS Congressional Districts  
 1990 Census Data  
 County Total Population  
 County Total Black Population



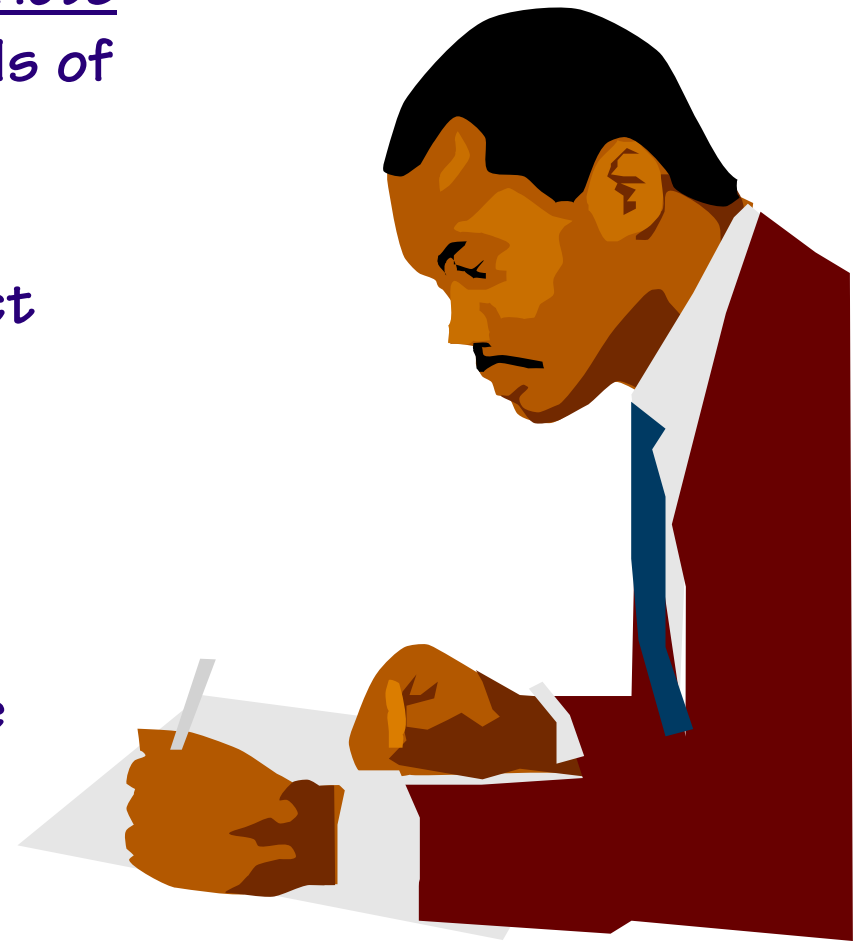


## The Principles of Redistricting

In 1990 the principles on which redistricting was based were relatively simple:

1. Meet the deviation requirements under 1 person 1 vote.
2. Create electable Black or Latino districts wherever possible to implement the goals of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.
3. All parts of the district must be contiguous -- that is, they must connect together at some point.

In 2010 the deviation and contiguity requirements should remain the same. However, the rules regarding “race” have changed dramatically, as we will see.







## Understanding deviation to comply with 1 person 1 vote

### Step One: Determine ideal district size -- aka "the norm"

Whenever redistricting is done, there are two elements that are key:

1. the total population of the state, OR the county, OR the municipality, in which the districts are being re-drawn.
2. the number of districts or wards to be drawn.

Since the population of each district must be relatively equal under 1 person 1 vote, it is essential to determine the ideal size or norm for each district.

The ideal or norm is determined by dividing the total population by the number of districts or wards to be drawn.

**Example:**

**Tot. Pop. = 15,000**

**# of Dist. = 5**

**15,000 divided by**

**5 = 3,000**

**Ideal = 3,000 persons  
per district**





"Deviation" is about how much the population of a district or ward is larger or smaller than the ideal size of, or norm for, the district.

Example: The ideal size of a district is 3,000 persons.

The population of district #1 is 3,150 persons. Therefore, district #1 deviates from (exceeds) the norm (ideal) by +150 persons.

$$\begin{array}{r} 3,150 \\ - \underline{3,000} \\ + 150 \end{array}$$

Example: The ideal size of a district is 3,000 persons.

The population of district #2 is 2,925 persons. Therefore, district #2 deviates from (is less than) the norm by -75 persons.

$$\begin{array}{r} 2,925 \\ - \underline{3,000} \\ - 75 \end{array}$$



In our examples, the percentage of deviation for each district can be determined by dividing the number of persons by which each district deviates from the norm by the ideal number for the district. Then multiply the result by 100.

Example:  $+150$  divided by  $3,000 = +0.05$

(persons above norm) (ideal size)

$+0.05 \times 100 = +5.0 \%$

Example:  $-75$  divided by  $3,000 = -0.025$

(persons below norm) (ideal size)

$-0.025 \times 100 = -2.5\%$

It gets easier  
with practice!





For 1 person 1 vote purposes, the *total deviation* of all of the districts or wards is critical.

There are 2 standards of concern:

1. Congressional redistricting:

The total deviation must be as close to zero as practicable, but not to exceed 1 percent.

Congress:  
From 0% up to 1%

2. State, county, municipal redistricting:

The total deviation should be as low as possible, but not to exceed 10 percent.

State, county, local:  
From 0% up to 10%



Example:

Total County Population = 15,000 Norm = 3,000

Dist. #1: 3,150	Deviation = +150	<u>Dev. % = +5.00 %</u>
Dist. #2: 2,925	Deviation = - 75	<u>Dev. % = -2.50 %</u>
Dist. #3: 3,450	Deviation = +450	<u>Dev. % = +15.00 %</u>
Dist. #4: 2,575	Deviation = -425	<u>Dev. % = -14.17 %</u>
Dist. #5: 2,900	Deviation = -100	<u>Dev. % = -3.33 %</u>

For redistricting, round percentages to two decimal places.

To get the total deviation for the County add together the *deviations* of the districts with the *largest population* and the *smallest population*: i.e. Districts 3 and 4 (ignore the + and - signs for this purpose).

District #3 has a deviation of 15 %.

District #4 has a deviation of 14.17 %.

Add Dist. #3 and Dist. #4 together. The *total deviation* = 29.17 %

The deviation exceeds the 10% deviation limit.



## How to calculate a Deviation Percentage -- the summary

Take the total county population and divide by the number of districts to get the norm.

### Example

County Population = 15,000 persons

# of Supervisor districts = 5

15,000 divided by 5 = 3,000 persons as the norm.

1. Take the largest district and subtract it from the norm.

$$3,450 - 3,000 = 450$$

2. Divide the remainder by the norm to get a percent

$$450 \text{ divided by } 3,000 = .15 \times 100 = 15\%$$

3. Take the smallest district and subtract it from the norm.

$$2,575 - 3,000 = -425$$

4. Divide the remainder by the norm to get a percent

$$-425 \text{ divided by } 3,000 = -14.17 \text{ percent}$$

5. Add both percentages of deviation together

$$15\% + 14.17\% = 29.17\% \text{ TOTAL DEVIATION}$$

**29.17% EXCEEDS THE ALLOWABLE NORM OF 10%.**





### How to calculate the Black or Latino Population Percentage

Divide the *Total Black or Latino Population of 8,575*  
by the *Total County Population of 15,000*

Example:  $8,575$  divided by  $15,000 = 0.571666$

Multiply by 100 and round to 2 decimal places:

i.e.  $0.57166 \times 100 = 57.17$  percent.

*The Black or Latino Population Percentage is 57.17 %.*

### How to calculate the Black or Latino Voting Age Percentage

Divide the *Total Black or Latino Voting Age Population of 2,850*  
by the *Total Voting Age Population of 5,410*

Example:  $2,850$  divided by  $5,410 = 0.526802$

Multiply by 100 and round to 2 decimal places:

i.e.  $0.526802 \times 100 = 52.68$  percent.

*The Black or Latino Voting Age Population is 52.68 %.*



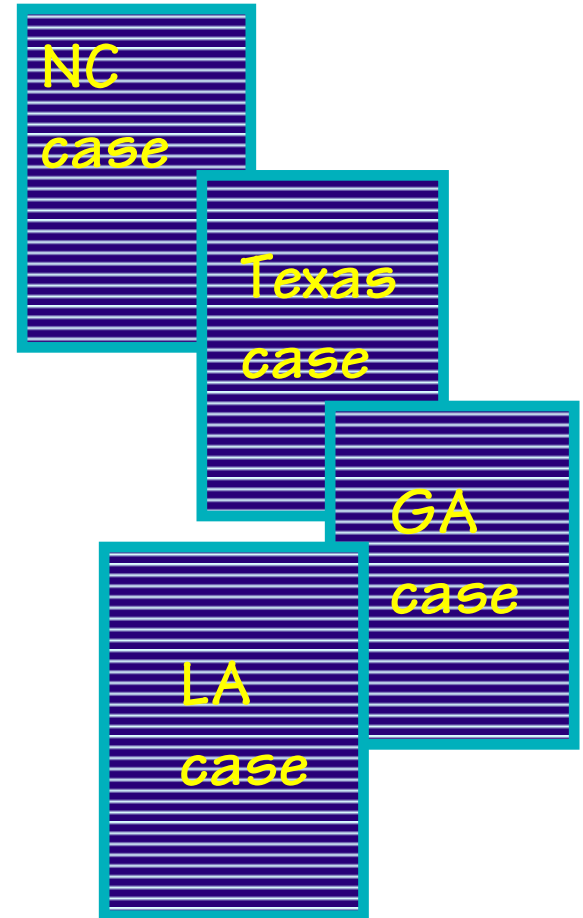
The "rules of the game" have changed!

In 1990 the principles to guide the redistricting work were fairly simple:

1. Satisfy the deviation requirements of 1 person 1 vote; and
2. Comply with the 1965 Voting Rights Act by creating electable Black or Latino districts wherever possible.

But, between 1993 and 2001 the principles for redistricting under the Voting Rights Act changed dramatically because of US Supreme Court decisions.

In 2009 the US Supreme Court is on the verge of changing the rules again!



Where is Justice Thurgood Marshall when we need him?





The US Supreme Court has ruled that it is *unconstitutional* to draw districts based primarily on race. But -- race can be a factor if race is one among many factors used to draw a redistricting plan.



To keep it simple --

It is extremely important to understand how to explain the factors used to draw the plan to protect the plan from attack on constitutional grounds.







How to apply the new rules in 2010 to draw *fair* political districts in compliance with the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the standards set by the US Supreme Court --

Consider these 8 factors when drawing a plan:

1. Keep deviation within “1 person 1 vote” rule
2. Compactness of the districts
3. No retrogression
4. No dilution of Black or Latino voting strength
5. Protection of incumbents
6. Political party affiliation and voting behavior
7. Cohesion of communities
8. Communities of interest





## FACTOR #1: Keep deviation within “1 person 1 vote” rule

A. For congressional districts the deviation must be as close to zero (0) as is practicable, but should not exceed one (1) percent.

B. For state, county and municipal offices in Mississippi, the deviation should not exceed ten (10) percent.

Deviation summary:

Congressional districts: 0 to 1%

State, county, municipal districts: up to 10%



## FACTOR #2: Compactness of the districts

Compact districts should have a visible, solid core, center or base. Districts do not have to be perfect squares, rectangles or circles. "Compact" is a relative term.

Note: When districts are majority Black or Latino the federal courts have held districts to be unconstitutional that have "bizarre" shapes that look like spaghetti, octopus, star bursts, stovepipes or long stretches no wider than the width of a highway.

When we explain why a plan is fair we should note that the districts are reasonably and relatively compact!





### FACTOR #3: No retrogression

*Black and Latino voting strength should not be reduced (that is -- no retrogression) unless major population shifts prevent maintaining the gains.*

*In Mississippi, during the redistricting work in 1991-1992, the Black community made extraordinary gains in voting strength in the Congressional, state, county and municipal redistricting. These gains resulted in enormous electoral victories that greatly increased the number of Black elected officials and judges. We maintained those gains in the 2001-2002 redistricting. The Black community has the right to maintain the gains. We should not go backwards. No retrogression!*

It is permissible to explain that a plan is fair by noting that it does not involve retrogression of Black or Latino voting strength!





## FACTOR #4: No dilution of Black or Latino voting strength

It is a violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act to draw a plan which has the intent or purpose of diluting or limiting Black or Latino voting strength.

When we explain why a plan is fair we should note that the districts do not dilute Black or Latino voting strength!





## FACTOR #5: Protection of incumbents

Redistricting plans can be drawn with the intent to keep incumbents in their districts.

This so-called "protection" is often necessary in the drawing of the plans to gain enough votes to adopt the plan within the state, county or municipal body responsible for drawing the plan.

But Note: the districts do not belong to the incumbents. They belong to the people!

The support for a fair plan can be enhanced by showing that it does not displace an incumbent into another district, or pit two incumbents against each other. But, sometimes it needs to be done!





FACTOR #6: Political party affiliation  
and voting behavior

It is permissible to draw districts to favor Democrats or Republicans. Such purely "political" considerations are not prohibited.

In many areas of the South voting behavior (i.e. preference for Democrats or Republicans) and race coincide. In such situations, we can take voting behavior into account when drawing plans and it does not mean that race is the predominant factor.

We can consider whether people are loyal Republicans or loyal Democrats when we decide who should be placed together in the different districts!





## FACTOR #7: Cohesion of Communities

When putting people together within district boundary lines, it is appropriate to consider whether the communities within the district can work together to support candidates that will be accountable to their needs.

Cohesion of communities means that the communities are able to work together.

It is permissible to assess the history of the various communities to determine in which district to place each community.

When communities cannot work together, the district becomes politically dysfunctional.

When communities can work together, the district can elect accountable officials.







## FACTOR #8: Communities of Interest

When drawing district lines it is permissible to take into account the *communities of interest* that exist among families, neighborhoods and communities.

Some of these common interests are:

1. Access to a first rate public education
2. Suitable, affordable housing
3. Economic development that benefits grassroots communities
4. Access to effective, affordable health care
5. Fair and equitable treatment by law enforcement
6. Affordable, effective representation in the courts
7. Fair, equitable access to lending institutions
8. Effective access to the political process



## In Summary:

Redistricting is not an engineering exercise created by demographers according to objective math or geometric principles. Rather, it is a political process in which every person drawing a plan is following an agenda intended to accomplish specific results or outcomes.

A fair plan is one that is fair to all members of the community. "Fair" means that the plan helps to eliminate the history of exclusion! "Fair" means that the principles of the 1965 Voting Rights Act are fulfilled and that Black and Latino communities have a reasonable opportunity to elect representatives that will be accountable to their needs.

