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Black politics in North Carolina: a case study of the second congressional district

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Atlanta University

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BLACK POLITICS IN NORTH CAROLINA
A CASE STUDY OF THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
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THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
ZAPHON R. WILSON

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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ABSTRACT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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BLACK POLITICS IN NORTH CAROLINA: A CASE STUDY OF THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Adviser: Dr. William H. Boone
Dissertation dated May, 1990

An important characteristic of contemporary research on black political participation in the United States has been its emphasis on black electoral behavior. Few studies, however, have examined in detail the impacts of political structure on black electoral behavior or the influences of the Good Government Movement, known as Progressive Reform, in the south on black politics.

This study examines black politics in the Second Congressional District in North Carolina. The purpose of the study is to examine how black political activity is influenced by government structure on the local, state and congressional levels.

Case studies were conducted of two congressional campaigns in 1982 and 1984, respectively, and one state senate campaign in 1985. Each candidate was interviewed along with representatives from four black political
organizations in the study area.

These case studies reveal several points regarding black politics in the Second Congressional District and how structure, particularly the Second Primary Run-off, effects black candidates. By the same token, race is still an important concern in elections in the study area.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Perhaps the best way to understand the political position of the American 'Negro' today is to compare what some Negroes are asking of Politics in the narrow sense—the competitive struggle for elective office and deliberate attempts to influence the substance of government decisions—and not, in the broadest sense, as any activity by which conflict over goals is carried on.

J. Q. Wilson, 1965

An important characteristic of contemporary research on black political participation in the United States has been its emphasis on black electoral behavior. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was one cornerstone upon which blacks began to move toward greater participation in the political process.

As a result of this Act, writers were either confident that changes in the material condition of American blacks would be forthcoming; or on the other hand, writers were hopeless that changes by legislation would result in any meaningful changes in the condition of blacks.¹ Traditionally, studies have focused on the impact of the black electorate on the political process through the instruments of voter registration and voting alone. The focus of this dissertation, however, will be an examination of the impacts that governmental structures have on the practice of politics by blacks.

Hanes Walton argues that "there have been numerous case studies of black politics in the North and an equal
number of studies of black politics in the South. Each group of studies, however, has been different. An example of this may be seen in work by Matthews and Prothro. In essence, the authors suggest that the scope of their work is concerned with a . . .


As a result of this treatment, black politics has been examined as an area of political research without much regard for the structural arrangements in which political participation is impacted by government policy and the climate of the times. Within this area of research, much of the scholarship has been apologetic and accommodationist. The primary/run-off structure, which is still popular in the south, the impact of at-large elections, or the power of state legislative committees to draw district representation lines are never seriously examined.

For a clear example of the scholarship in this area, William Keech offers the following observation on the intentions of his research:

This research is designed to explore the following questions: What is the impact of the Negro vote on the outputs of a local political system, and what is the relationship between the vote as a manifestation of formal political power and other forms and sources of social and political power? Most importantly, is the vote
able to achieve major social and economic gains for a deprived group?

Political participation and political activity are two separate areas that require clarification. Political participation relates to behaviors recognized by the state as being legitimate. Those legitimate behaviors include voting, political party participation, campaigning and running for public office. The basis for political participation by a given group is the attitude that group has about politics and its place in fostering progressive social, political or economic change.

Political participation is also based on individual interests, motives and resources. The dynamics of political participation are, therefore, confined to time, place and operate within the boundaries of the existing political order. The existing political order, the state and its agents control political participation to maintain social equilibrium. The state of balance that exists between the competing factions is legitimimized by the state and result in the maintenance of the existing political status quo. Political participation denotes attempts by groups or individuals to participate in politics.

Political activity, on the other hand, differs greatly from political participation. Political activity refers to the attempts made by individuals or groups to impact the political system or to totally change that system. These
behaviors may or may not be legitimized by the state. Additionally, political activity denotes some effort to organize against the existing order to persuade that order to change its values regarding politics.

Political activity takes on a character of behavior unique to time, place and material circumstance. It attempts to cause some change in the political environment by the actors.

By using democratic theory as a method for approaching these questions, Keech examines the organizational structures of black communities in Tuskegee, Alabama and Durham, North Carolina. In effect, Keech, in the same view as other writers, argues that increased political participation may result in fewer "political payoffs than more." Matthews and Prothro also argue that this phenomenon occurs because of the vague fears held by whites of black domination. In the authors' words,

In most political settings, the concentration of an ethnic or occupations group in a geographical area provides reinforcement of common values sufficient to produce more active political participation. But southern Negroes are in a peculiarly subordinate position. And the larger the proportion of Negroes in an area, the more intense the vague fears of Negro domination that seem to beset southern whites. Thus, in virtually every study of southern politics, the proportion of Negroes in the population has emerged as a primary explanatory variable. As an independent variable, black voter strength has been examined on many levels. Scholarly efforts have examined
black voter participation on the national level, state levels and community levels. In this respect, the literature provides for many points of departure into a more detailed systematic examination of black politics in general, with specific reference to one state.

**Statement of the Problem**

The decision to investigate a single state is based upon substantive rather than epistemological considerations. In an earlier cited work, Matthews and Prothro state that one important consideration in explaining the differences in black political participation was the state itself.

North Carolina provides the general framework within which this study is to be made. In this regard, the Second Congressional District (SCD) will be the primary area under investigation. The SCD was selected for several reasons. First and most important, the SCD comprises the largest black population and controls a substantial proportion of seats in the North Carolina General Assembly. This area comprises 11 counties in the region that are covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In this respect and others, the study area reflects all of the characteristics unique to Black Belt counties across the south-eastern region of the United States with one exception. This exception is that few black candidates run for public office and few win
elections. In terms of democratic principles based on majority rule and minority rights, this phenomenon becomes problematic. Blacks, therefore, participate in political events based on a prescribed notion of politics that follows a custom of racial discrimination and racial subordination.

The major problem to be addressed in this dissertation is based upon the assumption that black political participation is, in part, determined by policies that serve to manipulate and maintain an historical structure which places blacks at a disadvantage no matter how well-organized they appear to be on the surface of political life.

Instruments of policy used to maintain the entrenched power structure operate on at least two levels. At the superstructural level, at-large elections, primary run-offs and redistricting are used to dilute black voter strength. Substructural political activity operates in a political environment based on informal rules. At this level, the political climate is manifested by attitudes of hostility held by the dominant group in society against the subordinate group. These attitudes result in black fear and apathy, which lead to overt discrimination in political opportunities for blacks.

Matthews and Prothro approach this problem from a different angle. They suggest that as the black population
increases, white fears increase as well. These fears are then realized in the development of attitudes that limit black socioeconomic and political mobility. Danigelis refers to attitudes held by whites in this situation as the informal aspects of the political climate. The political climate is then adjusted through the formal policy process to limit black political participation.

The formal political climate sets the focus for this research project. In the recent past, the North Carolina General Assembly has been engaged in a formal dispute with the United States Justice Department over legislative redistricting as a result of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965. Noncompliance with the VRA rests on the notion that the General Assembly does not consider the legislative acts to be "changes" relating to voting or electoral schemes.

North Carolina legislators, through a series of redistricting decisions, have established a United States Congressional District in which the black population lacks the strength to effect purposeful political change in national as well as state elections. Steve Suits suggests that,

In the face of the most stringent executive procedures and the development of the most sympathetic case law on voting, white North Carolina officials in the county--houses and state assembly maintained a quiet campaign of resistance in hauntingly familiar ways.
In all analyses of acts of the North Carolina Legislature, the U.S. Justice Department found 193 separate enactments concerning voting changes in the 39 counties covered under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.  

In state elections, the North Carolina General Assembly has been active in changing state Senate and House districts as well. Since 1979, changes have been drawn in the boundaries of the 7th, 6th, and 13th Senate districts and the 7th, 8th, 70th, 22nd, 23rd, 68th, 69th, 70th, and 72nd House districts. In both cases, these districts fall within the geographic area of the Second Congressional District, which currently has a 40% black population, according to the United States Census.

By 1985, the Senate districts were increased from three to six, pulling in new counties which were predominantly white while at the same time splitting older, predominantly black districts in half. House districts were drawn so that five contiguous counties and part of another (Halifax) were contained in any district. Selecting the SCD as the area of study revolves around the following concerns:

(1) The history of political activity by blacks in the area is rich and provides a unique opportunity for research.

(2) There are intact organizational structures in the area concerned with political empowerment.
The size of the black electorate is the largest in the state.

Despite the size of the black electorate in the district, only two black state representatives have been elected; no black national representatives have been elected since 1899.

Finally, economic development in this district lags behind any other area in the state, making the SCD the poorest in the state.

The literature on black political behavior is expansive; many studies have dealt with topics that range from at-large systems to closed primary systems. Scholarly research on black electoral politics in North Carolina is, however, very limited. These works have either been concerned with historical descriptions of the black struggle to enter into the electoral mainstream or they have concentrated on black experiences in the state as a result of segregation. These works examine a range of issues; most focus on selected personalities as a primary point of concern. Although these items are dated, they provide for some insight into Black political activities in North Carolina.

Recent literature on black political activity in North Carolina has been concerned with the issues of mobilization and grassroot organization. "Social and Political Bases of a Black Candidate's Coalition: Race, Class and Ideology in
the 1976 North Carolina Primary Election" in Politics and Society, by Paul Lubke, is one such work. However, Lubke suggests that in campaigns, particularly for statewide offices, black candidates have taken on a posture which minimizes the significance of group concerns and uses a "black bourbon" strategy based on racial moderation and progress.18

Another example of black bourbon literature includes Thomas Eamon's treatment of "Black Leadership In Durham: A Benevolent Oligarchy in Transition." Eamon examines the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People as a benevolent oligarchy of black business elites who served as a buffer for the black masses and white community.19

However, literature on the issue of black political participation in North Carolina is moving more toward concerns of mobilization and progress.

Methodology

The methodological approach outlined by Hanes Walton, Jr., in Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis, argues for a more comprehensive analysis of black political participation. Walton suggests that although political participation may vary in form between locality, the need for a comprehensive effort is vital to ensure completeness.20
In Walton's assessment of previous studies on black politics, the common denominator in each has been a concern for elections. In his view:

... those studies that have been done on black politics using the electoral framework have actually made it more difficult to grasp the nature, significance and scope of black politics as a whole.21

Moreover, Walton argues that,

... any analysis of black political behavior that uses this conceptual framework (electoral politics) will inevitably be incomplete. Besides the fact that the electoral framework will cause the analyst to give a micro, rather than macro, view of black politics, it will also force him to sectional and local analysis. In fact, the analyst can never treat the entire spectrum of black political life and render it justice by studying blacks and their vote. One who attempts this approach is bound to leave out numerous essential items.22

In this regard, any effort to analyze minority politics would be inadequate. Walton, however, does make many significant points regarding the emptiness of previous studies. One methodological safeguard against the argument of narrowness is to assure that political behavior and its attendant elements do not operate in a vacuum.

Politics and government in this specific setting rest on the groundwork of participatory democracy and flows from the framework of democratic theory. Moreover, it is assumed that conflict exists among and between groups who seek to control government machinery to maintain positions of dominance, the status quo and cultural values associated
with southern politics in particular.

Control of the political process carries a definition of political power that not only sets the theme for minority group participation in and with government, but also sets a social theme through which cultural values are transmitted in and between groups. The state, through its legitimizing institutions, establishes public policy that, in effect, creates opportunities and reward systems for the ascendant group while maintaining a system of political and economic domination over the subordinate group. Therefore, control of the political process empowers its possessor with a set of resources that preserves a way of life, a system of government, and group interactions.

All of these are based on the notion of power. Power has been defined many ways by political scientists; however, David Easton offers a clear definition of this term as it relates to this discussion. Easton suggests that:

It [power] is based on the ability to influence the actions of others . . . we must view it as a relationship in which one person or group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former's own ends. Furthermore, and this is the aspect that distinguishes power from broad influence, this person or group must be able to impose some sanction for the failure of the influenced person to act the desired way. Power, therefore, is present to the extent to which one person controls by sanction the decisions and actions of others. For this reason, concern about authoritative policy for society leads us to inquire into power
relations. The making of policy and its execution is power.\textsuperscript{23}

This notion of "power" entails a set of institutions, individuals and processes through which the authoritative allocation of values is made for a society.

For the purpose of this study, the political environment from which demands are made will be the cities and counties of the Second Congressional District. These cities and counties also include seven state legislative districts (7, 8, 22, 23, 68, 69, 70, and 72), as well as six state senate districts (2, 6, 10, 11, 13, and 21).

Due to the geographic size and populations of the study area, it can be assumed that different political interests exist and vary from one locale to the next. Nevertheless, a common problem in the area is readily observed. This problem rests on the assumption that there exists both vertical and horizontal impediments to black political participation, which, taken as a whole, are reflected in each state legislative district and in local government councils. As a result of political powerlessness at the local level, all other levels of government reflect this same trend. In this respect, even though black population statistics indicate a sizable black population and black representation on various councils, the state General Assembly, as well as statewide offices, lags far behind that of other southern states. Table 1.1
provides a graphic illustration of county, population and racial distributions.

As Table 1.1 suggests, blacks comprise a substantial percentage of the population in the study area. Overall, the total black population of this area is 40.1%. Based on the above data, Warren County has the highest percentage of blacks in its population. The study area is the poorest region in the state. Conversely, Durham County, with a 37% black population, is one of the wealthiest counties in the state. The overall wealth of Durham County tends to obscure the overall poverty of the region.

TABLE 1.1

Counties and Municipalities that Comprise the Study Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>*Black VAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>20,704</td>
<td>11,646</td>
<td>9,058</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>152,781</td>
<td>95,815</td>
<td>59,966</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>55,988</td>
<td>27,430</td>
<td>28,558</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>30,056</td>
<td>17,650</td>
<td>12,406</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>33,994</td>
<td>18,871</td>
<td>15,123</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>55,268</td>
<td>27,558</td>
<td>27,728</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>67,151</td>
<td>44,745</td>
<td>22,406</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>29,166</td>
<td>19,785</td>
<td>16,032</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>16,232</td>
<td>5,894</td>
<td>10,338</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>63,133</td>
<td>39,943</td>
<td>23,190</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>25,432</td>
<td>15,290</td>
<td>10,070</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are clear explanations for the wide gap in incomes and wealth in the area. One explanation rests on
the general character of the area. Economically, the basic industries in the area are agriculture, textile mills, and the tobacco industry.

The rural character of the district coupled with its apparent poverty is regarded as another reason for the general lack of black political organization. Table 1.2 outlines the extent of overall poverty in the area as indicated by families and female-headed families who live below the national poverty level based on 1979 data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Females with Incomes Below Poverty Level</th>
<th>Females Headed by Females Below Poverty Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As Table 1.2 suggests, poverty levels of the study area exceed the national level. The poverty level for families in the area which includes all races averages 16.75%. That is, on the average, 16.75 percent of all families in the area have incomes well below the poverty
level. Families headed by women fare even worse; 38.8% of female-headed households have incomes below the poverty level.

Another illustration of the extent of poverty in the area is the per capita income. In 1984, the per capita income of the Second Congressional District was $5,700. Additionally, 100,382 or 19.3% of persons living in the district had incomes below the poverty level. By 1985, the national median family income had risen to $27,735. Whites earned $29,152, while Blacks earned $16,786.

A racial breakdown of per capita income by county highlights the degree of income disparity in the area. Table 1.3 shows the level of difference between racial groups in the area.

TABLE 1.3

Per Capita Income by County and Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>White Per Capita Income</th>
<th>Black Per Capita Income</th>
<th>% Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>5,597</td>
<td>4,055</td>
<td>27.5 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>8,216</td>
<td>4,484</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>6,711</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>6,229</td>
<td>3,488</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>6,272</td>
<td>2,679</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>7,537</td>
<td>3,018</td>
<td>58.6 (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>6,364</td>
<td>3,395</td>
<td>46.6 (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>6,329</td>
<td>3,228</td>
<td>48.9 (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>6,607</td>
<td>3,048</td>
<td>53.8 (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>7,176</td>
<td>3,290</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The picture that emerges on income levels in the area shows a general trend that indicates that as communities become more prosperous as a whole, the income percentage gap widens between black and white residents. Caswell County, which had the lowest white per capita income in the area, also had the lowest per capita income differential between black and white residents at 28%. Conversely, Durham County, the wealthiest in the area, had an income differential of 45% between black and white residents. Overall, white per capita income in the area averaged 49% higher than the average black income in the area.

Nationwide, black and white per capita incomes reflect this same trend. As of 1984, the national white per capita income was $9,383 compared to a black per capita income of $5,073.27 These figures reflect an income difference of 46% between black and white incomes in the United States. One variable that explains income levels is education. Ideally, as educational levels increase, so do income levels.

Table 1.4 (next page) outlines the median years of education completed for area residents. It shows that counties in the area that house colleges or universities do show higher educational levels completed. By the same token, counties in which there are no community colleges or comprehensive universities show a lower level of median years of education completed.
TABLE 1.4

Median Years of Education
Completed by County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Median Years of Education Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Durham County is particularly illustrative of this point due to Duke University, North Carolina Central University, and a host of professional schools. Pitt County, which also serves East Carolina University, has the second highest median level. Concurrently, Caswell, Halifax, Warren, and Wilson Counties have the lowest median levels of education, and do not house a community college.

The causal link between education and income becomes more apparent when a comparison is made of poverty levels, per capita income, and education. All counties listed in Table 1.4 reflect a trend of poverty which is also reflected in Tables 1.2 and 1.3. Moreover, counties that tend to have lower median years of education also reflect higher levels of poverty, higher percentages of blacks in
their respective populations and lower per capita income levels regardless of race.

Table 1.5 highlights education levels by race for persons twenty-five years of age and over. This table also illustrates median years of schooling by race. Another aspect illuminated upon in Table 1.5 is the percentage of high school graduates by race.

TABLE 1.5
High School Graduates by County, Race and Median Levels of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>*White %</th>
<th>*Black %</th>
<th>White Median</th>
<th>Black Median</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Indicates percentage of high school graduates by race.


The average percentage of white high school graduates in the study area is one indication of the problem of education in the area. As can be seen from Table 1.5, the percentage of white high school graduates is 54.2%. This is lower than the national average for whites in this age group, which is 68.8%. The percentage of white high school
graduates in the southeast is also higher, with an average of 63.5%.28

The white median for years of school completed is slightly lower than the national white median. In the study area, the white median for years of school completed is 12.0, as compared to the white national median of 12.5 years of school completed. This holds true for white percentages of high school graduates and median years of school completed for whites in the southeast.

In contrast, when an examination of black educational achievement is made on the national and regional level, the differences are considerably different. The average percentage of black high school graduates in the study area (as of 1980) was 32.1 percent or 22.1 percent lower than whites in the study area. The black median for years completed in school was 9.9.

According to the 1980 census, the percentage of blacks graduating from high school was reported to be 51.2 percent and the median for years of school completed was 12.0. In the southeast, only 44.9 percent of black students graduated from high school and the median number of years completed in school was reported at 11.3. These figures show that in the south, blacks are less likely to graduate from high school than whites, and have a considerably lower median of years completed in school.
Statewide data show lower educational levels for both blacks and whites when compared to regional and national averages. As a matter of fact, statewide data on educational achievement is comparable to the data found for education levels in the study area. Table 1.6 illustrates this point.

**TABLE 1.6**

Distribution of North Carolina Population Aged 25 Years or Older by Years of School Completed by Race 1970 and 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary (0 to 8)</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School (1-3 yrs.)</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 yrs.)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College (1-3 yrs.)</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 yrs. or more)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The significance of the figures in Table 1.6 rests on the assumption that low levels of income, low levels of political efficacy, and high rates of poverty are characteristic of the state. This study, as shown before, reflects a more general statewide trend with regional impact. Race, therefore, may be viewed as a major variable to explain the lack of political activity when compared with socioeconomic variables. Angus Campbell suggests that:
Formal education has many striking consequences for political behavior that are independent of status implications and that undoubtedly remain constant in strength even in times when class differences lose most of their partisan importance. The greater one's education, the more likely one is to attend to sources of political information and hence, to know 'what is going on.'

As a result of education, greater levels of political participation can be expected, especially in the form of voting. Taken together, these independent variables result in a general view that blacks, as a sub-group in society, are less likely to be politically active.

The traditional literature in political science focuses on socioeconomic status variables to explain the voter participation rates of the American electorate. In this view, scholars generally suggest that positive correlations exist with the degree of education, occupation, and income to political participation. These variables have also been used to clarify the levels of political participation for the black electorate, suggesting that results for this group show the same pattern that exists in the white electorate.

Many scholars have uncovered flaws in the notion that blacks participate at lower levels solely on the basis of socioeconomic variables. Verba and Nie, in Political Participation in America (1972), argue that black political participation is considerably higher than most expect, given this group's relatively low socioeconomic status in
the United States. In most cases, scholars who refute the traditional findings have focused on the southern cities of the old confederacy. The major theme of this view in the literature is the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The introduction of federal examiners in the southern social system resulted in voter registration drives that ensured changed relationships between some of the political and socioeconomic components of the system.

As a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, blacks felt that political office could be won if a number of contingent factors could be isolated and utilized. Feagin and Hahn suggest that minority groups in American politics can maximize their political effectiveness where there are: (1) a large number of minority votes; (2) high voter registration; (3) substantial voter turnout; (4) maximal cohesion of voters; and (5) substantial political organization.

These observations dominate the literature and suggest that black political success in electoral politics, especially in rural areas, depends on a sizable number of black candidates running for local office. However, this is where similarities obscure the distinctions between New South literature and the traditional literature on black voting behavior. In each, urban communities are examined with little reference to rural voting patterns or district voting patterns. In this light, education is also viewed
as an important determinant in voting for blacks. By the same token, higher levels of education in whites coincide with lower voter registration for blacks.\textsuperscript{37} The fascinating point of all of this, however, is that the larger the black populations are in cities or communities, the lower the level of black elected officials.\textsuperscript{38}

This, however, is not the case in Durham and other communities in the SCD at local levels. However, on the congressional level, Black candidates have failed to win elections in the last two congressional campaigns. In the state General Assembly there are two Black representatives in the House, H. M. Michaux from the 23rd legislative District in Durham and William Fitch from the 70th District in Wilson, North Carolina. Five of the eight white representatives serve multi-member districts from the 22nd District or predominantly white single-member districts from Durham, Edgecombe and Nash counties.\textsuperscript{39}

County and municipal governments in the study area reflect the same trend. Few black candidates serve on county commissions in the study area. However, blacks do serve on city councils in Wilson and Durham. Durham County is the only one with blacks on the County Commission.

According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, North Carolina has fewer black elected officials than Kentucky, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. However, North Carolina has a larger voting-age population
than all these states except Mississippi and compares favorably in VAP to the other states, with a minus 7% in South Carolina, minus 3% in Alabama, and plus 14% in Kentucky.\textsuperscript{40} The facts, therefore, contradict the general idea that black political participation is enhanced by the number of black people in a community up to a certain point.

Black political success may be defined as the ability to get black candidates elected to public office, influence policy and receive appointments for government positions. However, blacks comprise a relatively small percentage of elected office holders in predominantly black counties across the south. This may restrict political progress which establishes quality of life indicators for southern blacks.

Throughout the literature, black political participation is viewed as though group failures or successes are based on group initiative alone. In very few cases is an observation made on the impact of government structures on black political participation.

The major assumption of this dissertation is that structural arrangements in the form of government policy severely restrict black political activity. Moreover, a negative climate continues to exist in the United States with regard to minority voting rights. This climate of hostility has been helped by the Reagan Administration
(1980-88) through the Department of Justice attacks on voting rights. A trend has, therefore, developed of ignoring minority demands and/or dismissing them as irrelevant.

The political environment of the study area may, therefore, be defined in terms of its economic structure, and the relative political powerlessness of blacks in the area. There may or may not be a causal link between the relative political powerlessness of blacks and black levels of poverty. Nevertheless, blacks have made continued demands on the political system for full participation. These demands have been in the form of formal and informal inputs based on policies dealing with political primary structures and state legislative redistricting.

Using the "Black-White Political Conflict System" developed by Hanes Walton, Jr., which traces the stages of black political participation along a continuum, a ranking of two or limited black participation is obtained for blacks in the study area. This ranking has been set at two on a four-stage process because of the limited gains made by blacks in the area. Black political activists have addressed the political system through its formal structures to facilitate changes in electoral policies and districting. Black organizations have also been established at the local level to address the issues of black representation.
Political Structure Literature

By 1981, the available literature on black political participation in the United States began to address the impacts of political structure on black electoral representation.

This genre of the literature examines to some degree the effects of at-large voting districts for City Council/County Commission elections as well as ward system structures for local elections. By the same token, this genre in the literature focuses on the structural impacts of multi-member districts for state General Assembly seats and methods used for majority vote requirements in all types of elections.

What follows is a brief examination of the major findings of this genre beginning with structural impacts on local elections. One excellent example of this strain in the literature is Chandler Davidson and George Korbel's article on "At-Large Elections and Minority-Group Representation," found in the Journal of Politics, Volume 43, 1981.42

The authors suggest that the at-large method for electing city councilpersons was a primary concern associated with the municipal reform era.43 The authors offer the following observation:

One important source is the historical context in which at-large elections have developed. Associated with the self-described
reform movement in the early twentieth century, this method was introduced widely in the name of good government. An inquiry into the situations in which it was typically implemented will shed light on the extent to which reformers were motivated solely by such abstract civic concerns, as well as on the effects this reform... had on citizen participation in that era. 44

By the 1970's, however, it became clear that the at-large method resulted in minority vote dilution. This, of course, has been described by a number of writers as its primary purpose.

Davidson and Korbel's research indicates that single member districts do increase minority representation. 45

By contrast, Joe Darden, in "Black Political Under-representation in Majority Black Places," Journal of Black Studies, 1985, suggests that with few exceptions, black officials are elected from constituencies in which blacks compose a majority or nearly a majority of the population. Not surprisingly, therefore, geographic distribution of black elected officials follows closely the spatial distribution of the black population. With approximately 53% of all blacks residing in the south, the region has more than 60% of all black elected officials, while the west with only 8% of the black population, has 6% of all black elected officials. 46

The author suggests that race will continue to be an important factor in elections, but does not suggest that structure impacts on electoral success for minorities running for office. It appears that Darden has accepted race as a factor and that blacks will gain empowerment once their numbers reach optimal levels and blacks vote in bloc
for their candidate.

Darden's article was selected because it is representative of works in this area. MacManus suggests that

the procedure for electing council members by itself is not significantly related to minority group representation on city councils and the traditional and inaccurate assertion that at-large election procedures depress minority representation more than single member district elections procedures is based on erroneous assumptions.

MacManus argues that voter turnout which is associated with socioeconomic factors results in minority candidate defeat. Structure, she argues, does not play a central role. However, if we reverse this argument, the suggestion would be that political structure may establish socioeconomic status. Surely, these definitions have political, economic and social ramifications.

Richard Engstrom and Michael McDonald, in a very provocative article entitled "The Underrepresentation of Blacks on City Councils" in The Journal of Politics (1982), suggest that:

The more extensive use of at-large elections and the greater disparity in politically relevant socio-economic resources possessed by blacks and whites both have been cited as the major reason why blacks are more severely underrepresented on city councils in the south than those outside the south. Based on our data for 224 central cities of SMSA's, we find that the difference in electoral structures is the more explanatory of the two factors. This structural dimension is found to have the greater impact generally on the ability of blacks in the south to convert their voting strength (population) into council-manic seats.
David Taebel, in "Minority Representation on City Councils," Social Science Quarterly, also argues that "features of (the) municipal reform movement, at-large elections and small city councils adversely, yet differentially, impact on the equity of representation of two significant minority groups."50

Taebel suggests that Blacks and Hispanics suffer from at-large elections when they are a minority of the population. The at-large method, therefore, serves to sustain a local status quo until minority populations reach optimal levels. Davidson and Korbel suggest that the use of at-large elections is widespread nationally. Sixty percent of all cities in 1960 with populations above 100,000 used at-large systems, while only twenty-three percent used district elections. In cities of at least 5,000 in population, most councilmen in 1971 were chosen at-large and over twice as many cities elected some councilmen by this method rather than by wards. These authors also note that less than one percent of all council members are Black, American Indian, Oriental or Hispanic.51

Another aspect of political structure cited earlier is the majority vote requirement in order for candidates to win elections. The south in general and North Carolina in particular require runoffs if one candidate does not receive a majority of the votes. This is particularly true in United States congressional elections. In local
elections, however, the candidate with the most votes wins a longer term in office than his/her opponents who finish second or third for the number of seats available.

The ballots in local elections reflect majority and plurality rankings. Therefore, the candidate with the highest vote total serves a longer term (four years) while the lower vote-getters serve two-year terms.

Laughlin McDonald, in "The Majority Vote Requirement: Its Use and Abuse in the South" in The Urban Lawyer (Vol. 17, 1985), argues that,

The majority vote requirement is not in the same category of voting practices as the literary test or the poll tax, which functioned in virtually every situation to discriminate against blacks. Instead, it operates invidiously, primarily in at-large elections in majority white jurisdictions, just as other enhancing devices such as numbered posts and staggered terms of office.52

These structural barriers almost always ensure that a white candidate will win. Borrowing from McDonald,

The majority vote requirement has its roots in nineteenth century southern white racism, and it frequently operates today to dilute the voting strength of blacks . . . nine southern states (including North Carolina) plus Oklahoma have some type of a rule requiring nomination or election to office by a majority, rather than a plurality, of votes cast.53

Nevertheless, the United States Supreme Court, in rulings which span the last decade, concludes that at-large systems or majority vote requirements are not in violation of the equal protection clause. In a commentary in the
Alabama Law Review (1979), the author suggests that,

Because at-large voting schemes tend to present a racially neutral facade, the ruling in Washington v Davis is pertinent to vote dilution cases and can be traced back to Baker v Carr in 1962 and Reynolds v Sims in 1964.54

In state-level elections, structural impacts which affect black political participation include the aforementioned, but also include multi-member districts.

Bernard Grofman, Michael Migalski and Nicholas Noviello, in "Effects of Multimember Districts on Black Representation in State Legislatures" in The Review of Black Political Economy 1986, suggest that counties in North Carolina that have multi-member districts also tend to be counties with large black populations. Unlike most other states, North Carolina also used multi-member districts in both houses.55 These authors conclude that:

Multimember districts often act so as to submerge racial or linguistic (or political) minorities. For MMD's, the 'winner-take-all' character of plurality (or majority runoff) elections creates the strong possibility that the majority bloc will elect all the representatives from the district, especially if voting is polarized; whereas, the outvoted minority might have been able to elect some representatives if the multimember district had been broken up into several single-member districts, especially if minority strength is geographically concentrated.56

Indeed, where at-large structures are dominant multi-member districts are also prevalent, according to Engstrom and McDonald in "Effects of At-Large vs. District Elections on Racial Representation in U.S. Municipalities" in Grofman

Political structure provides for cohesion across the political environment. At the congressional level, the issue is most apparent when the focus is on black political participation. The failure of blacks to win elections at the local level as a result of political structure would also make elections in regional or statewide campaigns equally difficult.

Charles Bullock, in "Congressional Voting and the Mobilization of the Black Electorate in the South" found in The Journal of Politics 1981, provides some insight into the current state of the literature regarding minority elections and representation. In effect, Bullock argues that deep south congressmen are less conservative than rim south congressmen as a result of black political empowerment. The author asserts that,

In districts where black voters are numerous but still a minority, white candidates may believe it necessary to be somewhat responsive to black interests. This supposition may promote a conflict between political expediency, i.e., the need to build a biracial coalition in order to win public office, and traditional white fears of black influence. To appear too responsive to blacks may cost white incumbents support from their own race.57

In essence, the Bullock article suggests that when substantial numbers of blacks are politically active, white congressmen from the deep south are more responsive to
black needs. This trend is also evident in such articles as Joe Feagin's "Civil Rights Voting by Southern Congressmen," *Journal of Politics* (1972), and Merle Black's "Racial Composition of Congressional Districts and Support for Federal Voting Rights in the American South," *Social Science Quarterly* (1978).58

The only recent treatment of political structure on the congressional level is Chandler Davidson's (ed.) *Minority Vote Dilution* (1984). Here, Davidson argues that stacking, packing and cracking only result in the dilution of political power for blacks.59

The structural aspects of the study area of this dissertation are covered more thoroughly in Chapter II. Likewise, various aspects of the literature are incorporated throughout this dissertation which are designed to direct and reinforce this discussion.

Steve Lawson's *In Pursuit of Power* (1985) is perhaps one of the finest books on black electoral politics. Lawson's position mirrors the current trend in the literature. Lawson very pointedly asserts in his preface that the Voting Rights Act was greeted with great expectations by most observers of black politics. However, Lawson suggests that until systemic factors change, little can be expected from this historic legislation. He asserts the following:
The passage of the 1965 VRA aroused great expectations that have yet to be fulfilled. Liberal reformers, black and white, believed that placing ballots in the hands of Afro-Americans would provide them with potent instruments to enhance and safeguard their liberation. . . . The right to vote did not automatically eradicate political and economic inequalities that left blacks double victims of both racial and class discrimination. . . . Unless the underlying structural impediments blocking franchise are removed, the considerable, but as yet limited, amount of success southern blacks have enjoyed in pursuit of political power will not go much further.60

Robert Mundt and Peggy Heilig's article, "District Representation: Demands and Effects in the Urban South," Journal of Politics (1982), reinforces Lawson's structural argument. These authors suggest that southern cities which have changed from at-large districts to ward systems resulted in greater black political participation and representational equality.61 The authors examined two-hundred and nine southern cities including North Carolina cities, and reached the conclusion that structure did impact political representation and the ability of minorities to win elections in those cities.

The literature, therefore, is diverse on this topic. In some cases, the existing literature argues that socio-economic factors serve as variables that can predict minority voting patterns. However, this position has been refuted by several writers, as mentioned here, who argue that structure does impact upon black or minority voting, especially in the south.
This dissertation will examine black politics in the Second Congressional District of North Carolina. Its purpose is to examine how structure impacts on black voting and black political campaigns in the area and, hopefully, add to the literature in the field of black politics.

This study contributes to the existing literature in that it: a) highlights the consequences of the Good Government Movement on black politics in North Carolina, b) further adds to the literature of political structure and racial implications of black candidates running for office on local, state and the congressional levels.

This study also contributes to the existing body of literature on black political organizations in North Carolina, and can assist in explaining how a black candidate can lose in a state legislative district that is 64 percent black.

**Techniques of the Study**

According to Clifford Shaw, the case study approach emphasizes the total situation or combination of factors, the description of the process or sequence of events in which behavior occurs, the study of individual behavior in its total setting, and the analysis and comparison of cases leading to the formulation of hypothesis.

Taken as a whole, the SCD is the blackest, poorest and most under-represented district in the state. Therefore, a
case study approach could highlight minority political behavior in the environment. In order to better understand this behavior, a series of case studies will be developed as this relates to General Assembly policies that serve to manipulate and maintain a historical political structure which places blacks at a disadvantage, no matter how well-organized they appear to be on the surface.

Black political activity in the study area ranges from local to state and national elections. These activities will be examined through the public policy choices of the North Carolina General Assembly which establishes the structural arrangements for political participation. Policies that will be examined include the second primary run-off system, at-large elections, single member and multi-member district systems, and redistricting.

Data for these items will be gathered from selected sources and interviews. The thrust of this dissertation, however, will come from case studies involving campaign structures and strategies of selected congressional campaigns between 1982 and 1985. The cases to be examined include H.M. (Mickey) Michaux and Kenneth Spaulding's campaigns in 1982 and 1984, respectively.

These two congressional campaigns will be used as a means of examining the impacts of the run-off primary on black candidates in an area with a sizable black electorate. Moreover, these campaigns will serve to test
theories of political subordination and domination by the superordinate group over minority aspirations for political empowerment.

By the same token, state and local case studies will serve to show the extent of structural hegemony by the superordinate group over minority political aspirations of empowerment.

State legislative campaigns will be examined within this time frame in order to obtain information on state policy impacts on black candidates. An upshot of this will be the extent to which a climate of hate theory accurately outlines racial antagonisms in state legislative campaigns. Climate of hate theory developed by Danigelious refers to how rules are established such as at-large systems, second primary runoffs and multimember districts are prevalent in communities with large but not majority black populations. In this respect, a comparison of the impacts of policy can be made on the 7th, 23rd, 68th, 69th, 70th, and 72nd legislative districts. From this total, one rural and one urban district will be selected for examination randomly. Durham County, however, the largest and most urban county, deserves a separate examination.

The case study approach, therefore, facilitates an effort to adequately explore the impacts of state legislative policy on black politics in North Carolina. In this same vein, structural arrangements which are clearly linked
to this behavior can be analyzed as they impact black political activity and organization.

Criteria used in this case study will follow those set-up by Robert K. Yin. The utility of the case study approach is well documented. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, a more empirically based study is desired. The end result will be to:

(a) investigate a contemporary political phenomenon within its real-life context;
(b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which
(c) multiple sources of evidence are used.

The case study approach will, therefore, provide a clear picture of the relationships between political structure and minority political behavior.

Major Concepts

(1) **Structural Arrangements** - This concept refers to state legislative policy concerned with political participation, the distribution of power, and rules and values of the political system. Policies examined will include second primary run-offs, districting, and at-large elections.

(2) **Black Representation** - This concept refers to the number of black representatives in the North Carolina
General Assembly based upon the percentage of blacks in the population.

(3) **Political Organizations** - This concept refers to organizations in the study area concerned with black political activity. These include: the Durham Committee on Black Affairs; Henderson Black Caucus; NAACP; Black Lawyers Association, and the State Legislative Black Caucus.

(4) **Political Climate** - This concept refers to how rules are established that restrict or prohibit black political participation and white attitudes toward those rules. Another assumption of political climate is related to white intolerance or ambivalence toward black voting patterns.

(5) **Herrenvolk Democracy** - This concept refers to a white-only democracy. It evolved in the 1880's. This concept is an obvious contradiction because it excludes segments of the population from participation.

(6) **Political Empowerment** - Refers to the equity in representation, economic opportunity and quality of life indicators. This concept also addresses the ability of a group to influence public policy decisions at every level of government.
ENDNOTES


5 Ibid.


13 Ibid., pp. 72-73.

14 Ibid., p. 71.


18 Lubke, p. 104.

19 Walton, Black Politics, p. 8.


21 Ibid., pp. 12-16.

22 Ibid.


28 Ibid., p. 490.


34 Ibid., p. 1060.


38 Walton, *Black Politics*.


41 Ibid.


43 Ibid., p. 983.

44 Ibid., p. 989.


48 Ibid.


51 Davidson and Korbel, p. 982.


53 Ibid., p. 429.


56 Ibid., p. 67.


64 Ibid., p. 23.
CHAPTER II

The Good Government Movement and Its Impact on
Government Structures in North Carolina

Democracy is largely measured in terms of the ability of all groups to participate in the process of alliance building. Surely the purest theories of majoritarian democracy presuppose fair representation for minorities so they can participate in majority making.

Robert Dixon
Democratic Representation

In order to clearly understand contemporary political structures in North Carolina, it is essential to evaluate the impact of the good government movement. This movement swept across the United States during the late eighteen-hundreds and peaked in the early nineteen-hundreds. The good government movement had a profound impact on black political participation in the South. As a result of this movement, contemporary political structures reflect the value preferences of the dominant group in an historical pattern.

According to Dennis Judd, the good government movement began as an urban reform issue. Therefore, the urban reform era was the northeastern counterpart of the progressive reform period in the South. They are both vitally linked due, in part, to the conspicuous failures of city governments in the United States.¹

In effect, the reform movement was a double-edged sword that struck to establish strict moral standards on
one side, while striking for responsible government on the other.

The major problem which this movement was concerned with was government corruption. Political machines were viewed as instruments of corruption that used immigrants to maintain political dominance.

Writers during this period focused on the abuse of power, elections fraud, and the shame of cities. The upshot from the dissatisfaction with city systems of governance was the development of municipal reform programs. In essence, municipal reform was an attempt by the dominant classes of American cities to regain control of city government decision-making processes from the newly arrived immigrant groups.

The common thread running through the fabric of Northern and Southern reform was political manipulation and disfranchisement of minority voters. In the Northeast, class-based ethnic solidarity was the modus operandi for dominant group control. In the South, the focus of control was the black electorate, in general, particularly in Black Belt countries. In both cases, however, democratic principles were used as the tool to regain control of government.

The reclamation of political control was multifaceted. By systematically striking down political machines, ward systems of representation, and bicameral
city councils, the underpinnings of ethnic minority political participation could be removed. In its place, nonpartisan elections, at-large elections systems, and unicameral city councils were constructed. Melvin Holli, a noted author of the reform era, suggests that:

The structural reform movement was in sharp contrast to the democratic mood of such a statement. It represented instead the first wave of prescriptive municipal government which placed its faith in rule by educated, upper class Americans and, later, by municipal experts rather than lower classes. Democratic principles had very little to do with the reform ideology in the Northeast and even less in the South. The dominant element in both cases was the business community. Samuel Hays wrote that:

The business community's involvement in reform was generated by the need to control city affairs due to the out-migration of the upper classes [as well as] to maintain influence in public health, education, and the physical arrangements of the city. Hays argues further that the new industrial city greatly broadened its perspective in government affairs because of its new recognition of the way in which factors throughout the city affected business growth. Leading students of public administration during this period also helped to foster the ideal of reform based on a business approach which could serve as the best model for the ideal government organization.
The end result of this approach was a more centralized cost-effective government constituted of upper-class professionals and large business groups in control of the formal political structure.

The political structure could then be manipulated by the ascendant groups to reshape public policy to reflect the values of this group. In this vein, values of democracy were based on morality and the development of an atmosphere conducive to business growth.

Theorists of this period, particularly Frank Goodnow, also argued for fewer elective offices and smaller city councils. The at-large election was also a favorite device of the period and one of the most important structural changes proposed.¹⁰

Charles W. Elliot, a leading municipal reformer, wrote that:

No improvement in the form of American city government can remedy the existing abuses and evils, unless the change of form be accompanied by the selection of a different sort of man to conduct the new government.¹¹

Since the business model was used as the framework for government organization, this new sort of man Elliot spoke of was the professional businessman who could bring efficiency to government. Administratively, this required a new set of arrangements which led to the creation of Richard S. Childs' Commission-Manager concept.¹²
Childs' concept of the Commission-Manager was based on a twofold theory. Administratively, the manager would run the day-to-day operations of the city. This arrangement would be more efficient because it removed the manager from the politics of elections. Politically, the plan separated legislative from executive functions. The elected commissioners would make public policy while the manager or executive was charged with carrying them out.\textsuperscript{13}

Since the primary administrative focus of reform was efficiency, the business model was used in conjunction with the commissioner-manager arrangement. This arrangement was popular with middle-sized and smaller cities.

Reform in the South

Southern progressivism from 1906-1913, the counterpart of Northern reform, developed a uniquely regional character.\textsuperscript{14} On its face, Southern progressivism resembled the same class bias as Northern reform, but it also addressed concerns for the so-called "race problem." Therefore, Southern reforms were ostensibly linked to the re-establishment of white domination over blacks in the region. This domination was manifested politically, economically, and culturally under the guise of reform.

The Southern progressive movement was rife with contradictions. Indeed, historians and political scientists alike do not agree on any interpretation of the
period. The central themes in the literature highlight improvements in government efficiency or serve to justify a prevailing attitude of race hatred.

The reform that grew from this period was best described by George M. Fredrickson. Fredrickson argued that although whites in the South used democratic principles and spoke of the virtues of "the people," the democracy that developed from the period was Herrenvolk Democracy, or a democratic society for whites only.\textsuperscript{15} Herrenvolk democracy represented racial segregation and black disfranchisement. Social control with state sanctions was a central element of Southern reform. Dewey Grantham wrote that:

Disfranchisement was a striking manifestation of the South's capitulation to racism during the 1890's and early 1900's. In general, the movement was supported most strongly in the black belt areas, the historic centers of political power in the south, and opposed most vigorously by the upland sections, where few blacks resided and many disadvantaged whites feared the new suffrage qualifications would strip them of the ballot.\textsuperscript{16}

The by-product of disfranchising a few whites was the broad scope of segregation measures directed at blacks. Vann Woodward wrote that blacks were used as scapegoats of an intensified climate of hate and race aggression, which re-linked the North and South. In Woodward's words:

These 'permissions to hate' came from sources that had formally denied such permission. They came from the federal courts in numerous opinions, from Northern liberals eager to conciliate the south, from Southern conservatives who had
abandoned their race policy of moderation in their struggle against the populists, from the populists in their mood of disillusionment with their former [Negro] allies, and from a national temper suddenly expressed by imperialistic adventures and aggressions against [colored] peoples in distant lands.17

On one level, black political participation, if it existed at all, was counteracted by a prevailing climate of hate intensified by intimidation and constrained by structural limitations based in good character tests, poll taxes, constitutional interpretations, and the grandfather clause. On another level, the new structural arrangements of government effected by municipal reform destroyed any aspirations on the part of blacks to participate in government.

North Carolina Reform and the Position of Blacks

The formal structuring of the good government movement in North Carolina was facilitated and enhanced by a national trend toward progressive reform. This populist mood was always a part of Southern culture, but by the 1890's state legislatures across the South passed legislation enabling counties to elect their own commissions, as well as using poll taxes, literacy and character tests to limit the political participation of blacks.
The impetus in North Carolina for government reform was led by the Farmer's Alliance. This alliance was made up of small farmers who eventually seized control of the Democratic Party. Once control of the party had taken place, the machinery for the election of Farmer's Alliance governors and congressmen began.

Leaders of this movement in North Carolina included Charles B. Aycock, Josephus Daniels, Claude and William Kitchin, and Walter Clark. These state leaders organized the General Assembly and pushed for the passage of legislation to control the state policy-making apparatus.

The national political climate in the 1890's and early 1900's was further bolstered by the election of Woodrow Wilson, who advocated the principles of reform. Moreover, the prevalent attitude of Negrophobia had been institutionalized by the Supreme Court decision in Plessey v. Ferguson (1896). The black community was viewed by Populists as "... puppets, or willing tools of the agrarian movement who sold their vote for whiskey or money." As such, black people could be manipulated into playing secondary roles within the Republican Party. Soon after the state established its reform agenda, blacks were systematically eliminated from party and electoral politics. All-white primaries left the black population disfranchised and Jim Crow laws left blacks socially and economically powerless.
Black responses to these problems comprise the traditional period of Afro-American political thought. Writer-Activists during this period included W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Booker T. Washington. These individuals addressed the problems confronting the Afro-American community by developing a wide range of theoretical frameworks and practical applications. In effect, these three men carried on a debate which lasted through the reform era.

The influence of these writers/activists filtered to states through the development of Brotherhood organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the United Negro Improvement Association.

By 1889, in North Carolina law, registrars appointed by the Democratic legislature could require a voter to prove his age, occupation, place of birth and residency. Blacks born into slavery were often unaware of their actual age, streets in black neighborhoods often had no names, and houses had no numbers. These registration laws were efficiently used in North Carolina to deny blacks the vote. Moreover, 53 percent of the adult black male population was classified as illiterate in North Carolina by 1900 and, therefore, could not vote according to North Carolina law. Consequently, by 1902, only 4.6% of blacks in North Carolina were registered to vote.
The importance of DuBois, Garvey, and Washington rests on the development of strategies to deal with these problems. DuBois addressed the problem from its structural nature, while Garvey used an economic strategy and appealed to racial pride to effect change. Booker T. Washington advocated moral and educational initiatives for racial uplift and political accommodation. However, the late twentieth century focused mostly on structural barriers designed for black political inclusion.

With voter registration roadblocks cleared by the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965, black political participation increased slowly. However, these gains were limited to the larger metropolitan areas. Rural areas did not reflect the new ideal of this new legislation, nor did county commissioners, city councils, the State legislature, or the United States Congress.

Government structure through the manipulation of districting and what Chandler Davidson refers to as "stacking, packing, and cracking," left blacks with voting rights and only symbolic power.

**Political Structures of the Study Area**

County and municipal governmental structures in North Carolina are framed in the North Carolina General Statutes. Statute law does not, however, provide for a uniform plan of size, nor any particular mode of election.
respect, the terms of office for the state's one hundred boards of county commissions and three hundred and four city councils are based on a series of provisions established by the General Assembly.

As such, municipal administration and representation is based on the notion of "Home Rule." Home Rule provides for municipalities to conduct their affairs with limited state intervention. Municipal reformers argued for home rule constitutions or statutes which granted cities powers relating to the city's own government. North Carolina passed Home Rule legislation as early as 1901 and revised it in 1966 to abolish district election systems.

County administration and representation differs somewhat from municipal administration in that the legislation provides for optional structures of representation, terms of office and modes of elections, all of which are mandated by the State legislature.

In terms of representation, the numbers of members for county commissions are set at no less than three who can serve (based on local option) two-year terms, four-year terms or overlapping four-year terms. Modes of election are based on a district system for nomination (from party primaries) with the entire county voting for and electing nominees, or district nomination with the entire county voting to elect nominees. Another option is for the voters of each district nominating all candidates and elect
members who reside in the district for seats apportioned to that district. Here, the qualified voters of the entire county nominate candidates and elect members apportioned to the county at-large.35

Administratively, the county-manager system can be designated by resolution. If the board does not designate the county-manager plan, the county commissioners administer the day-to-day operations of government.

State representatives in both the state house and senate are based on population and may or may not be multi-member districts. The United States congressional districts are based also on a population formula. Table 2.1 (see next page) highlights the mode of elections and types of administrations utilized by municipalities in the study area with populations of 25,000 or more, and populations of 10,000 to 25,000.

Cities with a total population of over 25,000 also have substantial percentages of black residents. Rocky Mount has a 47 percent black population, Henderson has a 40 percent black population, and Durham a 33 percent black population. Roanoke Rapids has a 40 percent black population.36 Table 2.1 shows that the larger municipalities all have a city-manager form of government and four-year staggered terms for elections. The at-large system dominates in the larger cities with Rocky Mount being the only one with a ward system and Henderson having
### TABLE 2.1

Forms of Government and Methods of Elections for Cities with 25,000 or More and Between 10,000 to 25,000 in Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Form of Government</th>
<th>Governing Body</th>
<th>Term &amp; Election of Board</th>
<th>Type of Black Election</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durham (100,831 pop.)</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>12 council-men &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>4 S. 6 AL 6 WAL</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Mount (41,283)</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>7 council-men &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>4 S. W</td>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson (13,522)</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>8 aldermen &amp; Mayor (2)</td>
<td>4 W</td>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke Rapids (14,702)</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>4 council-men &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>4 S. AL</td>
<td>Plurality</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson (34,424)</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>6 council-men &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>2 AL</td>
<td>Plurality</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Forms of Government of North Carolina Cities, 1965*

*Profile of North Carolina Counties, 1984. All of the above cities are in the 2nd Congressional District.*

Four wards and four members of the council elected at-large. Durham is the only city in this group that uses a primary system, while Roanoke Rapids uses a plurality election in which the candidate receiving the highest number of votes wins the office. The remaining cities in the category use a majority vote election process. Smaller cities in the study area reflect this same trend. However, as cities become smaller, the at-large method for election.
predominates along with longer terms for office. Table 2.2 illustrates this point.

**TABLE 2.2**

Forms of Government and Methods of Elections for Cities with Populations Between 5,000 and 8,000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Form of Government</th>
<th>Governing body</th>
<th>Term of Election</th>
<th>Type of Black Election</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tarboro</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>8 council-m &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>4 S. W</td>
<td>Plurality</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8,634 pop.)</td>
<td>(Edgecombe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>7 council-m &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>4 S. AL</td>
<td>Plurality</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7,580)</td>
<td>(Granville)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roxboro</td>
<td>City Manager</td>
<td>5 council-m &amp; Mayor</td>
<td>2 AL</td>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7,532)</td>
<td>(Person)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonpartisan election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Form of Government in North Carolina Cities, 1985*

Abbreviations: 4 S.W. = Elected for 4-year staggered terms by and from wards

4 S.A.L = Elected for 4-year staggered terms at-large

2 AL = Elected for 2-year staggered terms at-large

*Black V.A.P.

In the 20 remaining municipalities in the area, with populations between 500 and 2,995, 19 have at-large systems for electing city council members and one has a ward system. Incidentally, Princeville, the only municipality using a ward system, is predominantly black.

In this same grouping, 18 municipalities elect council members by plurality while the remaining two use the majority system. Administratively, three of the municipalities use the city-manager plan. The remaining 17 use
the mayor-council form of administration. The impacts of municipal reform are quite evident in all of the municipalities in the area. Moreover, representation follows the same pattern in that city council boards tend to be structured to favor smaller cities. This, however, is a statewide trend that does not favor democratization, but favors the interests of local elites; therefore, working against the poor. In fact, board structures may tend to limit democratization due to at-large elections systems.

Table 2.3 (see next page) illustrates the number of members for governing boards based on the size of North Carolina cities.

As Table 2.3 shows, smaller municipalities tend to favor five-member boards, with four-member boards running a close second. By the same token, medium-sized cities or cities with more than 25,000 favor six-member boards, while the smallest of cities also favor five-member boards.

Larger cities in the study area reflect a trend toward larger board membership. Durham city has the largest number of board members in the state, with 12 representing various wards or precincts in the city; conversely, Rocky Mount, the second largest city in the area, has 7 board members, while Roanoke Rapids, the third largest city, has a four-member board. The majority of cities in the area have populations between 2,000 and 5,000; this category of
### TABLE 2.3

**Number of Members of Governing Board**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>18 Cities</th>
<th>25 Cities</th>
<th>28 Cities</th>
<th>68 Cities</th>
<th>112 Cities</th>
<th>113 Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of Governing Boards</td>
<td>Over 25,000</td>
<td>10,000–25,000</td>
<td>5,000–10,000</td>
<td>2,500–5,000</td>
<td>1,000–2,500</td>
<td>500–1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 members</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 members</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 members</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cities favors five-member boards.

It has long been argued that electoral systems serve as a direct link between people and government. In this regard, the at-large system of elections has been the subject of much debate, and the focus of federal lawsuits. Table 2.4 (see next page) highlights the extent to which the at-large system is utilized in North Carolina.

There is a clear correlation between the size of cities and the mode of electing the governing board. By the same token, the smaller the city in population, the more likely it is to use the at-large system of elections. A total of 318 cities in North Carolina use the at-large method of election.

County government units show much the same pattern as municipalities. Empowered by the State Enabling Legislation, county government in North Carolina is limited to perform those functions outlined to it by the state constitution. Therefore, in adherence to the Dillon Rule (1911), county government as a creation of the state can only exercise those powers which are expressed, implied, or essential to its corporation.

Administratively, North Carolina provides for a variety of mechanisms for representation and administration. Table 2.5 (see next page) outlines the form of government and method of election for county commissioners.
### Table 2.4

**Mode of Election of Governing Board**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>18 Cities</th>
<th>25 Cities</th>
<th>28 Cities</th>
<th>68 Cities</th>
<th>112 Cities</th>
<th>113 Cities</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elected at-large</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected at-large, but with ward residence requirement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination of at-large members and members elected at-large, but representing wards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected by and from wards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination of at-large and ward members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Form of Government in North Carolina, 1985.*
As Table 2.5 shows, the at-large system of election is used in some form by 90 percent of the counties in the study area. Four counties use a district at-large system that provides for district nomination of a candidate and county-wide election for candidates. All but one county has a four-year overlapping term.

The number of commissioners ranges from 5 to 7. The largest county in the District has the same number of commissioners as the smallest. Durham County and Warren County both have 5 commissioners, and all the counties in the area have a County Manager form of government.

A summary of North Carolina counties shows that 90 of the state's 100 counties employ a manager or an administrator. In the study area, all counties employ a manager. As for number of members, nine boards have seven members. In the study area, Nash and Wilson Counties have seven members. Statewide, only two boards have six members and Halifax is one.

Eighty counties in the state have five board members, including Caswell, Durham, Edgecombe, Granville, Pender, Vance, and Warren Counties.

Seventy-one boards serve overlapping four-year terms in North Carolina; nine of the ten counties in the study area fall into this category. While four boards serve two-year terms, only Durham County members do so in the area. Wilson County, along with all others in the study area
TABLE 2.5
Form of Government and Method of Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Chief Administrator</th>
<th>Number of Commissioners*</th>
<th>Mode of Election</th>
<th>Term of Office*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DAL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20,705)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(152,785)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(55,988)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DAL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34,043)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3D/3AL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(55,286)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(67,153)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29,164)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DAL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36,748)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DAL</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16,232)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(63,123)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Abbreviations: AL = at-large; DAL = District-at-large; D = District; 4S = four-year overlapping terms; S = staggered terms

except Durham, serves a four-year term. Durham County commissioners serve two-year terms.

Statewide, fifty-one boards (51%) are elected at-large. Three counties in the study area fall into this group: Durham, Edgecombe, and Person Counties use the at-large method. All three of these counties also have five commissioners.

Thirty-four boards in North Carolina are elected at-large, but the county is divided into districts, and candidates are required to meet district residence requirements. Caswell, Granville, Vance, and Warren Counties are part of this group.

Five boards in North Carolina are nominated and elected by district voters only. Nash and Wilson Counties are in this group and incidentally, have the largest number of commissioners in the area, with seven. Four boards in the state have a combination of at-large members and members nominated and elected by district voters only; Halifax County represents this category from the study area.

The next level of government structure to be examined is the state legislature. As of 1984, there were 35 State Senate Districts covering the 100 counties of the state. Of the 35 senate districts, 21 are single member, with 14 of those being in the eastern part of the state and coming under the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
Eleven districts elect two senators. From this group, Durham, Orange, Person, and Granville comprise the 13th Senate District, which is a multi-member district electing two senators. From the single-member districts, Caswell and Alamance comprise the 21st district; Vance and Franklin the 11th district; Nash, part of Wilson, and part of Edgecombe Counties comprise the 10th district; parts of Warren, Martin, Halifax, Gates, Edgecombe, Bertie and all of Hartford and Northampton comprise the 2nd senate district. Two Senate Districts elect three senators, but are not in the study area.

The following graph (see next page) outlines Senate Districts in the state. As can be seen from the graph, the second senate district comprises parts of Edgecombe, Halifax, and Warren Counties, and all of Hertford County. Additionally, parts of Bertie, Gates, and Martin Counties are included within the second senate district, but fall outside of the overall study area. The 10th District is also fractured by the addition of parts of Edgecombe and Wilson Counties, and the 6th District also shows fracturing by the inclusion of Pitt County. Likewise, the 4th District includes parts of Wake County and all of Franklin (these two counties are not a part of the area). Finally, the 21st District comprises all of Caswell.

This area is represented by seven state senators. It also has the largest black population in the state, but
NORTH CAROLINA SENATE DISTRICTS, 1984

Prepared by the Institute of Government, 
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
only one black senator serves from the district and represents Durham County (which is the only multi-member district in the area).

The table on page 70 illustrates the district, party affiliation, date elected, and committee memberships of area senators. There are at least two important points to be made by Table 2.6. The first is that home counties reflect that all but one of the senators reside in counties that have a larger white population than the general populations of the districts they serve. The second point is that the most powerful members represent areas with a large black population, but have managed to stay in power since 1961 and 1963, respectively. The only black representative is the newcomer to this group's being elected in 1985.

Another revealing point from the table is Effectiveness Rating (E.R.). The least effective member of this group is also one with more tenure, while the most effective state senator in the North Carolina Senate is Kenneth Royall.

Effectiveness Ratings are perhaps the most misleading of any ratings. These ratings are based upon the subjective opinions of how legislators judge the effectiveness of their peers. In effect, the legislators themselves vote on which one of their colleagues is the most effective. Legislators rank their colleagues from 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Senator (R)</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Date Elected</th>
<th>Committees Now Serving</th>
<th>Home County</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Effectiveness Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Harrington</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Appro.; Pare Budget; child/youth; commerce; finance;</td>
<td>Bertie</td>
<td>Manufacturer, Farm Equity</td>
<td>7/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>human resources; pension/retirement; trans.</td>
<td></td>
<td>H-S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro Tempore</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>E.C. Martin</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>V.C. Appro.; Natural &amp; Ec. Resources; Agriculture;</td>
<td>Pitt</td>
<td>Pres. Farmers Mutual Life Assoc.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commerce; Education; Local government; Regional affairs;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>transportation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>J. Ezzel, Jr.</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Ag.; Appro.; Gen. Gov. Election Laws; Fed II Senior Citizens</td>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>J. Speed</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Ch. Ag.; Senior Citizens; V.C. Appro./Gen. Govt.; Children</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>Tobacco Warehouser NCSU</td>
<td>37/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; youth; Ed., Pension &amp; Ret.; transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Senate; V.C. Children &amp; Youth; Commerce, Finance; Higher Ed.,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human Resources</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) R. Hunt</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Appro./Gen. Govt.; Ed.; Higher Ed.; Local Govt. &amp; Regional</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Newhart (Convenience Stores)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Affairs; Pensions &amp; Retirement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>J. Jordan</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Election Laws, Ag.; Ed., Transportation, Finance &amp; Senior</td>
<td>Alamance</td>
<td>Land Development</td>
<td>*98/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Check 1990 single-member District Study H1146 (RH)


*In-House
through 120 with the legislator receiving the most votes in each category being ranked accordingly. Therefore, no objective method is used in compiling the ratings and no mention is made of a legislator's ability to get vital legislation passed nor is his ability to influence other legislators used as criterion for effectiveness. In short, the legislator with the most popularity is viewed by his colleagues as being the most effective.

Effectiveness Ratings are by definition subjective and result in minority legislators being rated lower than their white counterparts. Black legislators have not been in the General Assembly long enough to receive a rating.

The North Carolina House of Representatives is comprised of 72 districts serving the state's 100 counties. There are 42 single-member districts, 12 districts that elect two representatives, 10 districts that elect three representatives, and 4 districts that elect four representatives.

There are 120 representatives serving in the House. Of this total, 13 are black (9.2%) and 16 are women. The following graph (next page) outlines state legislative districts.

The districts of concern include the 7th, 8th, 22nd, 70th, 71st, and 72nd, as well as the 68th, 69th, and 23rd, which comprise Durham County.
Prepared by the Institute of Government
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
There are 11 representatives serving the above districts in the House. From this total, three are black: H.M. Michaux (23), Frank Ballance (7), and Milton Fitch (70). H.M. Michaux has been involved in state politics longer than his black colleagues and has served in a number of capacities. He started his career in the House in 1973 and was appointed by Jimmy Carter as United States Attorney in 1978.

Table 2.7 (following page) outlines area representatives. It reveals a set of interesting points. The most revealing of these suggests that house districts do not differ very much from senate districts in the area. Moreover, districts have been comprised in such a manner as to facilitate the election of white candidates, although the counties in the area have large black populations. In this respect, the county with the largest black population has a white representative who received the highest effectiveness rating in the area. Certain names were constantly in the top 10 list. Of the top 10 "most influential" legislators, two represent senate and legislative districts in the study area, Royall and Watkins.

Without a doubt, Royall is one of the most influential figures in the Senate due in part to his chairmanships or vice-chairmanships in three of the top 5 committees in the Senate. Royall chairs the Ways and Means Committee, is vice-chair of Rules and Operation of the Senate committee,
TABLE 2.7
North Carolina House of Representatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Representative</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Date Elected</th>
<th>Committee Membership</th>
<th>Home County</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Effectiveness Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Frank Ballance</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Chairman Housing; Vice Chair Comm. and School for Blind and Deaf; Vice Chair</td>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>73/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(black)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Judiciary IV; Children and Youth; Courts and administration of Justice; Finance;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance; State and Local Government; UNC Board of Governors' Nominating Comm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Josephus L. Mauretic</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Chair, Pensions &amp; Retirement; Vice Chair, Education; Agriculture; Constitutional</td>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>Retired Marine</td>
<td>18/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(white)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amendments; Natural &amp; Economic Resources; Public Utilities; Rules &amp; Operation of the House; Transportation; Water and Resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>John Church</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Chair, Higher Education; Vice Chair, Finance; Vice Chair, UNC Board of Governors</td>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>31/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(white)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nominating Committee; Agriculture; Local Government IV; Natural and Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resources; Rules and Oper. of House; Transportation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Watkins</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Chair, Appropriations Expansion Budget; Vice Chair, Election Laws; Appropriations</td>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>3/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(white)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Base Budget; Constitutional Amendments; Corporations; Courts &amp; Administration of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Justice; Health; Judiciary IV; Rules and Operation of House; Small Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Date Elected</td>
<td>Committee Membership</td>
<td>Home County</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Effectiveness Rating</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>H.M. Michaux</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1973, 1975, 1977</td>
<td>Chair, Constitutional Amendments; Vice Chair, Admin. of Justice; Vice Chair, Judiciary II; Appropriations Base Budget; Appropriations Comm. for Education; Appropriations Expansion Budget; Election Laws; Rules and Operation of House; UNC Board of Governors Nominating Committee</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Attorney/ Businessman</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(black)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Resigned) 1985</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>W. Paul Pulley</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Chairman, Judiciary IV; Vice Chair, Banks and Thrift Institutions; Vice Chair, Water and Air Resources; Energy; Finance; Natural and Economic Resources; Public Utilities; Rules &amp; Operation of House</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>12/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(white)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>George Miller</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Chair, Judiciary IV; Vice Chair, Insurance; Vice Chair, Public Utilities; Corporations; Finance; Governmental Ethics; Rules &amp; Operation of House; UNC Board of Governors Nominating Committee</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>4/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(white)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Milton F. Pitch, Jr.</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Employment Security; Finance; Housing; Human Resources; Insurance; Judiciary III; Manufacturing and Labor; Water &amp; Air Resources</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(black)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2.7
North Carolina House of Representatives
(continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Representative</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Committee Membership</th>
<th>Home County</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Effectiveness Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Larry Etheridge</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Appropriations Base Budget; Appropriations Base Budget; Human Resources; Appropriations Expansion Budget; Corrections; Insurance; Natural and Economic Resources; Small Business; State Government; State Properties; UNC Board of Governors Nominating Committee</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Allen C. Barbee</td>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Chairman, Transportation; Vice Chair, Finance; Vice Chair, Small Business; Agriculture; Committee &amp; Schools for Deaf and Blind; Local Government; Rules and Operation of the House; State Government</td>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>Farmer, Broker, Developer</td>
<td>14/120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and serves on the Finance committee.

Harrington, from the Senate (see Table 2.7), also holds positions on the state's most powerful Senate committees. Conversely, Mr. Hunt, the only black state senator from the overall area, does not serve on any central Senate committee, nor does he act in a leadership capacity on any of the committees on which he serves.

As indicated in Table 2.7, three blacks serve from the study area in the state House of Representatives. Only one, H.M. Michaux, serves on powerful committees. Michaux serves as vice chairman of the influential Judiciary II committee and the Rules of Operation of the House committee. Perhaps the most influential member of this outside the Speaker of the House is William Watkins, followed closely by George Miller, both white incumbents of long standing. Together, they chair two of the most powerful committees in the House and serve as vice chairman on four other committees combined.

Black representatives in the House as well as the state Senate hold relatively powerless committee positions. H.M. Michaux is the only black legislator with enough tenure to position himself on vital committees. As of 1985-86, the total number of bills introduced by black state senators was 14, with only 2 being passed.\textsuperscript{36} Senator William Martin of Guilford County introduced all of these bills while the other black senators did not introduce any.
By the same token, white senators from the area introduced 78 bills, of which 18 were passed.39

Black representatives in the House introduced a total of 60 bills in the 1985-86 session. From this total, Representative Daniel Blue of Wake County led all black representatives with a total of 21 bills introduced. However, 20 bills were passed, totaling one-third of all bills introduced by black legislators in the General Assembly.

The Black Caucus has had relative success in getting bills passed as a result of building coalitions with white Democrats. The result of such coalitions was the passage of both symbolic and substantive legislation.40

Examples of legislation passed as a result of coalition politics include bills which literally saved the state's five historically black colleges during the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund lawsuit against the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare under Secretary Joe Califono.

The state General Assembly moved to end duplication of programs in higher education which threatened the submersion of North Carolina A&T State University with the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Winston-Salem State was also threatened as a result of its service area including Greensboro, and North Carolina Central University in Durham was threatened with the same fate of submersion
with the University of North Carolina at Chapel-Hill in its law and nursing programs. Other examples of coalition politics utilized by the Black Caucus include removal of state employment retirement funds from United States corporations located in South Africa and establishing a state holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr.

The top-ranked issues for the Black Caucus included the passage of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, which was symbolic. The second most important piece of legislation passed was the appointment of blacks to university and community college boards. Substantive legislation passed was the Superior Court Judges' Election Bill, which established majority black Superior Court districts to ensure the election of black judges. The abolition of the second primary run-off did not pass.

Nevertheless, job bills for minorities and economic development bills were enacted by the General Assembly. For the most part, the Black Legislative Caucus enacted more bills of substance than symbolic ones. Therefore, this activity appears to contradict black legislative ineffectiveness.

By contrast, the eight white representatives from the study area introduced a total of 120 bills during the same period and had 64 passed (53%). There are obvious explanations for this large discrepancy. The first one is
that the most powerful members of the General Assembly are white representatives with long records in the legislature.

The last government structure to be examined is the Congressional structure in the state. Overall, this particular level of government has been the most difficult one for black candidates to win, because the black electorate is in the minority.

There are eleven congressional districts in North Carolina, with an average population of 534,706. The largest district is the seventh, with a population of 539,055, while the smallest district is the sixth with a population of 529,635. The second district has a population of 536,210. The following graph illustrates the size of districts in the state.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1982—
Session Laws, 1st Extra Session 1982, Ch. 7

[Map of North Carolina with congressional districts labeled and population statistics provided in a table format.]
As can be seen in the graph, congressional districts in North Carolina appear to be uniform in population, with very little variance in population. The ratio difference between the largest and smallest district is 1.0178-to-1, or 9.420.

This has not always been the case. In 1965, as a result of a class action lawsuit brought against the chairman and members of the North Carolina Board of Elections by Renn Drum, Jr., redistricting of the state's congressional districts was mandated by a team of Federal District Judges. The court ruled in favor of Drum because it found that racial discrimination did exist in both Houses of the State Legislature and the United States House of Representatives. This case established the rule for redistricting in North Carolina, based on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Drum v. Seawell provided for a twofold approach in restructuring legislative representation in the state. For the first time, state legislative apportionment was required to follow a strict population formula in both state houses for representation purposes.

Legislative Policy

In 1980, the United States Census Report indicated that North Carolina had experienced dramatic shifts in population. These population changes required a
restructuring of the United States Congressional Districts, particularly in the Piedmont region where a majority of blacks lived. State Senate and Legislative districts were also required to be altered to meet new population demands.

Part of the mandate for change was a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which required pre-clearance for state changes in districting for electoral office on all levels of government. Therefore, legislative policy had a threefold effect. On the first level, the Second Congressional District had to be reshaped in order to adequately reflect the black population in the area. The second level of the problem addressed the structure of the state legislature. And, the third level dealt with restructuring state Senate districts.

In past battles over redistricting, the issue was primarily one of which political party would dominate these processes. However, by 1980, the issue of concern in this battle was a racial one. Race was a primary factor due to the fact that North Carolina had a black population which comprised 22 percent of the state's total population. However, during this period only 3 blacks served in the State General Assembly.

The failure of the General Assembly to address minority representation in past years resulted in the entrenchment of conservative elements who sought to maintain their positions of dominance, particularly in the
The General Assembly met in 1981 to resolve the issue of reapportionment in a special session. Historically, North Carolina state legislative districts were drawn in such a way as to preserve county boundary lines. No county had ever been "cut" to maintain a district or to create a new district. But as a result of Justice Department requirements for fairness to minority voters and the fact that three previous redistricting plans had been rejected, the General Assembly was forced to split counties in drawing state House and Senate districts. Moreover, the Justice Department argued that multi-member districts diluted minority votes and mandated that single-member districts be drawn in order to enhance the election possibilities of blacks.

By January 29, 1982, the legislature had created 1 majority black Senate district in the northeast, 2 majority black House districts in the northeast, and 1 majority black district in Guilford County in the Piedmont area.  

The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. and the state Republican Party Activists filed a lawsuit in the United States District Court challenging the plan. The focus of both suits was to force the Senate and House to adopt single-member districts.

The State Senate Redistricting Committee, headed by Senator Marshall Rauch, a Democrat from the western county
of Gaston, and the House chairman of the Redistricting Committee, Representative Daniel Lilley of Lenoir County in the east, who was also a Democrat, came very close to terms over the issue of reapportionment. Lilley told the committee that "the only reason we crossed county lines is to try to satisfy the VRA."

The primary concern in both houses was to help maintain the counties and districts of incumbents. Therefore, changes in both chamber plans were only cosmetic and in both cases concerns for the 2nd Congressional District, more commonly known as the "fish-hook District," were ignored.

The new Senate plan created 17 single-member districts out of 31 districts. Of the existing 27 Senate districts which were set in 1971, there were only 9 single-member districts. The new majority black district would have a slight black majority of 51.7 percent.

The new House Plan would create 46 districts from the existing 120 seats; 14 of those would be single-member. Under the existing plan, there were 45 districts and 11 were single-member. The most important aspect of either "new plan," however, was that neither chamber created a majority black district in any county where there were sizable black populations. Mecklenburg, Durham, Forsyth, and Wake Counties remained multi-member or multi-county districts. These are the urban counties where there are
major concentrations of black voters.

Durham County is of particular interest because it was the focal point of the Congressional Redistricting battle. At issue was where to place this county because of a "so-called politically active and sophisticated black community." Earlier attempts to place Durham in the racially safe 4th District were rejected by the Justice Department, which charged the General Assembly had submerged the black population in a larger white population, thereby effectively reducing the power of the black electorate. To avoid putting Durham in the 2nd District, the legislators drew a fish-hook shaped 2nd District that circumvented the new 4th District (Wake, Orange, and Durham). The U.S. Justice Department said that the plan did not comply with the 1965 VRA because of possible racial motives in drawing the 2nd District. The chief opponent of the Durham move, House Speaker Pro Tempore Allen C. Barbee, a Democrat from Nash County, said "I'm going to try to rearrange it. You know that Durham would dominate that district."

The concern over Durham County dominating the district was based on a historic struggle between urban and rural political interests. The black issue was, however, paramount because blacks comprised a substantial minority group in the district. Latent fears of black domination overrode the urban-rural cleavage as a result of black
political organization in Durham, which could change the political environment of the 2nd District.

Whether continued or not, the 2nd Congressional District was viewed as conservative by state General Assembly members. They also wanted to protect incumbent L.H. Fountain, who had served in the U.S. Congress since 1956. Placing Durham in Fountain's district would set up a challenge for the seat by H.M. ("Mickey") Michaux, a charismatic black political leader from Durham.

Allen Barbee criticized Michaux on what he felt was a self-serving motivation by black leadership to get Durham moved out of the 4th District and placed in the 2nd District. Barbee argued that, "I simply resent a man in one county being responsible for how we do this [redistricting] just so he can run for Congress."\(^52\)

Michaux and other black leaders were responsible for drawing one map. However, they felt that all the urban counties of the state should have single-member districts for the state elections. On the Congressional level, black leaders argued that the issue of Durham could only be resolved by placing Durham in the 2nd District in order to help maintain a clear geographical pattern. Black leadership in the General Assembly also encouraged the development of black districts in the western part of the state. The committee, however, voted to create black districts only in the counties covered by the 1965 VRA.
The issue of placing majority black districts not covered by VRA 1965 created a cleavage between white liberal Democrats and blacks. Liberal concerns revolved around the creation of single-member districts, particularly in large urban counties. The creation of black majority districts posed problems for liberals because black votes could be siphoned off to black candidates. Blacks' votes have historically proven to be the margin of victory for liberal Democrats.

Representative J. Allen Adams of Wake County, one county under consideration for such a plan, called the proposed black districts political ghettos . . . that would result in a polarization on race like you have in South Africa. . . . They would destroy the political fabric of Wake County, and of other places in the state where black and white politicians have learned to work together.

Representative Adams was not alone in his criticisms of black districts. Representative George Miller, Jr., a Democrat from Durham, said "They [the blacks] are saying, 'Guarantee us those black districts and the hell with the rest of you.'" These concerns, ranging from the political domination of Durham in the Congressional District, to black controlled legislative districts, were all race-centered problems.

By February 11, 1982, the Special Redistricting Session ended. The State House and Senate had approved
plans that created more majority black districts, divided more counties among different districts for the first time, and put new emphasis on single-member districts. The Senate plan divided 8 counties and created two majority black districts. One included part of Guilford County (not covered by VRA 1965) and had incumbent Henry Frye, the only black serving in the Senate at that time. The other Senate district, with a 52 percent black population, covered an area represented by Monk Herrington (it was covered by VRA 1965).

The House plan divided 24 counties and created 4 majority black districts. It left intact Wake County's 6 seats, with the representatives running at-large. Both plans passed in both chambers; however, they left much to be desired for black representation and were viewed by eastern North Carolina conservatives as giving too much to blacks.

Durham was placed in the 2nd Congressional District and comprised 28 percent of the district's population. Representative Fountain, from the 2nd Congressional District, felt that the plan was inequitable because it shifted 130,000 people from the current district and added 160,000 others. Fountain called the plan "an over-concentration movement."

The final approved plan created 21 single-member districts out of 53 in the House. The Senate plan created
18 single-member districts out of 32 with 2 black majority districts.\textsuperscript{60}

The issue of redistricting resulted in a five-year court battle between the NAACP and the State over minority vote dilution. As a result of the NAACP lawsuit, a three-judge panel ruled that some of North Carolina's legislative districts violated the VRA of 1965 because of their effect on black voters. This panel gave the General Assembly until March 16, 1984 to come up with a new redistricting plan. Off-year elections in both houses and the 2nd Congressional District were slated to begin in May 1984.

The court ordered that the state could not hold elections in Senate Districts 2 and 22, and House Districts 8, 21, 23, 36, and 39 until new boundaries were drawn up for those districts.\textsuperscript{61} House seats affected by this decision reveal an interesting set of circumstances reviewed earlier. With the exception of Wilson, Edgecombe, and Nash Counties, which are the rural counties affected by the decision, urban counties such as Wake, Durham, Mecklenburg, and Forsyth were also included in the decision.

Senate seats affected by this decision included Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Northampton, Hertford, Gates, Bertie, and Chowan Counties. Mecklenburg County is the only county outside the coverage of the VRA 1965. None of the above mentioned counties are in the SCD. Additionally,
parts of Edgecombe, Martin, and Washington Counties were included.

The ruling was appealed and the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1986 that four multi-member districts should be broken up on the grounds that they diluted black voting strength.

The Supreme Court found the lower court had erred, however, in breaking up a fifth multi-member district in the Durham area, because black success at the polls had been demonstrated in that district.62

By August 1986, the United States Supreme Court ruled in Thornburg v. Gingles that certain multi-member North Carolina state legislative districts impaired the ability of black voters to elect representatives, in violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (42 USCS para. 1973).

The basis of this decision was that the State Legislature had enacted redistricting that included a number of multi-member districts (including House District 23 of Durham) that had substantial concentrations of black voters that were sufficient for single-member districts with black majorities.63

The facts of the case were upheld by the Supreme Court which agreed with the three-judge panel of the District Court that:

(1) an intervening amendment to paragraph 2 of the VRA had removed any necessity that discriminatory
intent be proven, leaving only the necessity to show a vote dilution effect, which could be found in the "totality of the circumstances" within which the challenged voting procedure operated;

(2) such a showing had been made with regard to all of the challenged districts, in view of the court's findings (a) that single-member districts with black majorities could be created in the disputed areas, (b) that historic discrimination in voting and other areas had hindered black voter participation in the state, (c) that other continuing voting procedures also hindered blacks in electing candidates of their choice, (d) that white candidates had encouraged racial bloc voting by appealing to prejudice, (e) that black electoral success had been minimal in relation to the percentage of blacks in the state population, and (f) that statistical evidence showed severe and persistent racially polarized voting in the challenged districts; and

(3) enjoined the state from conducting elections pursuant to those portions of the redistricting plan (590 F. Supp. 345).

The state attorney general and others took a direct appeal from that decision to the United States Supreme Court.\textsuperscript{64}
In conclusion, as a result of requirements in federal law and the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Supreme Court rulings, structural changes in the geographic make-up of legislative districts occurred in North Carolina. The fight over reapportionment and redistricting grouped various regional elements together to protect political interests. In the long run, however, race and state policy regarding elections had to be adjudicated to the state due to its failure to comply with federal election laws.

A 1981 Rockefeller Foundation Report on the Voting Rights Act chastised the state, saying:

If the actions by the North Carolina General Assembly and local governments in the state in the last 15 years represent the best or even the average conduct of southern states, official lawlessness and political skullduggery continue to retard the democratic process throughout the region.65

Structural designs have led to a twofold process in the election of black officials in North Carolina. On the local level, blacks are more likely to be elected from predominantly black single-member districts. In this vein, blacks have gained access to Boards of Education and city/county commissions in North Carolina. By 1985, 291 blacks served in some electoral office. Overall, the black voting age population was 20.7%, but only 5.5% of the total of elected officials in the state were black.66 The majority of these officials represented either the major
metropolitan areas of Mecklenburg County, Forsyth County, Guilford County, Wake County, New Hanover County, and Durham County. In each case, ward systems facilitated the election of blacks to various boards and commissions.

Ironically, the 291 total figure reflects a loss of three positions from 1981 to 1984. The following table (see next page) highlights black gains in North Carolina.

Table 2.8 clearly illustrates the number of blacks holding statewide political and national offices. No blacks serve in either house of the United States Congress from North Carolina. Likewise, no black has won a statewide election which would qualify the candidate to serve in the Governor's administrative cabinet.

The same holds true for judicial and law enforcement officials across the state. Only one black serves on the state Supreme Court. Superior Court judges are elected from districts and all were white before 1985 when eight were elected. In essence, political structure also embodies values and attitudes which mitigate against blacks from winning statewide and in many cases, district elections where black votes are diluted by geographical composition. In these types of campaigns, race becomes the most important issue.

Conversely, Table 2.8 reveals that blacks tend to be more successful in local aldermanic campaigns. Although the total number of blacks serving on municipal governing
### TABLE 2.8
Black Elected Officials in North Carolina - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Sub-State Regional</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Municipal</th>
<th>Judicial and Law Enforcement</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>Administrators 0</td>
<td>Members, Regional Bodies 1</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Mayors 18</td>
<td>Judges, State Court of Last Resort 1</td>
<td>Members, State Education Agencies 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senator</td>
<td>Senators 0</td>
<td>Other Regional Bodies 0</td>
<td>Board 31</td>
<td>Municipal Governing Bodies 144</td>
<td>Judges, Other Courts 8</td>
<td>Members, University and College Boards 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representatives 13</td>
<td>Other Regional Officials 0</td>
<td>Other County Board 1</td>
<td>Municipal Boards 0</td>
<td>Magistrates, Justice of Peace, Constables 0</td>
<td>Other Judicial Officials 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>County Neighborhood Advisory Committees 0</td>
<td>Other Municipal Officials 0</td>
<td>Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, &amp; Marshals 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Law Enforcement Officials 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 291

*Statistics compiled from Focus, Southern Research Center, May 1985*
boards is the largest of any other category, this figure (144) falls well short of the state's black population percentage. One interesting point illustrated on the municipal level is that no blacks served on neighborhood advisory commissions or on other municipal boards. This would indicate that blacks do not actively participate in the planning or zoning of their communities; therefore, having no official input in local decisions of a more tangible nature.

Under the category of "Other Municipal Officials," which would indicate professional staff positions including city or county managers, directors of municipal departments and code enforcement officers, no blacks are listed. Blacks, therefore, appear to cluster in the "Governing Body" category as a point of entry into municipal governance, even as late as 1987. Rounding out municipal officials is the office of mayor. There were a total of 18 black mayors in North Carolina in 1986.

The second highest category of black representation is education. Sixty-six blacks serve on local school boards across the state from a total of 911 members. Much like the Municipal category, no blacks serve as members of state education agencies, or on university and state college boards.

The failures of blacks to gain entry into various levels of government may reflect structural limitations
within the system. Structurally, the dominant values that emerge show the limits of black gains across the board. The result is a *Herrenvolk* democracy because no true notion of participatory government exists. Black leaders are also limited in local government.
ENDNOTES


2 One of the leading books outlining the problems of city corruption during this period was Lincoln Steffen's *The Shame of the City* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1904).


4 The Black Belt has been defined as those Southern counties in which a majority of black residents lived. Soil color and agriculture are also determining factors. In North Carolina, Black Belt counties were located primarily in the Eastern Piedmont section of the state.


8 Ibid.


19Ibid., p. 181.


22North Carolina Acts (adjourned session, 1900), Sec. 35, pp. 36-37.

23Raleigh News and Observer, Nov. 4, 1902.


31 Ibid.


33 General Statute of North Carolina 153-4 and 153-5.2.


35 Ibid.

36 Compiled from 1980 Census of the Population of North Carolina, Chapters A-C.

37 Data compiled from Lawrence, Form of Government of North Carolina Cities.

38 These figures were compiled from A Guide to the North Carolina Legislature, 1985.

39 Ibid.


42 Author's interview with Mickey Michaux, December 1988.

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47 A.L. May and David Hoover, "Redistricting Panels Vote to Split Counties," The News and Observer (Friday, January 29, 1982).

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 "Durham's Spot in District Plan Discussed," The Raleigh News and Observer (February 2, 1982), p. 1A.


54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., p. 28.


57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Christen Hoover, "Pleas Fail, Keep Durham from Second," News and Observer (February 11, 1982), pp. 1A, 8A.

60 "Legislative Enacts New Redistricting Plan, Adjourns," The News and Observer (February 12, 1984), p. 4D.


64 Ibid., pp. 25-26.


CHAPTER III
A Case Study of the Second
Congressional District

Groups having the least power also have fewer of the good things in life. The dilemma of the dispossessed is that their material and non-material deprivations leave them at the low end of any index of power and their relative powerlessness ensures their continued deprivation. Those with the greatest needs are thus least capable of satisfying those needs.

Mike Parenti
Power and the Powerless

Black politics in the Second Congressional District of North Carolina is an all-encompassing phenomenon that reflects the social and economic make-up of the region. Black politics has, therefore, taken shape as a response to attempts at political empowerment on the part of blacks for full inclusion into the mainstream of political life.

Black politics and political behavior do not operate in a political vacuum. This activity is bounded by political tradition as well as institutional structure.

This chapter will focus on the political campaigns and strategies of black public office hopefuls in the study area. Because of the complex nature and divisions of political units in this area, a random selection of state house campaigns resulted in the selection of one rural state senate campaign for study. The Senate campaign of Representative Frank W. Ballance of rural Warren County serves to highlight the nature of black campaigns in rural
areas of the region. An examination will be made of
Mr. Frank W. Ballance, Jr., Esq. and his efforts to win
election to the North Carolina Senate in 1986 from the
Seventh Senatorial District.

The impacts of state electoral policy will lay the
groundwork for an examination of United States Con-
gressional campaigns. Two recent campaigns will be
examined from the Second Congressional District. These are
Mr. H.M. "Mickey" Michaux, Esq. and Mr. Kenneth Spaulding,
Esq. in 1982 and 1984, respectively.

These three case studies in the last section of this
chapter which will focus on the theoretical development of
a political climate of hate and its impact on the election
of black officials in North Carolina.

The tenor of this chapter is best highlighted by the
following table (next page) which shows the number of black
elected officials in the state from 1968 through 1983. The
table illustrates the degree to which black representation
exists in North Carolina. Although there appears to be a
progression in the numbers of elected officials, upon
closer examination two major points emerge. The first and
most glaring is that certain elective offices remain
closed to blacks. No blacks serve in a statewide elective
office or in the United States Congress. The second point
illustrated in Table 3.1 is the relative underrepresen-
tation of blacks in each of the categories. A more


TABLE 3.1

Black Elected Officials in North Carolina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor/City Council</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Commission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Board</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheriffs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislators</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges/Trial Appellate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of State Office</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The decline of black representatives in county commission positions may reflect structural problems associated with at-large districting for this office. However, other key explanations for the drop in black elected officials between 1983 and 1985 may be associated with Ronald Reagan's coattail in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections. This Republican effort facilitated the re-election of Senator Jesse Helms over James Hunt in 1985, as well as the re-election of Governor Jim Martin during the same year.

Black candidates were, therefore, faced with confronting a well financed and nationally focused
Republican machine that they could not overcome. Although that above data are not broken down by county, the mode of election for county commissioners in the state is based on at-large elections (see Table 2.8, Chapter II). Fifty-one of the state's 100 counties use the at-large method for election. In the study area Durham, Edgecombe and Person counties use the at-large method. The black voting age population for these three counties is 33%, 47%, and 29%, respectively. It is, therefore, predicted that a viable black candidate from any of these counties could wage a competitive campaign and win if a district system were adopted.

Another factor which impacts upon black county commission races is a district nomination process with an at-large election. Counties in the study area that use this process include Caswell, Vance and Warren counties. As of this writing, none of the above counties have elected a black county commissioner, but have black voting age populations of 41%, 41%, and 55%, respectively.

The decline in elected officials from 1983-85 resulted in an eleven percent loss of black county commissioners.

School board elections resulted in a loss of 57 positions held by blacks during this same two-year period. This is ironic because blacks had experienced great success in this category. Here again, however, structure may have significant impact because the highest vote-getters win the
office outright. The highest number of votes result in a longer term of office, while the runner-up serves a two-year term. Over this period, black board members may have made the cut-off; therefore, serving shorter terms which required a new election.

Based on North Carolina Bar Association guidelines, judges cannot actively campaign for elections. As a result, the candidate can only outline his or her party affiliation, experience in practice, and educational background. Therefore, black judicial candidates cannot speak to very sensitive issues of jurisprudence and campaign widely because of the lack of funds. This places minority candidates in a disadvantaged position in many rural districts, resulting in few running in the first place. Fewer are elected, as Table 1.5 shows.

Blacks have shown a steady increase in mayors and city council members, but have lost substantial ground in electing school board members (-52%), sheriffs (-50%), and judges (-47%), while no blacks were elected to statewide positions or Congress. Here again, the decline in black elected officials may be due Republican party influences across the state as a result of the campaigns of Reagan, Helms and Martin.

The source of political empowerment has been the subject of unlimited debate. It is, however, the assumption of this dissertation that political empowerment
begins at the grassroots level. It is here that racism and all of its manifestations impede black political aspirations.

The local level of government, which serves as a vital link between people and higher levels of government, reflects black political empowerment due to the concentrations of blacks in the area which presuppose a set of common interests and social organization.

As an examination of elected representatives continues, a clear pattern emerges in which black candidates are confronted with other obstacles that limit the effective transition from local office to state and national office. This phenomenon is not unique to North Carolina, it is a characteristic of a national problem that federalism tends to mask. Statistics from the Joint Center for Political Studies suggest that the number of black elected officials in the United States is woefully lacking and is not representative of the black population.

In 1986, the Roster of Black Elected Officials listed only 6,424 in a total of 490,000 elective offices. Only 1.3 percent of all elected officers for 1986 were blacks in the United States. Blacks, however, comprised 12 percent of the nation's population in that year.

As can be seen from Table 2.8, blacks aspiring to public office in North Carolina suffer similar conditions. Political scientists have argued that a number of factors
contribute to the phenomena.\textsuperscript{2} The purpose here, however, is to address the impact of national electoral policy as well as state policies on black candidates running for public office in North Carolina.

National election policy has been primarily concerned with procedural rather than substantive issues. In this respect, national policy has focused on the right to vote in elections and establishing safeguards for that right. The more substantive issues of minority representation and forms of political structures have been left for the state to establish.

\textbf{The Impact of National Policy on North Carolina Congressional Districts}

North Carolina, along with most other old Confederate states, felt the impact of earlier judicial decisions on black voting rights. The importance of \textit{Smith v. Allwright} in closing down the white primary failed to resolve the problem of voting rights in the south.\textsuperscript{3} A new strategy was developed in the south to limit the impact of black voting in general elections. Although the procedural process designed for voting was carried out by the courts, the structural process in which legislative districts were designed was left up to the states, who relied on professional demographers and politicians to draw legislative boundaries.
Anthony Giddens addresses the central issues of structure by focusing on the separation of differences of power from a structure-action perspective. Giddens views the process of the legitimation of power and the interpretation of power as independent aspects of social practice. In his words:

The principal issue with which I shall be concerned . . . is that of connecting a notion of human explanation with structural explanation in social analysis. The making of such a connection . . . demands the following: a theory of the human agent, or of the subject; an account of the conditions and consequences of action; and an interpretation of structure as somehow embroiled in both those conditions and consequences.4

Although Giddens views the legitimation of power and its interpretation as independent aspects of social practice, they are ultimately related. Action and structure are broadly discussed in social science literature; little attention is paid to the impacts of structure on action. And in this respect, there has been a failure to relate action theory to the problems of institutional reform.5

Giddens moves beyond the accepted notions of structure to differentiate between structure and system in such a fashion as to clarify human relationships to both. In this view, the social system (which is a system of social practices) and social structures (which describe the properties of those practices as they constitute the system) establish the basis for advocacy and the
development of agents. Therein lies the vital link between regularized acts and structural analysis.

Until 1962, the federal courts and all state courts, including the North Carolina Supreme Court, took no part in the controversies over legislative representation. Unfair representation at any level of government was viewed as a problem best suited for resolution in the political arena, between voter and legislator. But Baker v. Carr (1962), a case challenging the apportionment of the Tennessee legislature, re-defined the scope of the Supreme Court in dealing with apportionment issues. The Supreme Court ruled that a citizen's right to fair representation flowed from the United States Constitution, and not state constitutions. By 1964, the United States Supreme Court gave specific meaning to Baker v. Carr. The Supreme Court held that, legislative control of municipalities, no less than other state power, lies within the scope of relevant limitations imposed by the U.S. Constitution. The opposite conclusion . . . would sanction the achievement by a state of any impairment of the voting rights so long as it was cloaked in the garb of the realignment of political subdivisions.

The magnitude of the problem of fair representation in state legislatures took on national significance because court actions were filed in 49 states by the end of 1965. Fifteen state legislatures had been reapportioned by 1965 to reflect population changes while 24 more states were planning reapportionment. During this period, the United
States Supreme Court also addressed the issue of United States Congressional Districts in *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964). The court held that the U.S. Constitution requires members of the United States House of Representatives to represent substantially equal numbers of people. As a consequence of *Wesberry*, fifteen states (including North Carolina) had to invalidate congressional district plans due to discrepancies between the populations of the largest and smallest districts within the state.

In overruling the Georgia statute, the Supreme Court held that:

> We agree with the District Court that the 1931 Georgia apportionment grossly discriminates against voters in the Fifth Congressional District (Fulton, Dekalb, and Rockdale Counties). A single Congressman represents from two to three times as many Fifth District voters as are represented by each of the Congressman from other Georgia congressional districts. The apportionment statute thus contracts the value of some votes and expands that of others.\(^6\)

These cases had a unique impact on reapportionment, both in the North Carolina General Assembly and United States Congressional Districts.

National electoral policies have far-reaching impacts on state government elections and procedures. North Carolina has been dramatically affected by a series of court cases and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Although all of the counties in the Second Congressional District are covered by the VRA, the most significant changes in
black political organization in the state occurred after
the 1982 amendments to the Act. Howard Shapiro wrote that:

The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982, in
particular the amendments to Section 2 of the Act,
greatly facilitated legal challenges to racially
discriminatory electoral structures. As a result,
state and federal courts throughout the South are striking
down at-large elections systems as racially
discriminatory. In their place, state and local
governments will have to construct single-member
districts.11

In amending Section 2 of the Act, Congress sought to
question the 1980 decision of the Supreme Court in City of
Mobile v. Bolden.12 In this case, the court ruled that the
Fifteenth Amendment prohibits only a purposeful discrimi-
natory abridgement by a government of the freedom to vote
on account of race, color, or previous condition of
servitude, and does not permit a challenge of multi-member
schemes or other techniques that dilute minority voting
strength.13 The Supreme Court required evidence of dis-
criminatory intent in order to sustain a constitutional
claim of minority vote dilution. The plaintiffs alleged
that Mobile's at-large system of electing city commis-
sioners diluted the voting strength of blacks in violation
of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In order to address the problems presented by Mobile
v. Bolden, the Supreme Court argued that the criteria
established in Zimmer v. McKeithen was grounded on the
"misunderstanding . . . that proof of a discriminatory
effect under the Fourteenth Amendment is sufficient."
Under the Zimmer factors, an overwhelming history of discrimination had to be proven. A corollary case to Zimmer is White v. Regester that established the "confluence of factors" test. Confluence of facts were broken down as: a) historical discrimination sanctioned by the state or political subdivision that affected minority voting rights in the democratic process, b) racially polarized voting in the state or subdivision, c) the use of unusually large election districts in the state or subdivision, majority voting requirements anti-single-shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance discrimination, d) if minority candidates are denied access to candidate-slating, e) the extent to which minorities in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination, employment, education and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process, f) whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals, and g) the extent to which minorities have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction. Both cases, however, involved the apportionment of multi-member districts.

Robert C. Smith stated that the importance of Section 2 was that its coverage is nationwide. Professor Smith suggests that traditionally the section has been viewed
merely as a statutory barrier to proportional representation; its more flexible effects, standard of proof, and its nationwide coverage make it a more powerful weapon than Section 5 of the Act or the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in pursuing claims of equitable representation.17

The most provocative aspect of congressional initiative in the Voting Rights Act amendments was the Senate Judiciary Committee's report. That report listed seven factors that may be employed to measure the discriminatory effects of apportionment plans. The purpose of the report was to establish an across-the-board process to find violations of the Act. These factors are of particular relevance to North Carolina due to the number of lawsuits filed charging vote discrimination. The seven factors listed in the Senate report include:

1. The extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the right of the members of the minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process.

2. The extent to which voting in the elections of the state or political division is racially polarized.

3. The extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election
districts, majority vote requirements, anti-single-shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group.

4. If there is a candidate-slatting process, whether the members of the minority group have been denied access to that process.

5. The extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.

6. Whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals.

7. The extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction.¹⁸

Each of the above-mentioned factors are important for drawing conclusions on discrimination; however, all of them do not have to be present. Factors two, five, six and seven have particular relevance to the Second Congressional District. In every case, these factors have affected campaigns throughout the region and at every level. Moreover, the effects of racial discrimination mentioned in the Senate report under factor number six are manifested in
the study area more so than across the state.

Factor number 7 may result from structural limitations. However, litigation resulting in *Gingles v. Edminster* provided for more minority representation at the local level, but did not effectively address state senate races or United States Congressional races.

More often than not, political campaigns examined in this area reflected overt racial appeals. In each campaign, race was one of the most significant factors in the outcome of the election.

The following case studies will show that voting in elections pitting a black against a white candidate results in the polarization of voting along racial lines.

**Frank W. Ballance, Jr.**

*Political Campaigning in Rural North Carolina*

Frank Ballance served as a state representative to the North Carolina General Assembly from the 7th House District. This district includes Warren County and parts of Halifax and Martin Counties. Mr. Ballance was elected to the House in 1983. Prior to that, Mr. Ballance was in private law practice in Warrenton, North Carolina. The significance of this case study is that Mr. Ballance, a successful lawyer and legislator, decided to resign from the House to run for the state Senate.
Mr. Ballance's political career began in 1980 as a result of *Gingles v. Edminsten* (1976) and in response to a lawsuit that was used to create single-member districts by court order. The 7th House district was created with a 60 percent black population, 5 percent Indian population, and 35 percent white population. As a result of the development of this district, Ballance was asked to run for office by members of the Warren County Black Caucus.

The campaign picture became cloudy due to competition from various other black candidates running for the seat from the 7th district. Reverend John Bee Moore, a prominent Baptist minister in the community, announced for the seat before Ballance. Ballance, however, had more support and Rev. Moore withdrew from the race. Ballance then defeated George Hux, an avowed racist, by a large margin in the general election to win the House seat.

A split occurred in the black community over the Moore-Ballance campaign. In effect, Reverend Moore represented an old guard in the black community that was comprised of older and poorer black people. Ballance, on the other hand, represented a new style of leadership that existed in the area, comprised of a professional class (albeit extremely small) of blacks. The new group of black professionals was associated with the Durham leadership group and received help from the urban black leadership in Durham, Chapel Hill and Raleigh.
The political agenda of the two factions was completely different and reflected a shift in the accommodationist nature of the Reverend Moore faction. These apparent class differences were also evident in the black community's response to Ballance who, for the lack of a better description, enjoyed the material success of his law office and lived a somewhat extravagant lifestyle in an otherwise poverty-stricken area.

In 1985, Ballance ran unopposed for the House. At this point, Ballance decided that he stood a very good chance of winning a Senate seat. The time seemed to be right, the groundwork laid and, most importantly, the politically powerful J.J. "Monk" Harrington, a white conservative, was placed in the 2nd Senatorial District as a result of redistricting, which was 60 percent black. Because of the redistricting of senatorial districts, Harrington panicked and promised that 1984 would be his last campaign.¹⁹

Robert Lewis and the Reverend J. Bee Moore, both black candidates, ran against Harrington. Harrington, therefore, won the race without a run-off, because Reverend Moore dropped out and gave him his support. The general election was held in June due to delays with the Gingles lawsuit. According to Ballance, one result of the election delay was the generally light turnout. Black voter turnout was lighter than expected as well.²⁰ There had also been a
primary in April and a run-off in May, with a third election scheduled. One explanation of the light turnout was because so many elections were held. Another aspect of the light turnout by blacks can be attributed to the factionalism in the black community as a result of the Reverend Moore, Robert Lewis and Frank Ballance factions.

Robert Lewis, who had been supported by Ballance, came in second while Harrington won the election with 51 percent of the vote.

Harrington did not retire as he had stated he would in 1984. By this time Ballance had resigned from the House to run for the Senate, which is required by state law. During this same period, Reverend J. Bee Moore announced his candidacy for the Senate against Harrington and Ballance.

In order to select a black candidate to run in the senatorial race, the black community held an elimination meeting. The community elimination process was used to select the most viable black candidate. In this meeting, Ballance won the support of the black community and as a result, Reverend J. Bee Moore withdrew his name from consideration.

Ballance was selected over other black candidates for several reasons. The first and perhaps most important was that he had run a successful race for state legislator prior to seeking the senate seat. Secondly, Ballance had developed some visibility in the black community because he
had a successful law practice in Warrenton.

With the candidates selected, promises were made. By the spring of 1986, Harrington had made promises to black leaders, including Rev. John Bee Moore, for their support in the upcoming campaign. According to a Charlotte Observer article, the support of the clergy was vital to Harrington's re-election:

... Many give the white Senator from Bertie County a better-than-even shot at a 13th term. One reason is that he, too, has support from some politically active black ministers, such as the Rev. John Bee Moore, a pastor at First Baptist Church in Weldon--and one of Harrington's two opponents in 1984.21

Reverend Moore argued that, "I don't believe people should be in power just because they're black if they can't deliver what the people need." 22

Reverend Moore's support of Harrington was based on a political promise by Harrington that he would assist Reverend Moore in obtaining a state health agency as a tenant in a dwelling that Moore's "evangelistic association" was building in Weldon. Senator Harrington, president pro tempore of the Senate, introduced Rev. Moore to officials from the State Department of Human Resources.23

Ballance's main campaign theme was that Harrington supported and looked out for the "haves" in a district which was made up of "have nots." The strategy of Ballance's campaign was to target black communities in the
eight-county district. The district was sixty percent black. Since race was a major unspoken issue, Ballance tried to appease white fears of black domination by focusing on the poverty of the people, regardless of race. In this respect, Ballance argued that poor whites and poor blacks had more in common to draw them together rather than different types of fracturing interests. Class lines, in Ballance's words, should be the basis of division rather than race. This strategy worked for the House campaign, which Ballance had won earlier with a black population of 50%, but fracturing divisions within the black community led to a bitter defeat for Ballance. Harrington, on the other hand, used race-baiting tactics as his primary ploy.24

Ballance ran a small-scale campaign, which is typical in rural areas. About $20,000 was raised across the district; most coming from the urban black professional communities of Durham and Chapel Hill. Donations of one to five dollars were collected from area residents. Overall, $19,500 was spent on the campaign. The bulk of the $20,000 "war chest" came from a one-shot fund raising event that brought in $12,000.

The campaign focused on black groups in counties and churches. This strategy came up a little short. In the final tally, Ballance lost the election by 2,000 votes. Harrington received 14,000 votes (or 54 percent) to
Ballance's 12,000 votes (or 46 percent). Ballance, however, lost in Hertford (54% black) and Northampton (60.7% black) Counties by 1,000 votes and won Gates (52.6% black) and Martin (44.5% black) Counties. Racial breakdowns on the vote are impossible to obtain because no post-election polls break down the vote along racial lines.

Although racial breakdowns are not kept as part of the official record, county VAP statistics clearly indicate that racial bloc voting took place. Structurally, the second senate district was designed to enhance minority voter strength. However, Harrington was able to win a relatively close campaign because of conflicts within the black community as well as the geographical spread of the district. The dispersion of the black population across several counties may address part of the structure problem.

According to Frank W. Ballance, the problems which led to his defeat in a very close race were twofold. First and foremost, the black community, according to Ballance, runs too many candidates for one office. This dilutes the power of the black vote or, in this case, minority voting strength, and enhances the power of whites. The outcome is that the white electorate exercises greater power than their numbers indicate. Whites can, therefore, take a 38 percent voting population and turn it into a majority.
Older blacks are linked to the political system as voters, and have few alternatives, if any, in electoral politics.

Racial bloc voting occurs on both sides; however, whites refuse to vote for black candidates. The failure of whites to vote for blacks, particularly in rural areas, has become an unwritten rule in local politics. Ballance suggests that fear of retaliation on the part of whites leads to the selection of conservative white politicians.

The creation of the Second Senate District was greeted by state officials as a victory. This district, unlike any other in the state, was created with a sixty-four percent black voting age population.

As can be seen from Table 3.2, district structure provides for symbolic reassurances. That is, the Second Senate District is so structurally manipulated that black voter power is, at best, less effective on the district level. Taken together, Edgecombe, Gates, Halifax, and Warren Counties, as entire political entities, have a black VAP of 64 percent. This percentage, according to recent literature, is enough too ensure the election of a black representative on any level of government. The 65 percent cut-off in black VAP has been suggested as a threshold figure. If the VAP is kept substantially below 65 percent, the effect is depriving blacks of a voting majority.\(^{27}\)
The perpetuation of racial vote dilution is facilitated by structural patterns of electoral representation long recognized by politicians, Department of

TABLE 3.2
Second Senate District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Black Population</th>
<th>% Black VAP*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bertie (part)</td>
<td>12,441</td>
<td>63% (7,808)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe (part)</td>
<td>28,432</td>
<td>63% (17,780)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates (part)</td>
<td>4,664</td>
<td>67% (3,143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax (part)</td>
<td>26,053</td>
<td>63% (16,361)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>12,810</td>
<td>65% (8,312)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin (part)</td>
<td>11,555</td>
<td>63% (7,303)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>13,709</td>
<td>65% (8,947)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren (part)</td>
<td>9,653</td>
<td>65% (6,311)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Indicates Black V.A.P. for Second Senate District.

Justice administrators, and federal judges themselves as devices that frustrate minority voting."28

The significance of the 65 percent black VAP has been illustrated throughout the political science literature. Paul Stekler suggested in his analysis of Mississippi Delta Counties that as the percentage in the black VAP rose, so did black political gains.29

The Ballance case study illustrates that the 65 percent threshold may be one important requirement for a black candidate to win the district. Structurally, 64 percent should satisfy the requirement.

Moreover, black candidates have managed to win elections especially on the local council board levels
throughout the study area with less than a 65 percent black voting age population. Electoral success at that level may be a result of greater candidate name recognition, organization and issues of importance at the local level.

Structure, therefore, is only one variable when race becomes secondary. John Daniels suggests that black political mobilization has increased as a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the presence of acceptable black candidates. Daniels' examination of Alabama bodes well with the Ballance study because blacks were mobilized and did vote for the candidate of their choice.

In Conner v. Finch (1977), the Supreme Court ruled that the Mississippi Redistricting Plan diluted black voter strength. The court then established standards for state legislatures. The court ordered that,

A court-ordered reapportionment plan of a state legislature . . . must ordinarily achieve the goal of population equality with little more than deminimus variation.

The black VAP in the Second Senate District has been manipulated by the state General Assembly in very overt ways. The district has a majority black population. The black VAP is also sizable, but under closer examination all but two counties (Hertford and Northampton) have been left totally intact geographically. The General Assembly used traditional county boundaries to establish the district. The Finch case, however, questions the notion of
traditional county boundaries being used to maintain legislative jurisdiction.

The legacy of the Old South remains a dominant theme in preserving the social, political, and economic structures of the area. There still exists a sometimes paternal, and often superior, attitude from whites in the area. The result is a political environment tempered with a climate of hate and mistrust through which very few black candidates can pass.

Structurally, the Second Senate district is comprised of two counties, Northampton and Hertford, and "parts" of six other counties: Bertie, Edgecombe, Gates, Halifax, Martin and Warren; all of which have a black population that ranges from 44 percent in Martin County to 59 percent in Bertie and Warren. One important characteristic of the Second Senate district is that only one state senator is elected, which is also characteristic of the eastern part of the state. From the Piedmont to the mountains (with the exception of Cabarrus County), all of the senate districts are multi-member.

The partitioning of Edgecombe, Gates, Halifax and Warren counties should have made it possible for blacks to win elections. Counties with relatively large black populations are broken up into a total of seven different senate districts.
Edgecombe County is also in the sixth and tenth districts. Bertie is also in the first, and Halifax covers part of the tenth district. Smaller black counties show the splitting pattern with Gates being in the first, as well as the second districts. Martin County covers the second, sixth and ninth districts, and Warren County is also in the second and tenth. The total number of senate districts these eight counties cover is sixteen, none of which has a black state senator.

As can be clearly seen from the foregoing case study, a sixty-five percent black voting age population in a district does not necessarily insure victory for a black candidate.

Several black elected officials in the district suggest that the reason Frank Ballance lost was because of the influence of Reverend Moore, along with other extenuating factors. Sheriff Theodore Williams ran a successful campaign for Sheriff in 1982 in Warren County. Mr. Williams argues that Ballance lost because black ministers in the area backed incumbent State Senator Monk Harrington. This argument is also cited as a factor by Warren County Manager Charles Worth, who suggests that Senator Harrington, as President Pro Tempore of the State Senate, carried a lot of influence that Ballance could successfully offset.32
However, the most provocative explanation for Ballance's defeat was offered by Warren County Commission Board Chairwoman, Mrs. Eva Clayton. Mrs. Clayton suggested that the 65 percent black voting age population within the district was based on more potential black voting strength than real black voting strength. That potential was never really tapped, which hurt the Ballance effort.

Another problem associated with the Ballance defeat, according to Mrs. Clayton, was old line black leadership that supported the incumbent for personal gain or personal interests. Mrs. Clayton suggested that the "old line" black leaders felt that Senator Harrington could deliver on personal interests moreso than Ballance.33

In conclusion, the Ballance defeat represents a case that illustrates limits on a 65 percent black district where the black vote represents potential due to low voter registration and low voter turnout. Along these lines, black leadership in the district appeared to be split in its support of Ballance which further split the black vote. Therefore, the full potential of the black vote was not realized in this election campaign.
Introduction

The Second Congressional District was reorganized in 1980. The Legislative Black Caucus attempted to develop a plan that would enhance the chances of black candidates to win in the district. This plan called for the inclusion of Durham and Northampton counties. It was felt that these two counties with their large black populations would fulfill the Black Legislative Caucus hopes that a black candidate could win.34

Northampton County had a 46 percent black population; however, its overall population was too small to provide the 500,000 persons necessary to reach the population threshold required by law.35 As a result of this population problem, Wilson County and Nash County had to be included because they resulted in the district reaching a population of 535,906.36

North Carolina's Second Congressional District represents a southern stronghold of political, economic, and social conservatism. As such, the district is saturated with poverty, racism, and traditional rural values that restrict black political activity.

This case study focuses on H.M. "Mickey" Michaux's congressional campaign in 1982. This campaign was selected
because it was one of the most significant in recent years. Several events led to Michaux's running in the campaign for Congress. The most important of these was the inclusion of Durham County into the district. Durham County represented the best black political organization in the state and a relatively active black electorate.

One result of the inclusion of Durham in the district was the resignation of United States Representative L.H. Fountain. Representative Fountain had served in the House of Representatives for 30 years. This North Carolina Congressman from the 2nd Congressional District had a reputation of being a staunch conservative Democrat, cast from the mold of the Old South aristocracy. Fountain resented that the General Assembly would include Durham in his district; therefore, he resigned.

Rod Cockshutt, writing for The State, suggested that redistricting spelled an end to an era, and that:

... Fountain's retirement marks the end of an era, as they say. In many respects, he was the last of the old-style Southern politicians, right down to his state's rights, pro-farming, anti-integrationist's philosophy, and his white linen suits in the summer.

As would be expected, the floodgates were opened and candidates emerged from all over the district to run for the seat. From beginning to end, however, this was a one-man campaign. The one man to be reckoned with was Mickey Michaux.
Michaux entered the Congressional race as one of its most powerful candidates due to his experience as a federal district attorney, appointed by President Jimmy Carter. In addition, he had served as a state legislator and was a prominent businessman in Durham. A home-grown hero of sorts who was educated in the state, Michaux was the second black to seek the 2nd District seat. Howard Lee, a former Chapel Hill mayor and state Secretary of Natural Resources and Community Development, was defeated by Fountain in the 1972 primary, when Orange County was a part of the district.

The 1982 congressional campaign began under dubious circumstances. The U.S. Justice Department had delayed the state's primary election because of the failure of the General Assembly to draw acceptable boundaries for the district.

The Republican Party felt that Michaux would be the Democratic Party's nominee for the November election and geared its machinery to win. David T. Flaherty, State GOP Chairman, said "Everybody's all excited that they're going to be running against 'Mickey' . . . because he's liberal, not because he's black."40

The issue of race in this campaign was a time bomb. Democratic leaders did not want to discuss race as a factor openly, nor did Republican party leaders. Nevertheless, race was mentioned in every newspaper article from March
1982 through the November general election. Republicans used characterizations like "liberal versus conservative," and in the final analysis, Democrats relied on a conservative strategy too.

Michaux's theme began as a "partnership with the people." This rallying cry led to voter registration drives across the 10-county district. Following tradition, Michaux relied on developing themes throughout his campaign on issues closer to the mainstream concerns of the district. However, voter registration was paramount along with the economy, education, and defense spending. Michaux argued that, "I can't win it on the black vote alone . . . I'm running as a candidate of all the people, black and white." Michaux, however, acknowledged early on that his campaign rested heavily on registering blacks in the largely rural districts. Blacks made up 28 percent of the 175,000 or 50,750 registered Democrats in the district. But blacks not registered outnumbered those who were, and Michaux's friends in Nash, Edgecombe, Wilson and other counties of the district had been working to register them since February. 

Registration drives were very important, because 57,935 blacks were registered in the District. There were another 63,369 blacks eligible to vote who were not registered. Michaux felt that with massive registration
efforts, blacks would comprise more than one-half of the electorate.43

Because of the size of the black electorate in the district, many analysts had Michaux as an early leader in the campaign. Terrell Guillory wrote that:

Since March 31, 18,000 people have registered to vote in the 10 counties of the district; 12,500 of whom are blacks. Consequently, in that two-month period, blacks rose from 33 percent to more than 36 percent of the total Democratic voters.44

Black voter registration was also a result of the record numbers of black candidates running for local offices in most of the district's counties.45

Mickey Michaux's competition within the Democratic Party came primarily from Itimous Thaddeus (I.T.) Valentine, who had support from Fountain's political backers. Valentine, a Rocky Mount/Wilson area resident, was also endorsed by the state medical society's political action committee and by former governor Dan K. Moore.46

I.T. Valentine, a conservative Democrat, began his campaign as a fiscal conservative who favored giving up the third year of President Reagan's tax cut. Valentine argued that, "the budget should be cut so as to do the least amount of damage to those social programs," and he opposed efforts to strip federal courts of authority on social issues.47

The May 28, 1982 Democratic Congressional primary pitted Michaux against conservatives I.T. Valentine and
James Ramsey. By all indications, the winner of the Democratic primary would be a shoe-in to win the general election. For the most part, Republican candidates had not won in the district in the last 30 years and stood little chance of doing so in 1982.

The June 28th primary result was not surprising. Michaux collected 44 percent of the vote compared to Valentine's 34 percent. James Ramsey received 23 percent of the vote. Valentine was understandably enthusiastic and said, "I thought all along Mr. Michaux would finish first and I would finish second. If he doesn't get a clear majority, we'll certainly be calling for a run-off." The Michaux camp wanted to avoid a primary run-off and privately said that they feared the run-off would dissolve into a racial issue. Primary run-offs in the state were traditionally plagued by low voter turnouts. Michaux, however, felt that his chances of winning the primary election were good because he led Valentine by 12,000 votes and had out-polled him in eight of the District's ten counties. Michaux won in just six of the counties and carried Durham with 58.4 percent of the vote. A.L. May suggests that Michaux and his supporters were cautious about the run-off because "in North Carolina when one candidate is white and the other is black" the white candidate gains support and wins.
The official results for the election showed that Michaux received 50,949 votes to Valentine's 58,965 in the 1982 primary run-off. These figures are significant, because they illustrate how the political structure favors ascendant political interests. Moreover, in the primary election Michaux received 49,998 votes or 45 percent, compared to Valentine's 39,724 votes for 36 percent and Ramsey's 21,193 votes for 19 percent.

This Democratic primary resulted in 53 percent of the registered Democrats voting. Campaign officials in both camps said black turnout was heaviest.

More than 60 percent of black voters went to the polls for the primary. This resulted in Michaux winning a majority of the counties (see Table 3.3). These numbers reflected the closeness of the race between Michaux and Valentine. Valentine said after the election that he hoped

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Michaux</th>
<th>Valentine</th>
<th>Diff</th>
<th>Blk VAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,355</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>+ 198</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15,917</td>
<td>5,440</td>
<td>+10,477</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5,603</td>
<td>4,776</td>
<td>+ 827</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3,439</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>+ 1,623</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>6,890</td>
<td>- 1,745</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,283</td>
<td>7,287</td>
<td>- 4,004</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,621</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>+ 1,204</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2,933</td>
<td>2,246</td>
<td>+ 687</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,889</td>
<td>1,605</td>
<td>+ 1,284</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3,934</td>
<td>5,447</td>
<td>- 1,513</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>47,119</td>
<td>38,141</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Abstracts of Votes, June 29, 1982.
to defeat Michaux during a run-off, saying that he had considerable black support in the eastern portion of the district. Although race was not mentioned as a major factor, "A lot of people see it as a conservative versus liberal contest . . . and some people see it as a race between a black and a white."  

Media coverage of the campaign was set for a racial confrontation in the run-off. One editorial from a black newspaper addressed the racial issue differently. The editor wrote:

First, the relatively high black voter turnout may be a positive indication that black voter apathy is on the decline. Secondly, and most importantly, we are not just talking about black candidates for political office, we are talking about candidates for office of high quality and commitment who just happen to be black.

Michaux's candidacy had a tremendous impact on the black electorate across North Carolina. As a result, black candidates who ran in many local elections and benefited from local voter registration drives in the state that impacted city/county commission and Boards of Education races.

Editorials from Piedmont newspapers, particularly black newspapers, called for a renewal of black voter interest in the run-off. The focus of Michaux's efforts was to get blacks back to the polls. Lanier Louvielle, a field coordinator for Michaux, said that organization was
the key to success. Organization in the geographically
diverse district was of paramount concern because blacks
comprised only 38 percent of the registered voters in the
district. Since blacks comprise such a minority in the
district, Michaux was very concerned with appealing to a
broader constituency. The common thread running through
the entire campaign, however, was the impact of "Reagan-
omics" on the people of the district. The upshot of this
position was maintaining democratic dominance in the
district. The threat of Republican domination, especially
of the Congressional Club-type, was feared most of all.

The Congressional Club-type forces [a campaign
spokesperson said] are a real force to be reckoned
with in the state. The Democrats know that, and
are ready to reorganize themselves. And that's
starting to happen in this campaign. People see
this campaign as sort of a training ground for
organizing and learning how to work together to
defeat Republicans.

To be sure, Republican domination was a crucial
concern for this overwhelmingly democratic area. But
conservatism also runs deep in the Democratic Party, which
runs more along racial lines than party loyalty lines.

Michaux's campaign organization was not that well
financed. However, it was a very well-organized grassroots
effort designed to address the campaign on two obvious but
conflicting issues--conservatism and liberalism. These
points were translated by the media into a black-versus-
white issue.
The Charlotte Observer ran an article entitled, "Race Seen as the Issue in Second District Run-off," that makes the point of the racial issue:

... And while both [Michaux and Valentine] are rising before dawn and working until midnight to spread their views on the issues, many political observers say they ought to save their breath. "... Black versus white, that's the only issue," said one Raleigh political observer.60

Valentine was quicker to admit that race was an issue. Valentine said that, "Race is there; he's black and I'm white. But we have studiously avoided any mention of race as a campaign issue."61

Michaux, on the other hand, was more reluctant to discuss the issue of race. He eluded any discussion of it by making the point that he had received significant support from whites. With the primary approaching, campaign talk refocused on the issues, and Michaux reiterated his concerns for a strong economy, saying:

Everybody was concerned about economic security. It was a natural issue. People worried about the effects of social programs. We've got to have a strong farm program. That's number one. Number two is to provide and maintain the infrastructure necessary to bring in industry--adequate water, sewer, roads, and schools to train our workers.62

Michaux planned to use Congress to bring industry to the district. "If I go to Congress, I'll have the backing of the people of my district, which I may be able to use to help some other politician, a 'quid pro quo' thing."63
Valentine spent more time during his campaign running against Michaux than he did articulating the issues. He argued that,

While Mr. Michaux is telling people he favors a balanced budget, he's not in favor of cutting defense. This is the man who favored raising state income tax 40% and wanted to abolish the second primary election.64

In reality, Michaux favored an increase in income tax at the upper end of the scale. This increase was tied to a repeal of the sales tax on food.65

Valentine also favored right-to-work laws for the state and cutting programs to bring down the deficit.66 To offset Valentine's financial strength, Michaux gave a series of interviews just before the second primary. In one interview he argued that the "Reagan government" was not conservative, but radical, noting that many of Reagan's successes came from the backs of poor people.67 Valentine focused on calling registered Democrats from telephone banks set up throughout the district.

By this time, Michaux had contacted state party leaders, national party leaders, and former Civil Rights activists to campaign on his behalf:

Coretta Scott King . . . has sent a letter to 45,000 black voters in the district, urging them to the polls. Morris Udall . . . has sent letters to more than 10,000 white voters urging them to vote for Michaux. Udall and other Congressional members believe that Michaux will be a better Congressman than Valentine, because he will come to Congress with experience.68
The Run-Off Results

The Washington Post ran an article the day after the July 28th primary with a lead paragraph that read:

White conservative I.T. (Tim) Valentine beat black H.M. (Mickey) Michaux tonight in their run-off race for the democratic nomination in the Second Congressional District.69

The unofficial returns with all 219 precincts reporting showed that Valentine had received 59,272 votes, for 53.8 percent, to Michaux's 50,874 votes, for 46.2 percent.70 A New York Times article reported that,

By the time of the run-off, Mr. Valentine's organization had installed telephone banks in all ten counties. Mike Mann said 'it was the phone banks that were getting people out in the eastern counties.'71

Mr. Valentine's strategy was as old as second primaries themselves. Valentine wanted to face Michaux in a one-on-one run-off. The additional time was used to organize his staff and renew interest in the contest.

Ben Ruffin, a special assistant for Minority Affairs to Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., analyzed the outcome of the campaign by saying, "It got down to just black-white again. Valentine out-pollled him [Mr. Michaux] in the white community by two-to-one in his home town."72

The issue of race, coupled with the traditional conservatism of North Carolina politics, may be described as the major factors leading to Mickey Michaux's defeat in the 1982 Congressional campaign. This particular campaign
illustrates how race can be manipulated by the superordinate group. Race became the primary issue of concern throughout the campaign, dating back to Fountain's resignation from Congress as a result of Durham's inclusion into the district. In the final analysis, Durham County played an important role in the congressional campaign. This role was established through the various black political organizations in the county which included the NAACP and the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People. Therefore, blacks mobilized and registered to vote for Michaux, which was a significant factor to the district.

Bill Pulley, Mr. Valentine's campaign manager, summed up the nature of the problem when he said, "We hope to get the conservative white vote without raising the racial issue." Valentine's followers sent out letters to white voters, pointing to the heavy black turnout in the first primary and referred to it as "domination."73

Michaux's congressional campaign highlights several significant points regarding political structure. These include: (1) no matter how well organized or experienced a black candidate may be, it is even more difficult for that candidate to win in a majority white congressional district in North Carolina; (2) white and black voters in the more rural areas of the district tend to vote along racial lines rather than party ideology; and (3) political structure has
a negative impact on the election of blacks.

Organizationally, Michaux mobilized the black electorate in the district by using campaign workers in each county. Michaux also actively campaigned in each county and provided literature, transportation and campaign workers to inform members of the community. Michaux used the traditional tactics to get his message across through radio advertisements, church meetings, cookouts and the like. However, he was not able to overcome a white conservative backlash in a conservative district with a majority white electorate.

Tim Valentine, on the other hand, was able to mobilize the white electorate. Telephone banks and a letter campaign were used to mobilize white votes. The impact of this strategy proved to be more effective than any other. Moreover, Valentine linked himself to the Reagan notions of conservatism and the traditional conservative attitudes of the district and the state.

Precinct results indicate the racial division in this election. For example, in Caswell County Valentine received 3,127 votes compared to Michaux's 2,879. According to the voter registration record, the county is divided into 14 precincts. What follows is a table describing voter registration and vote results for the primary run-off.
The following table illustrates that of 4,506 black registered votes 2,879 or 64 percent voted in this election. By the same token, of the 5,299 white registered voters, 3,127 or 59 percent voted. Another point established by this data is that precincts tended to vote along racial lines. Here, predominantly black precincts like Baynes and Locust Hill went with Michaux while predominantly white precincts such as Mt. Hill, Ridgeville and Yanceyville went for Valentine.

Durham County precinct data reveals a similar trend. Durham County is divided into 44 precincts; however, 16 precincts are predominantly black, none reveal a fifty percent split, and the remaining 28 are predominantly white.

### TABLE 3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precinct</th>
<th>Valentine</th>
<th>Michaux</th>
<th>White Registration</th>
<th>Black Registration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baynes</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanch</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Grove</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabbs</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hightower</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leasburg</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locust Hill</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Hill</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelham</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purley</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridgeville</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semora</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanceyville</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentee</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,127</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,879</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,299</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,506</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Michaux won a total of 22 precincts and received 15,917 votes compared to Valentine's 5,440 votes. These data for Durham show the importance of the County in the district and serve to refute claims of racial polarization in the campaign. Although Durham is a powerful political presence, it appears that race was not a primary factor in Durham. The concern then must turn to structure, particularly the primary run-off as a primary variable in Michaux's defeat. Evidence of this is reflected in the Edgecombe County results of this campaign. Edgecombe County is divided into 20 precincts with a total voter registration in 1982 of 29,060. White registration was 14,860 and black registration was 14,187. Eight of the precincts are predominantly black and twelve are predominantly white. In the primary election, Michaux received 5,603 votes and Valentine 5,000 votes. The data, however, does not reflect a precinct by precinct tally, but one could argue that racial bloc voting may have occurred as a result of the closeness in the vote.

Granville County, like Edgecombe, was carried by Michaux with a vote of 3,439 to Valentine's 3,308. The County had a total of 18 precincts, being split between black and white voters. These data show that 9,213 whites were registered compared to 5,709 blacks. Here again, generalizations regarding racial block voting are difficult to establish because the black candidate won the majority
of votes in this county; however, the county is 60 percent black.

Valentine beat Michaux in Halifax County, 6,890 to 5,145. No registration data indicated the racial mix of the precincts; therefore, no basis exists from which to draw a conclusion.

Nash County, however, did keep registration data. These data reveal that 16 precincts a total of 25,420 white registrants and 9,141 black registrants. Ten precincts are predominantly white, while six are predominantly black. Valentine won all the white precincts and Michaux won five precincts; the total for Valentine was 7,287 votes to Michaux's 3,283 votes.

Person, Vance and Warren Counties do not keep records on black or white registration, but Wilson County does. Of the twenty-three precincts, three were predominantly black while the rest were predominantly white. Black registration was 6,879 and white registration was 19,213.

Michaux won in Wilson #3 (834 black, 391 white) with 478 votes to Valentine's 85; Wilson #4 (690 black, 225 white) by 348 to 48; and Wilson #11 (968 black, 35 white) by 526 to 5. Conversely, in the predominantly white precincts Valentine won 5,309 votes to Michaux's 2,132 votes. This margin based on precinct data reveals that race was an important concern in Wilson County. But more revealing than race is the impact of Wilson County's
precinct structure on the campaign. Precinct structure spreads black voters throughout the county with few concentrations which may cause problems in getting voters to the polls.

Racial bloc voting was the result in the primary. Blacks must vote for black candidates in order to win elections. Paul Stekler, observing black voting patterns in Mississippi suggests that:

Overall, the process of electing blacks involves mobilization of the black vote; availability of serious black candidates in districts and, under electoral procedures that give that candidate a chance to win, success appeals to the voting black electorate and so on.74

With clearly established racial boundaries, Michaux could not build a winning coalition of black and white voters. The few whites who actually voted for Michaux were concentrated in the urban areas, particularly in the city of Durham. Although no official exit polls were taken which asked race specific questions, an examination of voter abstracts of precincts illustrates that white precincts voted overwhelmingly for Valentine, while black precincts voted for Michaux.75

The result of Mickey Michaux's campaign illustrates that the second primary run-off serves to sustain the dominant political interests in the district.

Laughlin McDonald suggests that the primary run-off system,
The legitimacy of the second run-off primary has never been seriously challenged by white officials in the South. It serves to maintain their structural domination of the political process because blacks, for the most part, often win pluralities in white jurisdictions. A clear example of this is Mickey Michaux, who won 44 percent of the votes compared to Tim Valentine, who received 33 percent of the vote, and James Ramsey, who received 23 percent of the vote in this campaign. It can, therefore, be concluded that the majority vote requirement, along with the primary run-off, serves to frustrate the black vote in the district.

Along these same lines, the addition of Durham County in the Second Congressional District serves to highlight the political domination of rural whites.

The primary run-off and majority vote requirement are only aspects of a deeper problem.

Frank Parker suggests that the impact of redistricting schemes which dilute or minimize the voting strength of minorities is more important than focusing on the shape of the district. Here again, the 65 percent rule comes into play to ensure minority representation. If the Second
Congressional District had a 65 percent minority population, Michaux would have stood a better chance of winning. The problems of the second run-off primary and majority vote requirements could be satisfied by the larger minority population comprising the district.

As the district now stands, the 40 percent black population does not provide the electoral strength for the black population to win. Moreover, a 53 to 54 percent black population would be insufficient to achieve this goal as it now stands in North Carolina.

The 65 percent rule was upheld in United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg, Inc. v. Carey (1977). The Supreme Court ruled that whether or not the legislative reapportionment plan for Kings County in New York was authorized by, or was in compliance with, provisions of the Voting Rights Act, New York was free to intentionally create substantial (i.e., approximately 65%) nonwhite majorities in approximately 30 percent of the assembly and senate districts; such redistricting did not violate the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The court continued that:

Although, in individual legislative districts created by redistricting where nonwhite majorities were increased to approximately 65%, it became more likely, given racial bloc voting, that black candidates would be elected instead of their white opponents, and it became less likely that white voters would be represented by members of their own race as long as whites in the county as a whole were provided with fair representation,
redistricting which was designed to create approximately 30% of the senate and assembly districts with 65% nonwhite majorities did not constitute a cognizable discrimination against whites or an abridgement of their right to vote on the grounds of race.80

Michaux did recognize the significance of race as a political issue. He, therefore, attempted to build coalitions between the black electorate and liberal whites. The Black-White Liberal Coalition worked in Durham, but failed throughout the remainder of the district.

Interviews with Michaux illustrate the importance of race in the congressional campaign. According to Michaux, his opponent, Tim Valentine, used code words to excite white voters. Examples of those codes included the following: "My opponent will be busing his voters to the polls" and references to "bloc(k) voting."81

Michaux's advisors were concerned about the race issue early in the planning stages of the campaign. In memoranda the campaign strategists favored radio spots, especially on black radio stations, and downplayed the importance of television spots. Television was felt,

\[ \text{... not to be cost effective in the Second District and may well be counter-productive in riling up the redneck vote. On the other hand, radio and direct mail can be quite finely targeted and may be made very cost effective.} \]

82

Michaux's campaign strategy was based on a small radio campaign to alert unregistered blacks to register because they had a reason to vote. This small presence in the
radio market was maintained so that it would not appear that the candidate was partial to one race over another.\textsuperscript{83}

Other methods used by Michaux were direct mailing, coffee groups, and newspaper ads to tie black and white support together.\textsuperscript{84}

The direct mail method was used to assure a "big black turnout in parts of the district where there was little or unreliable black leadership devoted to getting out the black vote."\textsuperscript{85} Coffee groups were based on ten-person committees meeting for thirty minutes, who were encouraged to write strong letters of endorsement to the voters of their district.\textsuperscript{86}

Michaux argues that his campaign was one of the best North Carolina had ever seen. Although money was a primary concern in developing the campaign, Michaux was able to raise $250,000. The minimum budget recommended by Michaux advisors was $151,000. The following table, taken from Michaux Memoranda, illustrates the budget breakdown. Michaux managed to raise $250,000 from a variety of sources, including the AFL-CIO, North Carolina Educators Association, and private donations. Nevertheless, Michaux wound up with a $150,000 campaign debt.\textsuperscript{87}
TABLE 3.5
Budget Breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T.V.</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billboards</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Mail</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signs</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager &amp; Office Manager</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Expenses</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Expenses</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.O.T.V. Phones</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.O.T.V. (Black Community)</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$151,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*G.O.T.V. refers to Get Out The Vote.

Kenneth Spaulding

A Man for All People

The 1984 Second Congressional District seat was a logical progression for Kenneth Spaulding. As a former state legislator and practicing attorney, he met the prerequisites to become the first black Congressman from North Carolina since 1901. Ironically, the last black to serve from the district was Kenneth Spaulding's ancestor, George Henry White.

Kenneth Spaulding describes himself as a political pragmatist. Along these lines, Spaulding attempted to disarm race and racism as campaign issues and focused his campaign on the needs for jobs, environment and economic development.

Spaulding's campaign themes revolved around being "All things to All People." This theme focused on a strategy
of fiscal conservatism which was an attempt to disarm conservative Democrats in the region. The other extreme of this strategy was designed to attract voters concerned with employment and the environment. Taken together, the thematic thrust of Spaulding's campaign was a "politics of reality." This reality was based upon notions of prosperity and responsible government."

Another important factor contributing to Spaulding's campaign was the impact in the district of Reverend Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidency.

This section will examine Kenneth Spaulding's campaign for Congress in 1984. An analysis will be made of Mr. Spaulding's campaign for the district seat and his impact on black politics in North Carolina.

Spaulding began his political career as a state representative in 1979. During that period, he served on several important committees. An examination of the bills Spaulding introduced during his last term ranges from victim assistance to housing for the poor.

Spaulding's legislative record in the state house has been described as people-oriented... through opposition to increased taxes on gasoline and food--burdens generally borne most heavily by consumers--a man for all people was portrayed to the media.

This man for all people established a reputation as a fiscal conservative while also being liberal on social issues. This seemingly contradictory position enabled
Spaulding to gain support from conservatives and liberals alike in the North Carolina House.

Spaulding, therefore, entered the campaign with a proven record as an able campaigner. He argued that:

Just as I have opposed and fought against increased taxes on such human necessities as gasoline and food, I will also fight against any unnecessary federal taxes that empty the taxpayer's pocketbooks at a time that we taxpayers still feel the pains of unemployment, recession and a stagnant economy.92

The major challenges facing Spaulding for the Democratic nomination were exactly the same as those facing Michaux. The district itself was characterized by high unemployment and poverty. This candidate, according to his challenger [Spaulding], represented privilege, wealth, and is well-educated. By contrast, his opponent, Congressman Valentine, is a "good ole boy." Secondly, in order to win the election, he had to address the fact that 60,000 eligible black voters in the district were unregistered.93

Finally, Spaulding had to contend with the second primary.

On the other side of this campaign stood incumbent I.T. "Tim" Valentine. The first issue addressed by Valentine was his stewardship in office. Not much later, race as a primary concern was addressed. In a prepared statement delivered at a Valentine press conference, this issue was addressed as follows:

While I can't be all things to all people, I can and have tried to give equal attention to the needs of the entire district, and have endeavored
to represent fairly and with vigor all the people of this district. 94

During this same news conference, Valentine said, "Race is always a concern in a political campaign, but I hope it won't boil down to a racial contest." 95

One new twist was added to the Valentine strategy during this campaign, and it was designed to attract Republican voters. Despite Valentine's strong Democratic background, he expressed the desire that voters would not choose their representatives in government solely on the basis of political party. Such emphasis on party politics has, in Valentine's words, polarized American people, and as a result, has led to disparity among politicians and a slow-down in passing legislation that would improve the economy. 96

This clear call for Republican support in the primary was offset by Spaulding, because he had always been a "free enterprise" politician. In Spaulding's filing speech, he called for:

... fiscal soundness of the federal government adding [that] it will be the 'blueprint for a better today and more unfulfilling tomorrow.' The free enterprise system must be allowed to grow so that jobs are available to all people. Workers of America must be able to find jobs without the fear of unemployment and job insecurity. 97

The economy, balanced budget, and jobs were the dominant themes in Spaulding's campaign. On each issue, Spaulding differed by very limited degrees from the conservative
position. In effect, Spaulding established himself from the outset as a fiscal conservative, differing only from Valentine on issues concerning the E.R.A. and environment.

Spaulding focused on the private sector for financial support. As a pragmatic politician, Spaulding argued that blacks must address larger political issues that affect everyone. The economy, environment and nuclear war are all issues that have a direct impact on blacks.98

These issues fall within the category of Spaulding's market equality, all of which are grounded in what Spaulding describes as a "politics of reality." This politics of reality, nonetheless, is more of a politics of compromise based on a conservative philosophy. Spaulding's conservative philosophy represents the traditional notions of limited government intervention into the economy, strong national defense and the conservation of democratic values.

Tom Oliver, writing for the Durham Herald, quoted Spaulding on this topic thusly:

The politics of hope demand opportunity for all human compassion, job market equality for women, and patriotism. The politics of reality must recognize the needs of farmers, the need for free market jobs, education, environmental responsibility and security for senior citizens.99

The philosophy of political reality becomes more of a contradictory philosophy as the political methods used to achieve the goals are revealed. Spaulding argued for more money to fund programs without raising taxes, along with
reducing the federal deficit and balancing the budget.100

Spaulding defined the politics of hope as, "an opportunity for all Americans to learn, to work, to govern, and to share together in a common goal of equity, compassion, and patriotism."101

The "politics of hope and reality" served as an "arriere-pensee" (double-edged sword). The politics of hope struck a positive chord for blacks in a district crippled by poverty and unemployment. The politics of reality served to reinforce the notion to whites in the district that conservative government would not be sacrificed and that fiscal policy would reflect conservative interests. In the final analysis, all groups within the district would be served.

On national issues such as defense, Spaulding argued that:

The nation had a responsibility to seek with all nuclear powers a means to harness unbridled proliferation of nuclear arms, deployment, and weaponry. However [he maintained], the United States must keep a strong, firm and strategically sound national defense.102

In effect, Spaulding's campaign relied on strategy that was designed to attract white votes as well as to downplay the issue of race. To accomplish part of this strategy, Spaulding would not compare his campaign to Mickey Michaux's and said that he would lean heavily on second
district residents for campaign volunteers and political expertise.103

This posturing provided Spaulding with what he felt would be a broad-based coalition of progressive urban whites. Rural conservative whites would also be disarmed by the nonthreatening facade of conservatism.104

As the election date neared, Spaulding's pronouncements reflected no serious concern over the race issue. Although the creation of the new second district in 1980 was based on racial considerations, Spaulding held to his established campaign strategy of counting on the best among the white race. Spaulding's appeals to whites became apparent as late as March.

With voter registration drives covering each of the counties in the district, experts felt Spaulding would seriously threaten Valentine's incumbency.

Spaulding--when confronted with the issue of voter registration drives, especially in the black community, as being a positive influence on his chances--replied, "I am working very hard in the black community and white community. I don't take any vote for granted."105 As hard as Spaulding was appealing to whites, Valentine was drawing blacks. Spaulding's optimism was typified by a comment he made at his campaign headquarters. "I think the voters, black and white, have moved forward, beyond flesh tone."106
Spaulding was not alone in his optimism. James O'Reilly, a Durham consultant for Spaulding, established that Spaulding's chances of succeeding in the race were greatly enhanced by the presence of 84,000 black registered Democrats, or about 39% of all Democrats.\textsuperscript{107}

As a result of redistricting, coupled with voter registration drives, the outlook for a black candidate looked bright. Spaulding, however, faced the same dilemma that Michaux had in 1982. Neither candidate could match Valentine's campaign fund. Spaulding had hoped to raise $250,000, but could manage to raise only $100,000. Michaux, on the other hand, raised $250,000 in a losing effort and had debts of up to $150,000 after the campaign.\textsuperscript{108} Valentine, however, had raised over $250,000 for this campaign.

Financing has always been a major feature in congressional elections; however, black candidates for congress in North Carolina have, for the most part, been inadequately financed.

The vote tally was not nearly as close as Michaux's against Valentine, but it does raise some interesting points. Table 3.6 (see next page) illustrates a county-by-county election return.

Table 3.6 shows the raw result of the campaign; namely, that Spaulding won in only 2 of the 10 counties in the district. One interesting aspect in the table is the
number of votes received by Valentine in Spaulding's home county of Durham. Election returns indicate that Valentine dominated the election in small towns and that small pockets of blacks gave Valentine the edge. In this same respect, in the white precincts in Durham, Spaulding received 90 percent of the vote compared to Michaux's earlier returns of 32 percent.109

As the table shows, Valentine defeated Spaulding with 1,000 to 2,000 vote majorities in Halifax, Person, and Vance Counties, and a 5,100 vote edge in Nash County, Valentine's home.

The official results show that Spaulding received 60,535 votes to Valentine's 65,893.110 Spaulding argues
that the 5,358 vote differential could have been overcome if he could have raised more money. Due to his lack of financial resources, Spaulding was unable to use television or to campaign as extensively as he wanted to in the eastern part of the district.\textsuperscript{111}

Spaulding also suggests that Valentine did use race as an issue in the campaign through the use of code words to appeal to racial solidarity.\textsuperscript{112}

The final analysis of the Spaulding campaign for Congress reveals that race was a factor leading to his defeat. However, political structure, particularly the second primary run-off, led to Michaux's defeat in 1982. Race, although a factor, may not have been a primary concern for Michaux.

The Spaulding case study reveals several points which, when taken together, reflect the problems of black candidates in the district. First, no matter what political ideology—whether liberal or conservative—a black candidate has difficulty getting white votes to win an election. Second, the demographics of the district, which reflect its rural conservatism and white political domination, limit support for black candidates. And, finally, the political structure of the district effectively dilutes the black vote.

Table 3.6 clearly illustrates problems of structuring in the district. The district comprises a 40% black
electorate and 39% of black Democrats in the district, this number comprises too small of a minority to ensure the election of a black candidate. For example, in Warren County, which has a black VAP of 55%, Spaulding was only able to win 30% of the vote. These figures may reflect racial bloc voting. Spaulding, however, did receive 47.9% of the total votes cast in this election, which also speaks to the importance of building biracial coalitions in the urban areas.

However, due to limitations in Spaulding's campaign strategy, structural impacts served to enhance the position of Valentine in this election.

In effect, Spaulding was unable to build a coalition between blacks and whites and even found it difficult to maintain black voter support.

Statistical abstracts of the election reveal that several important points reflect on the structure of the district and problems of voter turnout. One significant point is that black registration increased in the district in 1984. In Durham County, each of the 47 precincts showed a substantial increase in the number of registered voters from 1982. However, the black increases in registration were also accompanied by white increases in registration. The total in official registrations for blacks increased from 29,623 in 1982 to 31,906 in 1984, or by 1,283. But
white registration increased by 7,818, from 54,314 to 62,132.\textsuperscript{113}

The opposite occurred in Caswell County and by 1984, black registration increased by 775 from the 1982 figure of 4,506. White registration increased during the same period by 234, from 5,299 in 1982 to 5,533 in 1984.\textsuperscript{114}

Granville's figures on registration in 1982 reflect increases in white registration. The black registration was 4,361 and the white registration was 5,709. By 1984, the white registration had increased by 4,186 votes to 9,895. Black registration increased by 2,465 to 6,826.\textsuperscript{115}

Vance County did not break down its statistics by race; however, there was an increase of 4,290 registered voters from 1982 to 1984, from 15,521 in 1982 to 19,811 in 1984.\textsuperscript{116}

Warren County data did yet reflect an increase. However, Wilson County data changed considerably. In 1982, the total number of blacks registered to vote was 6,829; by 1984, this figure was 10,047, reflecting a 3,168 increase. White registration was 19,213.\textsuperscript{117} White voter registration increased by 3,215 between 1982 and 1984, while black registration increased 3,168.

Nevertheless, it was clear in precinct voting that race was an important consideration, even in Durham. The sixteen predominantly black precincts voted overwhelmingly for Spaulding, while the 27 predominantly white precincts
voted for Valentine.\textsuperscript{118} The primary election voter turnout reflects another problem in Spaulding's campaign, only 45\% of the registered voters actually voted. Black precincts had a very poor showing as well. The sixteen black precincts had a total registration of 34,292 voters, but only 16,962 voted, or 49 percent. Black voters, although they voted in greater numbers than their white counterparts, did not flood the polling places on election day. Nevertheless, Spaulding won in Durham by a wide margin of 10,386 votes.\textsuperscript{119}

With very little variance in number, the same trend occurred throughout the district. The difference being that Valentine was able to win counties due to the black-white voter split and low primary turnout. The following table shows a county-by-county breakdown of the vote. The following table illustrates that the vote was actually closer than expected. Had Spaulding been able to receive 1,344 more votes per county, he would have defeated Valentine in the primary by 8,000 votes.

As mentioned earlier, only forty-five percent of all the registered voters actually voted, but forty-nine percent of the black registered voters voted. Using precinct data, it is safe to assume that blacks voted for Spaulding, but were unable to get him elected because this required a coalition of white voters which did not exist.
### TABLE 3.7

**Vote Breakdown**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Spaulding Vote</th>
<th>Valentine Vote</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>22,266</td>
<td>11,880</td>
<td>+10,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>2,603</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>-1,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>7,329</td>
<td>7,974</td>
<td>-645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>4,027</td>
<td>4,917</td>
<td>-890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>5,772</td>
<td>7,953</td>
<td>-2,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>4,523</td>
<td>10,405</td>
<td>-5,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>2,347</td>
<td>3,836</td>
<td>-1,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>4,184</td>
<td>5,212</td>
<td>-1,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>+351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>7,082</td>
<td>4,376</td>
<td>+2,706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Moreover, precincts in the district that are fifty percent black and fifty percent white show a racial split between Spaulding and Valentine. Caswell County provides one example of the racial split and the impact of structure on the campaign. Of the 14 precincts in Caswell, 4 have black majorities, 3 have roughly a fifty percent split between black and white voters, and the remaining seven are predominantly white.

In the predominantly black precincts of Cherry Grove, Locust Hill, Bynes and Blanch, Spaulding received 907 votes to Valentine's 816 votes.

In the predominantly white precincts of Mt. Hill, Pelham, Purley and Ridgeville, Valentine received 1,032 votes compared to Spaulding's 412. The total of black registered voters in the predominantly white precincts was 761, compared to a white registration of 1954. Fifty-four
percent of registered black voters in predominantly white precincts voted, compared to a 52 percent white voter turnout.\textsuperscript{120} The same trend occurred in Edgecombe County with roughly one-half of the total black electorate turning out to vote. However, Spaulding only lost in Edgecombe County by 645 votes.\textsuperscript{121}

The election results were just as close in Granville County where Spaulding received 4,027 votes to Valentine's 4,917 votes. In precinct number one, with a white voter registration of 447 and a black registration of 403, Spaulding and Valentine both received 184 votes. In precinct six, with 428 white voters compared to 416 black voters, Spaulding received 262 votes to Valentine's 217. In precincts with almost a 50 percent black and white split, about one-half of the eligible voters voted. Moreover, the vote was also split almost equally between Spaulding and Valentine.\textsuperscript{122}

In Nash County, Valentine won by a margin of 5,882 votes. Of the 24 precincts, Spaulding won 3 which were all over 50% black and primarily in the urban areas.

The above mentioned trends hold true for Halifax, Person, Vance and Wilson counties. The lone exception was Warren County, which Spaulding won by 351 votes. Unlike the other counties in the district, Warren County had a larger black voting population than white voting age population. Additionally, there are more predominantly
black precincts in the county than white precincts.

A Political Climate of Hate: Toward a Theory of Black Political Participation in North Carolina

The previous case studies illustrate a number of important points regarding black political participation in the study area. In the cases of Mickey Michaux, Frank Ballance, and Kenneth Spaulding, organizational experience, financing, and political experience in electoral politics accomplished little, except to prolong an inevitable defeat.

The defeat of these three candidates in United States congressional campaigns and a State Senate campaign serve as a basis to develop a theory of black political participation in North Carolina's Second Congressional District. This theory of black political participation suggests that the boundaries of black political participation are prescribed by a superordinate group which develops the rules of participation through seemingly democratic processes which legitimize their position of dominance.

Racial characteristics serve to delineate the type of political activity acceptable and the levels of success sustained by black candidates. Success in the electoral arena for black candidates is a twofold process. On the local level, where electoral offices are comprised of town councils, boards of education and county commissions, black
candidates did well during periods of heightened voter registration that resulted from the emergence of high-profile blacks seeking a larger political audience. This point was made clear in Warren County in 1982, when Theodore Williams won the sheriff's race and blacks won a majority of seats on the county's Board of Education.\textsuperscript{123} By the same token, 16 black candidates for the North Carolina General Assembly won seats with 3 of those going to the state senate, reapportionment fostered this success which is in major contrast to the 4 blacks elected to the state legislature in 1980.\textsuperscript{124} This same trend occurred throughout the state in the 1982 and 1984 elections. Black council persons were elected in all major metropolitan cities, including Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem.

The second level of black electoral activity was not as successful. In terms of the U.S. Congressional campaigns in the state, black candidates failed. The obvious explanation for this failure is the general lack of a substantial black electorate in the Second District. The same cannot be said for the Second State Senatorial District, with a black electorate comprising 64 percent of its total.

Upon closer examination, however, a clear pattern emerges which corroborates this previous statement. In each of the above-mentioned contests, race coupled with structural factors impacted the campaigns. Racial
characteristics of the candidates resulted in a set of
direct effects that led to candidate defeat.

There are certain nuances in state politics that
require further clarification.

The primary structure of the state provides a safe-
guard for dominant political interests by effectively
circumventing minority electoral strength. The end result
is a continuing defense of the primary run-off system to
ensure majority rule at the expense of minority
aspirations, which works only when whites are a majority.

The Michaux campaign illustrates how the primary run-
off impacts upon black politics structurally. Based on the
available data for this campaign, it becomes clear that the
primary run-off effectively limited black political
ascendancy. Joseph Green, writing for the North Carolina
Times, conveyed that,

With more than 105,000 people voting in the
district, Michaux received nearly 49,000 votes
while Valentine received nearly 35,000 votes
Michaux's support came from blacks,
whites, middle and lower income and the
elderly.125

This observation brings into focus certain limitations in a
climate of hate. Although Danigelis' theory addresses what
he refers to as hate, it does not consider political
structure as a major concern, and herein lies its major
weakness in describing black political participation.
Spaulding's campaign, on the other hand, represents how race may be a factor although financing was a major problem for Spaulding. Spaulding's efforts did not result in challenging structural aspects, because a run-off was not required. Nonetheless, Spaulding was able to generate minimal white voter support. As the precinct data indicates, this support was very limited.

At the local level, however, the black electorate comprises less than half of the total electorate. In this regard, the numerical strength of the black electorate is weakened further by structural manipulation. One such often used technique is at-large elections for city councils. This process effectively eliminates blacks from winning office. North Carolina fits this assumption generally, while the study area reflects the same trend toward at-large elections for councils. The lack of success of black candidates in 1984 at the local level contradicts trends described by Campbell and Feagin, who suggest that black Southerners have accomplished what many observers thought impossible; that is, to develop effective organizations and conduct efficient campaigns.

Although some measures of success were accomplished in local elections in several municipalities in 1984 in the study area, victories were a result of what Feagin and Hahn called the fundamental requirements for minority voters competing by the principles of a majoritarian Democratic
political system. Minority voters, Feagin argues, can enhance opportunities by having:

a) large numbers of voters
b) high voter registration and turnout
c) nearly maximal cohesion or unanimity in the choice of candidates
d) a divided vote among majority electors

If this prerequisite holds true on the local level, it should also have validity on state and congressional campaigns. In Frank Ballance's campaign for the state senate, he argued that his case was a result of blacks running too many candidates that split the black vote, making it ineffective. Ballance may have overstated his case, because Reverend Moore withdrew from the campaign. This left Ballance as the lone black candidate and Ballance appears to have received a substantial amount of black votes.

The extent of the impacts of structural organization on congressional districts is widespread in political science literature. Charles Bullock's arguments provide some insight into the conditions that delineate black congressional politics in the state. Bullock argues that:

In districts where black voters are numerous but still a minority, white candidates may believe it necessary to be somewhat responsive to black interests. This supposition may promote a conflict between political expediency; i.e., the need to build a biracial coalition in order to win public office, and traditional fears of black
influence. To appear too responsive to blacks may cost white incumbents support from their own race.\textsuperscript{130}

The point that becomes apparent when we focus on the Second Congressional District is that black congressional candidates must count on the white vote. As the previous case studies show, black congressional candidates attempted to build coalitions to appear just as conservative as their white counterparts, but still failed to achieve their goals. Bullock suggests that Deep South congressmen are less conservative due to the mobilization of the black electorate. He asserts that rim South congressmen are more conservative, especially from districts with 31 to 35 percent black populations.\textsuperscript{131} Bullock's findings tend to corroborate the lack of black political empowerment in the Second Congressional District. Moreover, white domination of government at all levels is evident in the area with the exception of Durham. Such cases of political underrepresentation reflect white domination that is generally the case across the South.\textsuperscript{132} Darden attributes this to the nature of electoral politics focusing on race as an important and perhaps determining factor in areas with sizable black populations.\textsuperscript{133}

Paul Stekler found that the issue of race, although important, was a major concern in smaller communities, while larger metropolitan areas were approaching the threshold of proportional representation.\textsuperscript{134} Proportional
representation is overshadowed by the constant manipulation of political structures to facilitate the political interests of the superordinate group. The Herrenvolk democracy alluded to earlier reflects the attitudes blacks face in the Second Congressional District today.

Beliefs of racial inferiority which are an off-shoot associated with the Herrenvolk democracy result in the political behavior of blacks that is more of a reflective process than a purposive one. In effect, the rules of the game require proof of an acceptance of the established methodologies of government and those accepted values. Blacks are, therefore, forced out of competition altogether.

Black political activity in the Second Congressional District revolves around voting--not policy or agenda setting. This aspect of the problem confines black political aspirations to seeking high-profile public offices. These are the very offices that are protected by Herrenvolk ideals. Consequently, most political aspirations held by blacks are structurally confined to those positions that require political numerical superiority, cohesion, and geographical concentration.

Manning Marable argues that "the key instrument or form of struggle for gaining political power is to resolve the social problems of black people." As this struggle for political empowerment matures, it becomes apparent that
the black poor and the black middle-class can effect political change by establishing a purposeful agenda.

Race may be a primary element in congressional campaigns in the study area. A county-by-county analysis for 1982 and 1984 congressional races illustrates this point. Therefore, if predominantly black counties vote overwhelmingly for a black candidate or whites for a white candidate, race may be viewed clearly as one factor influencing the outcome of the campaigns.

The following table outlines the number of precincts and highlights the number of black and white precincts in the area. It shows that 26% of the precincts in the study area are predominantly black, while 62% are predominantly white. By the same token, 12% of all precincts are 50% black and 50% white. These data facilitate a county precinct analysis of how predominantly black or white precincts voted in the 1982 and 1984 elections. However, racial breakdowns by precinct and candidate vote are not kept. Nevertheless, one can argue that predominantly black precincts would vote for a black candidate while similarly interested white precincts would vote for a white candidate.

Precincts that are racially mixed with a fifty percent black and fifty percent white population could serve to substantiate this claim because the black and white candidates would split the vote.
### TABLE 3.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number of Precincts</th>
<th>Black Precincts</th>
<th>White Precincts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>212</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from Voting Abstracts of the ten counties in the Second Congressional District of North Carolina, 1982

The following table reflects the congressional elections for 1982 between Mickey Michaux and Tim Valentine in the first primary.

### TABLE 3.9

**Results of 1982 Primary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Precincts Won Michaux</th>
<th>Precincts Won Valentine</th>
<th>Precincts Won Ramsey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from Voting Abstracts from the ten counties comprising the Second Congressional District of North Carolina, 1982
The table begins to establish the significant role played by Mr. James Ramsey in the 1982 primary election. Although Ramsey won in only 34 precincts, his presence was clearly felt by Tim Valentine and Mickey Michaux, so much so that a second primary run-off was called in order for a candidate to win the election by a majority. The emergence of Ramsey illustrates the importance of race as a primary factor in this election. Ramsey clearly lost in his bid for the congressional seat, but as a result of the primary structure in the state, Ramsey was able to help decide the outcome of the election by supporting Valentine's campaign over Michaux's. Counties with a predominantly white population were able to use their superior numbers to give Valentine the election in 1983, as a result of the second primary.

**TABLE 3.10**

Results of Second Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Michaux Vote</th>
<th>Valentine Vote</th>
<th>% Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell (56%)</td>
<td>2,879</td>
<td>3,127</td>
<td>-.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>15,540</td>
<td>10,750</td>
<td>+1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>5,603</td>
<td>4,776</td>
<td>+1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>3,439</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>-1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax (67%)</td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>6,890</td>
<td>- .74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>3,283</td>
<td>7,287</td>
<td>- .45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>1,621</td>
<td>4,336</td>
<td>- .37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance (57%)</td>
<td>3,447</td>
<td>4,840</td>
<td>- .71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>3,408</td>
<td>2,896</td>
<td>+1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson (63%)</td>
<td>3,934</td>
<td>5,447</td>
<td>-1.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The preceding table highlights the impact of the second primary on Michaux. Although the race was close, Valentine was able to win in all the predominantly white counties except Durham. Durham County supported Michaux with 15,540 votes to Valentine's 10,750. The turnout in Durham was only 38.4% of all registered voters.137 Nevertheless, Michaux had his base of support in Durham, resides in Durham, and had been active in Durham County politics. Moreover, Durham has eight precincts that are predominantly black, and Michaux won each of them.

Person County, which has a 29% black population, but has only one predominantly black precinct which was won by Ramsey in the primary with 442 votes, had Michaux coming in second with 350 votes and Valentine third with 46 votes.

Edgecombe County, which is 51% black and has eight predominantly black precincts, voted overwhelmingly for Michaux--5,603 to Valentine's 4,776.

In each of the foregoing, black precincts tended to vote for the black candidate.138 Precincts with a 50 percent racial split showed a split in voting between a black and a white candidate.

By 1984, this picture did not change dramatically. Ken Spaulding did not actively campaign in the rural areas of the district because of the lack of funding, but nonetheless was able to win a substantial number of predominantly black precincts.
Table 3.11 shows clearly that although Spaulding did not campaign vigorously in the rural areas, he was still able to win 80 precincts out of 212. Spaulding won in all the black precincts in the districts and added several white precincts. Although Spaulding showed up very strongly in Durham, which is his home town, he could only win a majority of precincts in Warren County, which is predominantly black.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Spaulding Precincts</th>
<th>Valentine Precincts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caswell</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgecombe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from Abstract of Votes, 1984

This county precinct analysis of the 1982 and 1984 congressional elections in the Second District indicates that blacks tend to vote for black candidates, while whites tend to vote for a white candidate. By the same token, political structures are developed in such a manner as to enhance the position of the dominant political group, regardless of how progressive or conservative a minority challenger may be.
Precinct level data reveals much the same picture. If Durham represents a substantial black voter presence with over one-half of its precincts being predominantly black, then Wilson County and Edgecombe County would represent the white extreme. However, the results of these three counties provide an interesting picture of black electoral politics.

A precinct level analysis results in a similar description. Using the average numbers for voter registration in these three counties, the black candidates dominated predominantly black precincts. For example, the average black registration by precinct in 1982 totaled 579.28, while white voter registration totaled 1,090.261. However, Mickey Michaux averaged receiving 210.38 votes per precinct in those three counties to Valentine's 244.94. Clearly, voter turnout on both sides was extremely low for the primary. In each precinct in Durham, Edgecombe, and Wilson Counties, black candidates in both congressional campaigns received a larger share of the vote. In Durham, Michaux averaged 335.628 votes per precinct compared to Valentine's 257.44 per precinct.

Wilson County precinct levels were also pro-Valentine. Wilson County precincts averaged 232.739 votes per precinct for Valentine, while Michaux averaged 135.391 per precinct.
Therefore, heavily black counties voted for Michaux while similarly situated white counties carried Valentine. One explanation that has been offered for this occurrence in racial voting was that Michaux was too radical for white conservative voters. Moreover, Michaux's support came through his connections with the Durham Committee on Black Affairs, and the black electorate of Durham County. These data, however, reveal that Michaux's support was district-wide and included substantial numbers of more moderate white voters. Nevertheless, race, along with the second primary, provided the major focal points which led to Michaux's defeat in 1982.

If Michaux was too radical, Ken Spaulding offered a more conservative approach to his campaign. In 1984, Spaulding won Durham County precincts with an average vote per precinct of 379.716 compared to Valentine's 299.10 votes per precinct.¹⁴³ Surprisingly, and unlike the 1982 campaign, Spaulding received fewer votes in Edgecombe County than Michaux. Spaulding averaged 362.20 votes per precinct, but Valentine averaged 386.50 votes per precinct.¹⁴⁴ This represents a dramatic change from the vote distribution in 1982 and requires clarification. Edgecombe County includes parts of Nash County in its precincts. This expands geographically the number of black voters, while also expanding the number of white voters in the area. Spaulding won overwhelmingly majorities in the
predominantly black precincts in Rocky Mount, which is a
city uniquely divided between the two contiguous counties
of Nash and Edgecombe. Spaulding carried six of the
predominantly black precincts. Three of the largest black
precincts were in Rocky Mount, while one was in Tarboro and
another in Speed. These precincts made the race look much
closer than it actually was as a result of the black voter
turnout in the primary. Valentine carried the eleven
predominantly white precincts which placed him in the lead
in this county. The one precinct that was half black and
half white was virtually split with Spaulding receiving 158
votes to Valentine's 124 votes. In the largest black
precinct, Spaulding received 1,766 votes to Valentine's 90
votes. In the largest white precinct, Valentine received
1,069 votes to Spaulding's 266 votes.145

This disparity between votes received by black and
white candidates in the 1982 and 1984 congressional
campaigns indicates how important race was as a consid-
eration in the elections. By the same token, precinct
structure also illustrates the significance of race as it
impacts on political campaigns. Black precincts in all but
one county (Warren) are subsumed by larger white precincts
which dilute the value of the black vote. Moreover, the
overall precinct structure reflects the nature of the
congressional district itself. In essence, there are more
white voters than black voters which explains the defeat of
black congressional candidates.

Blacks are a minority in the district and are also minorities on the county level. However, in local political campaigns, the impact of black voters is evident with blacks being elected to city councils and boards of education. The clear disparities begin to emerge at the county level and continue on through the General Assembly. The same disparity is evident in congressional elections.

Conclusions

The Ballance, Michaux and Spaulding case studies reveal that blacks and whites tend to support a viable black candidate. However, race remains a significant factor in electoral outcomes throughout the area. The case study approach does provide a useful method for analyzing black political activity because it takes into account several factors related to campaign strategy, finance and voter participation.

The Ballance case study illustrates how black politics in a largely black state senate district reaches beyond the limits of the community. In effect, Ballance had to generate support from outside his district to wage a campaign. The financial support appeared to unite several forces with Ballance in Chapel Hill, Durham and Raleigh. The financial support from Durham and Chapel Hill coupled with black district voter support appeared to Ballance as a
central concern in order to win this election for the state senate. However, Ballance was unable to gain the required support of a broad based coalition of people, including black conservatives. The black community was not monolithic in its support of Ballance. This may be reflective of Ballance's style, political organization or image across the district he wanted to serve. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that race was a primary factor in his defeat, just as it is unlikely that political structure was responsible for the defeat because the district was 64 percent black.

Mickey Michaux's campaign reveals that structure may impact upon the success of a black candidate in a district that is 40 percent black. The Michaux case study also reveals that substantial support can be expected from a broad based coalition of voters. It also illustrates how the primary run-off can be detrimental in closely contested campaigns. Political structure coupled with racial innuendo combined to facilitate fears of black political domination, especially since Durham County was placed into the district.

Ken Spaulding's campaign reveals a somewhat different set of circumstances. Spaulding's strategy was to build a strong coalition with whites across the district. Spaulding achieved this goal and as a result, generated substantial support. Being a conservative Democrat,
Spaulding attempted to disarm any fear of his political philosophy. Yet, this conservative outlook did not result in a victory for the candidate.

Spaulding's major problem was finance. He would not generate enough financial support to effectively campaign in the rural areas of the district. Perhaps this could have made a difference in the outcome of the campaign.

Finally, Michaux and Spaulding only ran once for the office. Surely time and expense are the reasons why, but based on the relative closeness of each campaign to victory a second effort may have resulted in a more favorable response. Here again, black political candidates are financially limited. They have difficulty sustaining financial ties because it is difficult to get elected in the first place.
ENDNOTES

1See Joint Center for Political Studies, Roster of Black Elected Officials (Ann Arbor: University Press, 1986).


6Colgrove v. Green, 328 U.S. 549 (1946).


12Ibid., p. 1502.


17 Ibid., pp. 28-29.


19 Ibid.


21 Ibid., p. 2.

22 Ibid.


24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Refer to Chapter II.


31 Conner v. Finch, 419F. Supp. 1072, 419F. Supp. 1089, 422F.
32 Author's interview with Warren County Sheriff Theodore Williams, August 8, 1989, and Warren County's County Manager, Charles Worth, August 8, 1989.

33 Author's interview with Warren County Commission Chairwoman, Mrs. Eva Clayton, August 7, 1989.


35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.


39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.


43 Ibid.


46 Ibid. (This occurred when Howard Lee ran for Lieutenant Governor in 1976).

47 Ibid.


51 See for example, "Get In Gear for Round Two," Carolina Times, July 8, 1982.


54 These figures were compiled from the Abstract of Votes from each of the 10 counties in the Second Congressional District, July through November 1982.


56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.


64 Ibid.


66 Ibid.


Ibid.


Valentine carried Nash, Caswell, Halifax and Person and had black populations of 29%, 41% and 43%, respectively. Michaux carried Durham, Edgecombe, Granville, Warren and Vance and had black populations of 33%, 47%, 41%, 55%, and 40%, respectively.

Ibid.


Ibid. Spaulding introduced a total of 7 bills during this session; 3 of the 7 were ratified.


Office Memorandum from Michaux Campaign.


Michaux Campaign Memorandum, p. 1.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
88 Author's Interview with Mr. Kenneth Spaulding, Dec. 2, 1988.
90 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
98 Author's Interview with Mr. Kenneth Spaulding, Dec. 2, 1988.
104 Ibid., p. 23.


112 Ibid.

113 Compiled from Voter Registration Abstracts and County Election Records in Durham County.

114 Caswell County Elections Board Data, 1982 and 1984.

115 Granville County Elections Board Data, 1982 and 1984.


119 Official results of the vote in Durham show that Spaulding received 22,266 votes to Valentine's 11,880. See Abstract of Votes, Primary election, May 8, 1984, for Representative in Congress of the United States, 2nd Congressional District, Durham, North Carolina.


121 According to official reports from the Abstract of the Vote in Edgecombe County, Spaulding received 7,329 votes and Valentine 7,974 votes in the primary election.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid., p. 37.
126 Interview with Frank Ballance.
128 Ibid., p. 670.
130 Ibid., p. 102.
135 Of the 51 predominantly black precincts, two did not vote overwhelmingly for Michaux. Mixed precincts tended to split between Michaux and Ramsey.
136 Compiled from Durham County Voter Abstracts, 1982.
137 Ibid.
138 Compiled from Edgecombe County Abstract of Votes, 1982.
139 Ibid.
140 Compiled from Durham County Voter Abstracts, 1984.
Compiled from *Edgecombe County Abstract of Votes*, 1984.

142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV
Black Political Organizations in the
Second Congressional District

Whenever any group can vote in a bloc, and
decide the outcome of elections, and it fails to
do so, then that group is politically sick.
Immigrants once made Tammany Hall the most
powerful single force in American politics.
In 1880, New York City's first Irish Catholic
mayor was elected and by 1960 America had its
first Irish Catholic president. America's black
man, voting as a bloc, could wield an even more
powerful force.

Malcolm X
The Autobiography of Malcolm X

Introduction
Efforts toward political empowerment for blacks in
North Carolina have led to the development of various
organizations utilizing different strategies. The purpose
of this chapter is to examine these organizations and their
strategies designed to achieve the goal of political
empowerment.

By definition, Black Political Organizations are
concerned with issues important to the black community. In
this respect, the focus of any organization operating
within the framework of the black community serves as a
sounding board for various activities and concerns within
the community.

Traditionally, political organizations have attempted
to achieve several political goals. One goal is to select
viable candidates to run for political offices at all
levels of government. In this respect, political activities involved people at the local level in council elections, as well as mayoral and county commission elections. This approach ensured that particular political party and group interests were protected or advanced because they had been established as priorities by the framework of the organization. By the same token, another aspect which political organizations attempted to address was the establishment and maintenance of political power. For the most part, political power is established by winning elections, placing party or organization members in strategic positions within and outside the government structure to enhance solidarity and power. On the local levels of government, this not only means winning elections, but also implies the ability to make appointments of citizens to various local boards and commissions. An attendant aspect to the appointment process is hiring employees and managers in policy positions.

The processes of empowerment involve a network of organization members throughout the various levels of government who attempt to address issues of political representation and agenda setting. The process also ensures that dominant values and political attitudes are reinforced throughout the political system.
Black political organizations have attempted to impact political structures by using a number of strategies. In North Carolina, these strategies range from the traditional guise of Civil Rights inclusion to grassroots economic organizations. Regardless of the approaches taken, the purpose is to open up government structures to include black political participation.

For the purposes of this chapter, the selection of black organizations has been narrowed to those seeking avenues of political empowerment. Since all the black organizations within the Second Congressional District (SCD) could not be examined, the writer has selected the most well-known organizations for examination.

The method of selection was based upon criteria which included advocacy for black representation, ability to mobilize the black electorate through information distribution and providing candidate forums. Other factors for selection included the organization's efforts to impact local, state and congressional campaigns by candidate selection and establishing issues of importance in the black community for public debate.

All organizations selected have a history of political activity in the district and provide an interesting contrast in style, organization, and strategies. In this respect, urban and rural organizations differ in approaches and have different types of strategies. The
goal, regardless of locale, is to effect change and improve the political relationship blacks have to the government structure.

Organizations that will be examined in this chapter include:
- Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People
- Second Congressional Black Leadership Caucus
- Vance County Black Caucus

Each of these organizations has been actively involved in electoral politics in the region. Likewise, each organization has utilized different approaches in dealing with the problems and concerns of blacks. The strategies used by these organizations are also different, because interests toward empowerment differ on the local level from state and national level interests. Nevertheless, each organization bases its existence on the assertion that blacks, as a group, in the state and nation are politically powerless and lag behind the dominant group in the areas of economic, political, education, and social organization. The psychological damage and material deprivation accompanied by racism helps to illuminate the purpose of these organizations in the black community. The basic assumption embodied in each organization is that the political system is legitimate. Therefore, blacks must develop mechanisms that address both the economic and political concerns of black people. These two primary concerns comprise the
frameworks utilized by politically oriented organizations in the SCD to achieve the goal of political empowerment.

The Durham Committee On the Affairs of Black People

The Durham Committee On the Affairs of Black People (DCABP) has been described by many writers as one of the most influential organizations in black politics over the past fifty years. The following section will focus on the historical framework of the DCABP and its impact on black politics in Durham, North Carolina and the Second Congressional District.

Brief Historical Overview

The history of the Durham Committee is a history of business organizations—especially these business organizations. These organizations bring on strength. You need competent people to survive. But they were mutual organizations. A mutual organization had to sell to people on the basis of merit. Wasn't it Franklin who said, 'We all need to hang together'?  

This quote by John S. Stewart sets the tone for the DCABP. The growth of the DCABP was facilitated by an economically independent black middle class connected to the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, the Mutual Savings and Loan Association, and Banker's Fire Insurance Company. Historically, black public institutions such as North Carolina Central College,
black churches, and a black hospital gave institutional legitimacy to the DCABP.

The remarkable success of the DCABP is also a result of its open membership policy to all blacks residing in Durham. In this respect, the DCABP focuses on areas of concern to the black community based on nine functional categories. During its Fiftieth Anniversary, the DCABP reiterated the significance of economics, political affairs, education, health, housing, youth, religious, and human relations, and civic affairs as primary concerns of black people and the framework of the organization.4

Under each of the above categories, the DCABP has a committee to address those issues as they impact the quality of life for blacks in Durham. Table 4.1 highlights the committee structure of the DCABP.

TABLE 4.1
1986-1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Chairperson</th>
<th>Co-Chair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>Willie C. Lovett</td>
<td>Ben Ruffin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Barbara Foskey</td>
<td>Eddie Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Dwight Perry</td>
<td>Ronald Gregory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Lionell Parker</td>
<td>Richard Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Howard Fitts</td>
<td>Exter Gilmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Oliver Leary</td>
<td>Jessie Terrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Redress</td>
<td>William Marsh, Jr.</td>
<td>Charles Daye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>E. Lavonia Allison</td>
<td>Lawrence Colbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Affairs</td>
<td>Gloria McCrea</td>
<td>LaHowe Johnson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Meeting of Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, January 12, 1986
One argument waged against the DCABP is that it had been elitist in the past and suffered from nepotism in its higher ranks because there had been only five chairmen in its fifty-year history. Moreover, each chairman (with the exception of Willie C. Lovett) was associated with either the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Mutual Savings and Loan, or the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank. Lovett is an executive with International Business Machines.

With this particular type of leadership background, most observers assume that political conservatism should be reflected in the organization's ideology. Although conservative politics is subject to time and circumstances, one could argue that the DCABP takes a progressive approach to politics.

Contemporary concerns addressed by the DCABP include changing the election laws in Durham. On the municipal level, focus has been placed on changing the at-large voting requirement for electing council members.

The present method used for municipal elections requires that each ward vote for a candidate and that candidate has to win a majority of total votes in the city. Mr. Willie Lovett refers to this method as a pseudo-ward system, because all voters decide which candidate from the ward will serve. Moreover, each candidate must reside in the ward from which he runs, but be elected at-large.
The DCABP argues that this mixed system of at-large and ward representation does not maximize the voter strength of blacks in Durham. Nevertheless, in November 1987, all candidates endorsed by the DCABP won their elections. Three blacks were elected at-large with two of those being black women. Northern Durham, which is predominantly white, elected a black to the city council. Seven of the thirteen city council members are black. Durham has a 33 percent black population.

Black candidates can be successful in Durham if they pass the DCABP litmus test. The DCABP's policy of selecting candidates to support in elections is based on: 1) public forums, 2) candidate slating, and 3) single shot voting. In essence, this strategy increases positive outcomes for the candidate running for office because it delivers the black vote.

The County Board of Commissioners is elected at-large and two blacks serve on this board out of 5. The North Carolina General Assembly seats from Durham are based on a different criteria. In Gingles v. Thornburg (1987), single-member districts were established in North Carolina. However, Durham County and the City of Durham were not included in the court's decision because of the success that Durham experienced in electing blacks from the 23rd, 68th, and 69th districts. This success led to the downfall of Gingles in Durham because of the success of Mickey
Michaux, Kenneth Spaulding, and Ralph Hunt in the state senate. District Judge Orlando Hudson was also elected from Durham. Since Durham is not covered by *Gingles v. Thornburg*, it will revert back to an at-large system where the top three vote-getters will be elected to the General Assembly. Durham currently has three state legislative districts and one multimember state senate district.

Mr. Lovett suggests that the successes of the DCABP in helping to get blacks and progressive whites elected comes from good organization, coalition building, and exposing candidates to the community by providing a community forum. Another aspect of this success is fielding "over-qualified" candidates. Two such examples are Mickey Michaux and Kenneth Spaulding. Over-qualified candidates are recruited and endorsed by the DCABP because of the nature of districts. Even then, a single-shot method is used to ensure the election of blacks.

**The Nature of a Good Political Organization**

The DCABP prides itself on its comprehensive political organization, with representatives serving on functional city/council boards as representatives. The DCABP touches every aspect of local politics and has impact on state politics as well. Evidence of this success is clear when one examines the extent of black political participation in
the areas of voting, political offices held by blacks and progressive whites.

Good political organization does not necessarily result in economic benefits. When the DCABP challenged for political or economic change, it was labeled a protest organization driven by radicals. The method used is through community support and coalition building with progressive white candidates.

Community support for DCABP endorses comes only after a background search. Then, each prospective candidate has the opportunity to address the DCABP membership body. At this point, an interview session is scheduled with the candidate at a general meeting. The candidate is then required to answer a questionnaire pertaining to the "nine categories of black concerns" and field discussion questions. The full membership body then meets to discuss its endorsements with final endorsements of all candidates for national, state, local, and judgeship offices being made on week before elections. It is important to note that the black community participates throughout the endorsement process and holds the fate of the prospective candidate.

By the same token, incumbent candidates previously endorsed by the DCABP face the same scrutiny. These candidates are graded on how well they served the community during their term's office and are either endorsed by the
Coalition development is another vital aspect to the success of the DCABP. Long-standing coalitions have been built between the DCABP and the predominantly white Durham Voters Alliance and the Durham Peoples Alliance. The threads that tie these organizations together are issues. Since issues regarding the "nine categories" and environmental concerns are important to this coalition, relationships are maintained throughout the year. Each organization also supports other candidates and are locked to each other in this respect to maintain the coalition.

Coalition-building between the DCABP and liberal whites has been a major aspect of the organization since its founding in 1937. Eamon suggests that,

From 1947 to 1957 a liberal black-white alliance was influential though by no means always dominant in local politics. For the first time, blacks saw themselves only, and were officially recognized by a leading political grouping in the white community.

This "leading political grouping" Eamon refers to is the white business community. Ironically, this aspect of concern provided the link between labor unions and land developers that were of mutual benefit to both the black business elite and the white business community. This historical link carries current value for the success of black candidates in Durham. However, the business aspect of this link has shifted toward the Durham Forum headed by
Kenneth Spaulding to fight the DCABP. The point of this aspect of coalition is to highlight the fracturing which occurred within the Durham Committee regarding the placement of Spaulding's mother as a Jesse Jackson delegate over the wishes of the "committee." Moreover, it is historically accurate to suggest that the conservative white business community had always been used to influence black interests. In this respect, however, the conservative black business community used its position in the black community to foster its own interests, specifically, the development of an exclusive residential area in Northern Durham by Terry Sanford's Triborne Corporation. Kenneth Spaulding serves as counsel to the Triborne Corporation.

The future of the DCABP appears strong, even with the current in-fighting between Spaulding and Lovett. It is maintaining a traditional philosophy focusing on government reform, social equality, and minority representation in all areas of local government.

Second Congressional Black Leadership Caucus

The Second Congressional Black Leadership Caucus is headquartered in Wilson, North Carolina. This organization is part of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus which has organizations throughout most of the state, with particular participation in eastern North Carolina. Each
Progress has also occurred in the police and sheriff's departments. Fifteen black police officers are employed by the City of Wilson, which has 75 officers on the force, and one-third of the sheriff's department is black.22

Perhaps the most dramatic change has taken place in the elective offices of government. As a result of changing from an at-large system to a ward system, two out of five of Wilson's city council members are black. This is significant because no black had served on the city council since 1953, and only two blacks were elected since Reconstruction. By the same token, three of the seven members serving on the Board of Education are black and three of the seven county commissioners are black.

This apparent success in the election of black representatives is a result of the efforts of G.K. Butterfield, Jr. and his law partner, Milton Fitch, Jr. In 1982, these two attorneys, along with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., filed a lawsuit challenging Wilson County election procedures.23 The Justice Department's Civil Rights Division did uphold this challenge under the VRA of 1965. The challenge to existing election systems was based on the history of discriminatory intent by the Wilson City Council.

In 1953, under a single-member district election system, G.K. Butterfield, Sr. became the first black in this century elected to the Wilson City Council. Mr. Butterfield served two terms and was defeated in his bid for a third term in
of black city council members, blacks are essentially powerless to mesh for change.\(^{14}\)

Secondly, black leaders in the community have been co-opted by the white political power structure. In Butterfield's words, "Poor blacks see us riding in Mercedes Benz' and living in fine homes. The Civil Rights revolution worked for the black middle class, but not the poor."\(^{15}\) In this respect, black leaders in the community are employed by the system which restrains its efforts to speak out for change. The black leadership, therefore, tends to be conservative and ineffective.\(^{16}\)

Part of this problem can be linked to the small black economic base and the legacy of Jim Crow in eastern North Carolina. Butterfield suggests that black powerlessness is rampant because:

Ninety percent of black folk are incapable of being leaders. They are God-fearing, loving people who work twelve hours a day and take insults from white supervisors. Therefore, they can't go to city council meetings, etc. Moreover, the ten percent of the black people who are forced to lead are the few businesses, retired teachers, and preachers in the community. When this group fails, a leadership vacuum is created and leads to less intellectually oriented folk being leaders.\(^{17}\)

This quote by Butterfield serves to underscore the fact that only a few blacks in Wilson County are interested enough in politics to participate.
wine or whiskey. There were only 800 black voters registered at that time and Dr. Green, along with other politically active black businessmen and preachers, felt that the time for organization was ripe. The organizational leadership coming from the black professional class members from this group include:

- Walter Garns, Funeral Home Owner
- Allen Williams, Owner, Williams Funeral Home
- Horace Terry, Local Businessman
- Taylor Samper, Local Businessman

... and a wide range of ministers and teachers in the early 1960's.26

As a result of the efforts of these individuals, 4,800 blacks were registered by 1960.27 This group organized the four wards in Henderson with city and street leaders. These leaders helped to recruit and organize the rural black community with road leaders and captains.

From Dr. Green's office, strategies were developed to pursue the black community's interests in local politics. At this time, registration was the most important topic. The black churches provided the structural framework to reach people and encourage political participation.

By 1960, the VCVL began to develop a political agenda. The goals of the VCVL were similar to the goals of the DCABP in that the VCVL was concerned with health care, employment and recreational facilities for the black community. The precinct, road, and street captains met regularly with residents to establish the goals of the
ward systems has led to structural changes in various elections processes. Butterfield argues that black officials are the only ones elected in wards by black voters who attempt to serve all the people of the community and do not use their numbers on councils to build coalitions to obstruct the interests of the status quo. An example of this is evident in Wilson, where 3 blacks and 4 whites serve on the school board. In 1986, two new school principals were hired and neither was black. During this same hiring period, four new school personnel were hired, but none were black. Black officials, according to Ballance, have an at-large mentality that directs them to respond to white interests and downplay the significance of the black constituency they were elected to serve in the first place. Here is where coalition building became most significant. Blacks are outvoted 4 to 3.

To suggest, however, that blacks have not made progress over the past twenty-five years in Wilson is not completely accurate. Mr. Butterfield suggests that there has been tremendous progress. Today, there are blacks in most areas of municipal government and one serving in the North Carolina General Assembly. There is also a black district court judge and two black assistant district attorneys. Three blacks serve in the County Tax Office and three blacks also serve in the Register of Deeds office.
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in local elections, as a result of the voter slip problem.

By the early 1980's, the Black Caucus regained its support in the black community as an upshoot of the Concerned Citizens for Education. Local concerns replaced coalition politics. Community college administration and local school board decisions were most important. In each case, the black wards in Henderson were decisive in obtaining gains for blacks.

Dr. Green argued that voter solidarity makes a major difference in resolving internal local problems. The result of solidarity is clearly seen when the goals of the Black Caucus are viewed.34

Presently, there are two blacks on the City Council. Three blacks ran for the county commission and two won election, and two blacks serve on the Board of Education as of 1987. Clarence Knight won a county commission seat with 1,218 votes to represent District 5. Terry Garrison is the other black county commissioner, representing District 6. Garrison ran unopposed.

As a result of Gingles v Thornburg, Vance County expanded the number of commission districts from 5 to 7 with the two newly added districts being predominantly black.

In Vance County, the Vance County Black Caucus stresses unity as the core of political activity. This
results in success in electoral gains by serving to link people to government structures.

Organizational Development and Governmental Structure

The development of political organizations in the Second Congressional District is a direct reflection of the political relationships blacks have to government. In every case, the development of political organizations in the black community tried to change government structure. Likewise, in all the organizations, the organizational structure focused on placing blacks and more liberal-minded whites on city council seats, county commissions, and local advisory boards.

These organizations serve two very important purposes. First, each organization provides a general framework to facilitate political discussions. As issue-oriented organizations, they provide a link between government and the black community. Secondly, these organizations serve to mobilize blacks politically. They enhance black interests by placing those interests on agendas which are discussed publicly by prospective candidates.

The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People stands out as one of the most influential organizations in the state. This assertion is not made to downplay the significant contributions of the other organizations.
Nonetheless, the DCABP addresses the problems of black political empowerment in the most comprehensive way. Tactically, coalition-building is the mother's milk of black politics. But another aspect of black politics is addressed by the Durham Committee. By focusing on planning boards and zoning boards of adjustment as a strategy, the "committee" has realized the importance of economic expansion within the political environment. This strategy also provides opportunities for an aspiring black leadership cadre to establish a legitimate link between government and the black community. Durham County differs greatly from Wilson County in terms of the size of the black middle class, educational levels, and income. However, the strategy utilized in Wilson County has resulted in tangible political change for blacks in the county.

The Vance County Black Caucus, on the other hand, appears optimistic about its future. Although Vance County demographics differ very little from Wilson County demographics, change has taken place. This change could be attributed to the black leadership in the community that advocates success through solidarity. But Vance County black leaders have been working longer and have also employed Durham committee representatives to help them develop a strategy for political empowerment.
localselections. Black candidates could not win office in the early 1960's because of racial politics. According to Dr. Green, many of the "old style" city council members were eventually voted out of office, which led to greater attention to the black vote.31

Economic politics brought about from the development of community action programs (but, more importantly, by the desire of the K-Mart retail chain wanting to locate in Henderson) led to a split in the council and black leaders.32

Several county commissioners favored the K-Mart location in Henderson, but others felt that K-Mart would destroy Roses, a local retail store. The council members who favored K-Mart were also in favor of community action programs.

The split within the ranks of the league occurred because black leaders sided with different factions of the County Commission over the K-Mart/Roses conflict.33

By the next election, the Black Caucus, as it had become known, did not endorse any white candidates. Their endorsements were black candidates only. However, black caucus members were campaigning for white candidates and used black caucus agenda slips to officially designate white candidates as being endorsed by the caucus.

The black community was totally confused over the duplication of voter slips. The caucus lost its influence
in local elections, as a result of the voter slip problem.

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Recent studies on black political organizations indicate that as blacks become more involved in politically oriented social organizations, they also become more politically active. Evidence indicates that political activity is represented by higher levels of voter registration and voter turnout.\(^{35}\)

Organizations in the study area reflect this same trend, particularly with respect to local politics. As mentioned earlier, each organization has focused on local elections and has attempted to develop public opinion and public debate on issues of concern to the black and poor electorate. In each county with an active black political organization, black representation at the local level has increased. State representation has also been addressed.

In state, house, and senate elections, the concern focuses on party solidarity as a method for success. Party solidarity in the democratic ranks does not offer itself for a black political agenda. It would appear that the opposite approach would result in greater gains for blacks at the state level. Since the creation of these organizations in the late 1970's and before, few blacks have been elected in the state General Assembly. Durham and Wilson Counties are the only ones in an area with eight state legislative districts that have black representatives. Moreover, the 22nd district is a multi-member district that includes six counties and part of another.\(^{36}\) The 7th, 8th,
71st, and 72nd are all single-member districts with white state representatives. The 23rd district (which is predominantly black) includes part of Durham County. This district is represented by H.M. "Mickey" Michaux. Wilson County, which comprises the 70th state legislative district, is also a single-member district with a black representative, Milton Fitch. Single-member districts with black political organizations appear to be better organized and mobilized to elect black representatives. By the same token, multi-member districts with black populations of less than 40 percent have not been as successful in getting black candidates elected.

State senate districts in the region exhibit the opposite characteristics of multi-member state legislative districts in the region. The region has six state senate districts, all of which are single-member (except Durham, in the 13th district). The 2nd, 6th, 10th, 11th, and 21st districts all have white state senators. The 13th district, which includes Granville, Person, Durham, and part of Orange Counties, has one white state senator, Kenneth Royall, and black state senator Ralph Hunt, one of four black state senators. Therefore, the only multi-member state senate district in the region has a black state senator. Moreover, the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People is also the most affluent and politically influential organization in the region.
Viable political organization does appear to impact on
government representation on the local level. These
organizations have enhanced the opportunities of blacks to
get elected and appointed to various boards and commis-
sions. On state level district elections, multi-member
structures tend to have a more negative impact in terms of
black voter dilution.

The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People
and the Vance County Black Caucus have attempted to address
the political empowerment of blacks in the area by
establishing organizational frameworks designed to
articulate black concerns. These organizations, along with
the Legislative Black Caucus, have developed plans to
assist the efforts of blacks to get elected. The
community-based organizations have developed a screening
process through public forums to help select black leader-
ship.

The Legislative Black Caucus under the leadership of
Mickey Michaux has developed a legislative agenda that
attacks the second primary run-off through sponsoring bills
in the General Assembly designed to change the threshold
for victory from 50 percent to 40 percent. These
attempts have not been successful because of the influence
of an eastern bloc of conservative state representatives.

Horizontal cohesion among the black electorate is,
therefore, difficult to establish and, even more difficult,
to maintain due to higher structural manipulation. Vertical cohesion tends to dissolve at the state representative level and all but disappears in statewide and congressional campaigns.

Black political organization, for all intents and purposes, is still at a developmental stage. Moreover, black candidates find it difficult to openly address black agenda demands at the state level without alienating an already suspicious white electorate. Black-oriented political organizations, in attempting to solicit gains for the black community are, therefore, forced to support moderate white candidates with the hope that their ability to mobilize the black vote will result in a sympathetic ear for the problems they represent from the black community. This is particularly true when a black candidate stands a good chance of winning, but may not because blacks are a minority.

**Impact of Black Political Organizations on Political Structures in the Area**

The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, the Second Congressional Black Leadership Caucus, and the Vance County Black Caucus all have had varying degrees of success in assisting black or white moderate candidates win elections.
The nature of black organization impacts on political structure have been limited for the most part to a strategy of electoral wins for the candidates they sponsor.

All of these organizations have recorded victories for local elections which include two black county commissioners in Durham and three black city councilpersons for the city. The Second Congressional District Black Leadership Caucus has assisted in getting blacks elected to the Wilson County Board of Education, state General Assembly and, most recently, assisted George Butterfield in winning a state district judgeship election in 1988. The Vance County Black Caucus has played an instrumental role in getting moderate white candidates elected to the Henderson city council, and two black county commissioners in 1988.

Taken as a whole, these organizations have made progress throughout the region by adopting a strategy of coalition building. This may be the best alternative available to blacks due to the racial composition of congressional, state and in some cases, county districts.

By the same token, many of the municipalities in the area also comprise racial minorities that require coalition building between blacks and moderate whites. This strategy does serve to disarm racial tension and at the same time benefits the black community. These benefits can range from having a person in public office who is responsive to
the black community's needs to providing important appointments on various local boards and commissions. In the final analysis, however, black political gains must also reflect a more equitable distribution in goods and services in the black community.

The data from Chapter I illustrates that blacks lag behind whites in every socioeconomic category. Blacks have a lower income, fewer years of schooling and higher levels of unemployment than their white counterparts.

As a distinct minority, blacks throughout the district have relied on coalition strategies to gain inroads to political empowerment. Black political organizations have addressed issues of importance to the black community and, as a result, changes have taken place regarding minority representation on various boards and commissions. By the same token, due to black demands for structural political change, minority representatives have been elected in all but one major area, the United States Congress.

The future of black politics in the area appears to be tied to both structural changes in the elections process at the local level, coalition building at the state level, and sound black political organization at all levels of government.
ENDNOTES


5. Willie C. Lovett is the first chair of the DCABP to come from outside the "Mutual Triumvirate." Lovett moved to Durham in 1961 and is employed by IBM.


7. Author's Interview with Willie C. Lovett. Willie Lovett indicated that the DCABP has endorsed more white candidates than black ones in previous campaigns for mayor and city council.

8. Ibid., Author's Interview with Willie Lovett, November 15, 1987.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.


15. Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.

19 See for example, Vance County Board of Commissioners v. Margaret Ellis et. al., 1986.

20 Interview with Mr. G.K. Butterfield, Jr., Nov. 27, 1987.

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.


25 Ibid.

26 Author's Interview with Dr. J.P. Green, January 23, 1988 (Henderson, NC).

27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.


The North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus changed focus in 1985 under the leadership of Wilmington attorney Peter Grier. The current focus of the NCBLC is on economic development. Mr. Grier has experienced success throughout the state by utilizing the Buy Freedom Campaign, founded by Tony Brown. Wilmington, North Carolina currently has 31 black-owned businesses enrolled in Buy Freedom, while Raleigh, Durham and Fayetteville have 3 black-owned businesses in the program. The smallest cities in the Buy Freedom Campaign are Henderson and Rocky Mount, with 3 each. Elizabethtown has 1 black-owned business enrolled in Buy Freedom. See "The Buy Freedom Directory," Tony Brown's Journal, Second Quarter 1987, pp. 11, 23.
CHAPTER V

From Enfeeblement to Empowerment

Despite the dramatic gains in the number of blacks elected to public office within the South, blacks in every state remain seriously underrepresented in these offices--given their proportion of the population. This extensive underrepresentation has stimulated numerous complaints that the voting strength of blacks in the region has been diluted as a consequence of racially discriminatory electoral arrangements.

Richard Engstrom and Michael McDonald, taken from Blacks in Southern Politics, 1987

The preceding chapters of this dissertation have attempted to outline and analyze black political empowerment in North Carolina, with specific reference to the various levels of government geographically located within the Second Congressional District. This chapter will attempt to tie together the dominant themes established and major concerns embodied in efforts to achieve black political empowerment in the Second Congressional District.

Political structure includes a set of organizations, institutions, and systems.¹ As such, structure determines human relationships to government which establish the authoritative allocation of values throughout society.² Black political participation in government is a direct result of this structure-value dichotomy. On one level, black political participation in the Second District has developed as a response to the structural manipulation of
the ascendant political group to maintain its position of political, economic, and social dominance. Tools utilized by the whites to maintain dominance throughout the district include at-large elections for local representation, multi-member county legislative districts to dilute black voter strength, and the primary run-off election system is used at all levels to facilitate the election of white candidates in closely contested campaigns.

On another level, structural domination is maintained by the whites through the historical developments of negative attitudes regarding blacks. Fears of black domination and reprisal are used to consolidate the white electorate when blacks participate in significant numbers in the electoral process. As a result of this value orientation, political campaigns are polarized along racial lines. Blacks tend to vote for blacks and whites tend to vote for whites, in most cases.

This trend was developed, if not institutionalized, in the late 1880's and early 1900's with the acceptance of the good government movement, which facilitated widespread structural change, which began in a nonracial setting. This movement took shape in the South after the Tilden-Hayes Compromise to return government, at every level, to white domination. Remnants of the good government movement are evident today in most southern states. They are still evident today in North Carolina. The Herrenvolk ideal of a
white-only democracy is just beneath a thin veneer of democratic politics.

Political Structures in the Study Area

Structural manipulation on the local level has focused on maintaining dominant interests in the study area through a variety of methods. One of the most widely used methods is at-large elections for city council and county commissions. Without sizable black voting populations, the election of black representatives is very difficult—as mentioned earlier. The most prevalent forms of local government structure in the study area for cities with populations of 10,000 to 25,000 is the at-large method.³

Durham elects 13 councilmen; all 13, however, are required to run from wards, with 6 being elected at-large, seven of the 13 are black. Durham has been able to overcome the at-large requirement in city council elections due to the size of the black electorate and the organizational efforts of the Durham Committee. On the county level, the Durham Committee has also been successful. This has resulted in blacks being elected to two seats in county-wide elections.

The at-large method is used in all cities in the area with populations between 10,000 and 25,000. Rocky Mount is the only city this size that uses a ward system.⁴
Administratively, each city in the area uses the city-manager form of government with council persons serving staggered terms in three of the five cities.5

Structural cohesiveness is also maintained in cities within the study area with populations between 5,000 to 8,000. Here, three cities comprise the total, with two of those using the at-large method of election.6 Tarboro is the one city that uses the ward system. Smaller cities throughout the region use at-large systems.7

The use of at-large systems for electing city/town councilmen and county commissioners severely restricts the ability of black candidates to win elections in all areas except Durham.8

County governments in the study area also reflect the trend of at-large elections. Nine of the ten counties use at-large systems. Wilson County is the only county that uses a ward or district system. Staggered elections is another method that is used by counties. Eight of the ten counties use this system of terms of office. Staggered elections refer to the method used to elect county commissioners to either a two-year term or a four-year term. In effect, a commission race is required every two years.

Consequently, a substantial black bloc is required from black candidates to win. Here again, the run-off requirement further dilutes the black vote and provides whites with more time to organize against a black candidate
in the general election.

State legislative campaigns reflect this same trend. State legislative districts are, for the most part, multi-county districts. One multi-member district is in the study area. The 22nd district comprises Caswell, Granville, Halifax (pt.), Person, Vance, Warren (pt.), and Durham (pt.). The interesting point about this district is that only parts of heavily black-populated counties are included in the district. All three of the state representatives from this district are white,9 but the district is fifty percent black.

Durham County, therefore, is divided between the 23rd, 68th, and 69th districts. The 23rd district is the only district that has a black representative.10

Milton Fitch is the only black from the area who serves from a multi-county district (70th, Edgecombe, pt.; Nash, pt.; Wilson, pt.). However, parts of these same counties are included in the 72nd and 8th districts. Therefore, two whites and one black serve Edgecombe, Nash, and Wilson counties.11

Legislative structures appear to ensure a majority white delegation from counties in the study area that have large black populations. The utilization of multi-county districts and district boundary manipulation ensures a two-to-one ratio in the election of white-to-black candidates. Vertical cohesion is, therefore, maintained throughout the
political structure with power relationships being constant throughout the system.

This trend is even more apparent in the state senate. There is only one black senator serving the area from the 13th district which is the only multi-member district in the area.\textsuperscript{12}

Senate structuring cuts across counties in the area were in such a way as to dilute black voting strength by combining smaller black units with larger white units in the electoral population. The result is that white senators serve in an overwhelmingly black area because black voters are subsumed by larger white populations.\textsuperscript{13} By the same token, multi-member senate districts are more predominant in the eastern part of the state with more blacks, while single-member multi-county districts are more predominant in the western section of the state, where fewer blacks reside.

Counties in the eastern section of the state cannot elect black representatives unless the district is overwhelmingly black. Counties in the western portion of the state cannot elect blacks, even when there are overwhelmingly black areas as a result of senate structures that cast greater numerical value to fewer white votes.

As was observed in Chapter III, regardless of the organization or ideological position of black candidates, their election is difficult. At the congressional level,
campaigns have resulted in racial splits in voting. The second primary run-off has effectively limited black political opportunities to serve in Congress. This requirement ensures the election of white conservatives due to the majority vote requirement which enables whites to consolidate their votes against any black challenger.

The H.M. Michaux campaign provides a graphic and statistical illustration of this point. With 44% of the vote, Michaux was still required to face Valentine in a second primary run-off. Whites were, therefore, able to coalesce the votes of a third white candidate with Valentine's to win a majority and the Democratic party nomination. A larger black electorate in the Second Congressional District under these circumstances would prove more of a challenge to white political domination.

Horizontally, political cohesion is maintained by at-large political systems for elections. Black voters are, therefore, hard-pressed to find candidates that can cross over race barriers because of negative attitudes on race that dominate political discussions. At-large systems further fragment black votes, leaving black voters with a more symbolic than tangible political weapon.

Ascendant domination is maintained on the county level by the same methods used in city/town election systems. Dominant political interests appear more clearly on this level due to the geographic isolation of blacks in clearly
identifiable neighborhoods in city and county residential patterns. Black voters are isolated, and political boundaries are drawn by the ascendant group to minimize the influence of the black electorate.

State legislative and senate districts show the same pattern. Through the use of multi-member and multi-county districts, vertical cohesion is maintained which restricts black political empowerment. Senate districts, more than others, reflect white political ascendancy through structural control.

Every level of government is connected, one to the other vertically, by structures that serve to maintain and sustain white domination.

**Black Political Organization**

Black political organizations have used a number of different strategies to facilitate black political empowerment. These strategies have run the gambit from litigation to community political organization and economic improvement.

Black legislators have also been involved in this effort by sponsoring bills in the General Assembly, and have used their position as elected leaders to publicly discuss the problems of underrepresentation as being a product of political structure more than black political apathy.
Black political organizations have attempted to impact positively on political structures by building coalitions with moderate whites and by sponsoring viable black candidates. Political party involvement, voting and producing public opinion that enhances the opportunities for black and poor people are also issues addressed by these organizations. The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, Second Congressional Black Leadership Caucus, and the Vance County Black Caucus have used a broad array of strategies to deal with the problems of black politics in the state.

Black responses to political structure have been twofold. Litigation through the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund has resulted in challenges to at-large voting schemes and multi-member districts. The most direct approach used by blacks in the area has been to organize themselves as a collective to recruit black candidates and to support more moderate white candidates.

One of the most highly visible black political organizations in the area is the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People (DCABP). This organization, more than any other, has had a significant impact on black politics in the area. Part of the DCABP's success can be attributed to its grassroots organizational structure. By including all of Durham County's black residents in the establishment of the black community's political agenda,
political empowerment. At-large elections, multi-member and multi-county districts serve to effectively negate any vertical political empowerment.

Taken together, these vertical and horizontal barriers sustain the dominant political group who, through superior numerical strength, maintain dominance over the black electorate.

What results is a more symbolic than tangible political activity. Symbolically, blacks in the study area exercise the right to vote. Moreover, blacks tend to vote in larger numbers than previously expected. This predisposition toward voting reflects an attitude of the black electorate that, in effect, legitimizes the structure and values associated with participatory democracy.

Problems do exist in the general definition of participatory democracy. The idea of majority rule is seen clearly in the study area. However, the idea of minority rights is confined within the boundaries of the ascendant political group. Minority rights are thus confined to voting through one of the two major political parties. The Democratic Party has been able to use black voting strength to sustain itself in the area.

In Professor Ronald W. Walters' latest book, he describes the phenomenon of black voting behavior as follows:
institutional support to minority concerns.

The results of rapid urbanization and the expansion of the economy also favor a political climate that is more progressive.

By comparison, the Second Congressional District Black Caucus in Wilson, North Carolina has also been successful. This organization has assisted in the election of blacks to the Board of Education and city council, as well as assisting in the election of a district judge. It lacks a sizable black middle-class, but is basically well organized politically. This is significant and illustrates the importance of grassroots organization. The Second Congressional District Black Caucus has been successful in helping to mobilize blacks to vote, particularly in local elections and state legislative elections. The fact that two blacks serve as city council members substantiates black political involvement. There is also a black serving from Wilson County in the state's General Assembly and most recently, a black was elected as a state district judge.

Unlike the DCABP, the Second Congressional District Black Caucus does not have a formal organizational structure as such, directed at the needs of blacks. But by the same token, it can mobilize coalitions which actively challenge the established political order to address concerns important to the black community.
The Vance County Black Caucus follows the blueprint established by the Durham Committee. The difference between the Vance County Black Caucus and the Second Congressional District Black Caucus appears to be leadership from the black middle class. Vance County, much like Wilson County, is poor, with a small black leadership group. However, Vance County differs dramatically from the Second Congressional District Black Caucus. The Vance County Black Caucus focuses on grassroot organization, agenda setting, and coalition building. This caucus is also concerned with black community development in the areas of housing, recreation, and economic development. However, unlike the Durham Committee, the Vance County Black Caucus uses a strategy that includes a focus on state representatives to help in local concerns. The chairman of the Vance County Black Caucus, Dr. J.P. Green, advocates using the ballot in state General Assembly issues to further local rewards from the political system.

The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, the Second Congressional District Black Caucus, and the Vance County Black Caucus represent one aspect of black political empowerment in North Carolina. Each organization uses the black vote as a primary means to achieve political and social change.
Toward a Theory of Black Political Empowerment

Any theory of black political empowerment would first of all have to address any differences between a black polity and the dominant polity. Along these same lines, particular geographic or demographic differences would have to be outlined in order to adequately describe the types of relationships that exist between the superordinate group and the subordinate political group.

The nature of such political arrangements are based on some notion of a political climate that fosters progressive social change or impedes any progress of the subordinate group.

Demographically, it has been shown that blacks in North Carolina comprise a clearly identifiable subordinate political group. Black residents of the Second Congressional District are limited in two ways. On one side, black political gains have for the most part been experienced in primarily black communities with ward systems. Organization at this level of government has focused on voting as a strategy for political empowerment.

The other side reflects a different political reality. Once the political arena is expanded beyond local aldermanic or Board of Education elections to address county-wide, state legislative and congressional elections, a different political climate is observed. This climate reflects a structure/value framework negative to black
political empowerment. At-large elections, multi-member and multi-county districts serve to effectively negate any vertical political empowerment.

Taken together, these vertical and horizontal barriers sustain the dominant political group who, through superior numerical strength, maintain dominance over the black electorate.

What results is a more symbolic than tangible political activity. Symbolically, blacks in the study area exercise the right to vote. Moreover, blacks tend to vote in larger numbers than previously expected. This pre-disposition toward voting reflects an attitude of the black electorate that, in effect, legitimizes the structure and values associated with participatory democracy. Problems do exist in the general definition of participatory democracy. The idea of majority rule is seen clearly in the study area. However, the idea of minority rights is confined within the boundaries of the ascendant political group. Minority rights are thus confined to voting through one of the two major political parties. The Democratic Party has been able to use black voting strength to sustain itself in the area.

In Professor Ronald W. Walters' latest book, he describes the phenomenon of black voting behavior as follows:
The cost of social [permanent racial minority] states based upon an imperfect social contract for blacks is that rarely has it been possible to participate in crucial decisions such as the selection of national leadership in a manner which reflects the 'interests' of blacks through what is called sincere or straightforward voting.  

Although Walters focuses on national elections, the very same phenomenon holds true on state and congressional level elections in North Carolina. The vote has not had a tremendous impact on state levels of elections in North Carolina due to structural manipulation of electoral boundaries. The best that can be expected on higher levels of government elections is to build coalitions with the hopes that more moderate white candidates can win with the support of blacks.

Black political organization efforts in the study area have relied on coalition politics and sponsoring candidates for public office who are sympathetic to black concerns. In addition to organization efforts, black candidates running in district-wide elections and for the United States Congress have utilized this same strategy. In each case, black candidates lost their elections. Blacks tend to vote for viable black candidates, while whites vote for white candidates.

Black political empowerment has not yet been achieved because black representation is not equal to black population levels. Reasons for the failure revolve around
a wide range of concerns. Those concerns would include:

(a) the lack of a viable black candidate
(b) lack of organizational skill and experience
(c) inadequately financed campaigns
(d) racial bigotry
(e) apathetic black electorate

The lack of a viable black candidate is not the issue. In each campaign examined, one could reach the conclusion that the black candidate was just as qualified or more qualified than his white opponent. Every candidate had a solid educational background and professional experience, particularly in law, and served in the North Carolina General Assembly. Moreover, H.M. "Mickey" Michaux was the one candidate from the case studies that generated widespread black electoral support along with Kenneth Spaulding. Michaux, more than any other candidate, was clearly affected by the primary run-off system, the ascendant political group was able to consolidate its political power and maintain itself as the dominant political force in the Second District.

The charge that black candidates lack organizational skill and experience may not well be true in congressional elections. However, when an examination is made of the black political organizations in the district and black campaign organizations, the most active black political organizations in the area are most influential in local
Nevertheless, a statewide organizational umbrella is needed that can consolidate black political interests and facilitate black political empowerment. Organizational efforts on the local level have been beneficial to black candidates, resulting in more blacks being elected to local offices. Organizational efforts at district levels require more financing.

A theory of black political empowerment in North Carolina would, first of all, establish a definition of empowerment and how empowerment would be measured. This theory would also offer agents for change and clearly define the roles to be played by those agents. Finally, such a theory would address the position of blacks in the state's political structure.

Danigelis' theory of a climate of hate does not address any of these particular aspects. Therefore, it does not adequately address black politics in North Carolina. As the data presented in the preceding chapters indicate, blacks are moving into the mainstream of politics in the state. On the local level and the state level, blacks have made substantial gains since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. However, as a minority in the district, reality suggests that blacks must build coalitions in order to place their candidates in a position to win elections.
The political act of compromise has shown that change can take place across the district. By this token, black political organizations serve a vital role in addressing issues and candidate selection. In order to effect political change, blacks would have to use a strategy, much like ones used on the local level, to maximize black voting power. On another level, black political organizations would require a central focus on the state level and county levels of government.

Since all politics is local, the base of political power would derive from local and state concerns. The national role would be based on local concerns for the interests of black people as a whole. Therefore, local political organization which would include local officials would also legitimize policy choices by representatives and their accountability to the electorate. The following schematic (next page) highlights these points.19

In the schematic, local politics set the dominant theme for state and national political initiatives. Black representatives would be accountable to their black constituents or face the reality of not winning re-election. This flow of power from the bottom up would link all levels of government to each other through practical political relationships. Local interests would dictate political agendas from a black perspective, rather than
values as they are today, flowing downward from elected
and self-appointed elites to the masses.

In addition to the foregoing, blacks voting in a bloc
and building coalitions could provide one step in the
direction of political empowerment.
Conclusion

Black politics in North Carolina has been developed and practiced within the structural confines of a white-dominated value framework. This framework is based on the ideals of the Herrenvolk democracy that, in effect, led to the political powerlessness of blacks in the state.

Over the past twenty years, efforts by blacks to organize against the legacy of racial discrimination led to various strategies designed to effect change. On the local level, blacks in North Carolina have had some success in getting blacks elected to public office because there are greater numbers at this level. The same is not true for higher levels of government.

Structurally, black political progress is negatively impacted by at-large elections, primary run-off systems, and multi-member/multi-county legislative districts.

The case studies provide the groundwork to establish the notion that race is a primary concern in the legitimization of superordinate values regarding black political efficacy. No matter how well-financed or how well-organized black candidates may be, their chances of winning elections beyond the local level are very limited.

The case studies also illustrate the extent to which a statewide organization is needed to educate black voters and organize those voters into a voting bloc to challenge existing norms. Moreover, a new theory of political
participation is needed so that black people can establish a political agenda which is designed to facilitate black political aspirations.

The case studies established in this dissertation reveal several points on black politics in the Second Congressional District of North Carolina and how structure impacts on black political activity. Local level political activity is greatly enhanced by structure. In cities where ward systems are utilized, blacks stand a greater chance of winning elections.

This is especially true in Durham, North Carolina. Along these same lines, blacks have been elected to Boards of Education, county commission posts and as sheriffs in the area. Structure begins to seriously impact on black candidates at the county-wide level. Through various at-large systems and majority vote requirements, minority candidates find it difficult to win elections in all but three study area counties. The only success noted at this level is in Durham, Warren and Granville counties.

The majority vote requirement is of particular importance in State General Assembly and United States Congressional elections, as having a negative impact on black candidates. The Ballance campaign is unique in this respect. In Ballance's campaign for state senator, structure can be ruled out as a cause for his defeat. Even though *Thornburg v. Gingles* established this district with
a sixty-four percent black voting age population, black office holders in the district suggest that this figure is too high and represents voter potential rather than an actual picture of black voter strength in the district. Other explanations for Ballance's defeat are directly linked to the split between old line black leaders who favored incumbent Monk Harrington. In essence, this defeat reflects electoral choice more than structural manipulation.

Congressional level campaigns run by Mickey Michaux and Kenneth Spaulding reveal that structure as well as race can serve as mitigating factors to defeat. H. M. Michaux's campaign speaks to the importance of structure due to the second primary runoff requirement. This issue was a major factor in Michaux's defeat because the Democratic primary process required a majority vote before the candidate could run in the general election against the Republican nominee.

The Spaulding campaign reveals that race is still a significant factor in North Carolina politics. Spaulding ran as a conservative Democrat just as Tim Valentine had done; however, Spaulding failed to win his party's nomination in what appears to have been a racially split vote. Moreover, in each congressional precinct, data of the two campaigns reveal that race was a factor in each campaign because predominantly black precincts voted for the black candidate while predominantly white precincts
voted for the white candidate.

These findings in North Carolina are corroborated by similar studies done on black electoral politics. Richard Engstrom found a similar pattern of precinct voting in Norfolk, Virginia where black candidates carried black precincts while white candidates carried white precincts in aldermanic elections. In another study by Engstrom co-authored with Michael McDonald, the authors found that political structure had more of a negative impact on black elected representation than socioeconomic factors.

By contract, Joe Darden found that structure also impacts black levels of political participation. Darden found that black political representation is greater in places with district elections, greater numbers of council seats and high black populations. The foregoing case studies also reveal these trends in North Carolina.

Another issue of concern in examining black politics in North Carolina is the positioning of black elected officials in the Democratic party. At this point, the 1990 census will require a total redistricting of state and federal districts in North Carolina. These battles are surely political and reflect the dominance of the Democratic party in the State General Assembly. As Republican state representatives compete for seats at all levels of government, the black predicament becomes apparent. Due to redistricting efforts, fewer blacks may
be able to win elections in certain areas of the south. Black population concentrations will no doubt play an important role in political party politics.23
ENDNOTES


3 See Chapter II, Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

4 *Forms of Government in North Carolina Cities, 1985.* These cities include Durham, Rocky Mount, Henderson, Roanoke Rapids, and Wilson, North Carolina.

5 Four-year staggered terms for council members are used in Durham, Rocky Mount, and Roanoke Rapids.

6 Oxford and Roxboro, North Carolina, use the at-large method for elections to city council.

7 See Table XXII, Chapter II.


9 Church, Crawford, and Watkins serve as representatives from the 22nd District. All three are white.

10 Although Durham is split up into three separate legislative districts, Michaux serves the 23rd District and is the only black from the Durham delegation. The other two, Pulley and Miller, are white.

11 The percentage of the Black Voting Age Population in Edgecombe County is 47%; for Nash County the Black V.A.P. is 29% and for Wilson County the Black V.A.P. is 32%.
State Senate districts in the area include the 2nd, which includes Bertie (pt.), Edgecombe (pt.), Gates (pt.), Halifax (pt.), Hertford, Martin, Northampton and Warren (pt.). The 6th, which includes Edgecombe (pt.), Martin (pt.), Pitt (pt.), Wilson (pt.). The 10th, which includes Edgecombe (pt.), Halifax (pt.), Nash, Warren (pt.), and Wilson (pt.). The 11th, which includes Franklin, Vance, and Wake (pt.). The 13th, which includes Durham, Granville, Orange (pt.) and Person. And the 21st, which includes Alamance and Caswell.

For example, Senator Hunt (from Granville County) serves an area that is 65% black.


See for example, Ron Walters, Black Presidential Politics In America: A Strategic Approach (State University of New York Press, 1988).

Ibid., p. 3.

In Afro-American political theory, this notion is well-established and dates back to the DuBois, Washington, and Garvey debates. The black position was to count the best among whites to help foster political empowerment and social justice.

Refer to Chapter III. In each campaign, black candidates actively courted white votes out of necessity.

This schematic reverses the long-held notions postulated by elite theory. Rather than filtering political values from the elite to the masses through political institutions, the masses, through their political power of voting, control the flow of values and government.


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