



RESEARCH WHITE PAPER

IN THE WAKE OF CALLAIS:

**DID THE GRANT OF POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION
THROUGH COURT-ORDERED MAJORITY-MINORITY RACIAL
DISTRICTS REPAIR ECONOMIC INEQUALITY FOR SOUTHERN
BLACK POPULATIONS WITHIN THOSE DISTRICTS?**

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Introduction

Following the landmark *Thornburg v. Gingles* Supreme Court decision in 1986, black majority-minority districts were formed or protected across many states under the Voting Rights Act Section 2 by the early 1990s. Our study investigates what the outcome was for these districts, given the immense potential for political, educational and economic transformation generously apportioned by the American people to right historical wrongs. Did the new opportunity for blacks to directly choose congressional representation as a racial bloc equalize socioeconomic conditions in those districts as compared to surrounding districts?

Six majority-minority districts (AL-7, GA-5, LA-2, MS-2, SC-6, VA-3) were selected for study as they persisted throughout the study duration (2000 - 2024) without being overturned or invalidated by the court, and they maintained a majority or at least a plurality of black voters throughout the study duration. All districts saw boundary changes driven by decennial Census results and population changes. Except for one two-year instance in LA-2, all districts were led by black Democratic congressional representatives over the duration of the study.

A set of “Basic” needs (e.g., Employment) and aspirational “American Dream” needs (e.g., Own a Home) were used to measure the socioeconomic performance of these districts. Data were sourced from the Census for 2000 and the American Community Survey for the balance of the study. Specifically, each district was compared individually to the aggregate of its peer districts in the state. Also, all six of the majority-minority districts were aggregated and compared to all other districts across the six states. The aggregate comparison was a way to look at overall trends and minimize the regular changes occurring within individual districts.

Over 30 years later, the mandated Voting Rights Act Section 2 changes saw, at best, a slight improvement in meeting basic and aspirational needs of majority-minority black districts. Recent boundary changes in GA-5 and LA-2 appear to be driving a lot of the observed improvement, so it is hard to say whether single-member minority congressional representation improved the situation in these districts at all. As of 2024, all six majority-minority black districts significantly lagged their peer state districts across all need areas. The one exception is GA-5 (Metro Atlanta) which has a higher bachelor’s degree attainment than its peers, likely since it houses the largest contiguous consortium of historically black colleges and universities in the world such as Morehouse and Spelman College.

Study Purpose

The intent behind the court-mandated majority-minority black districts was to provide a form of restitution, or political reparations, for areas of the South that still had large economically depressed black populations. Where political inequality had been historically practiced, Americans sought to repair the wrongs by ensuring that affected black populations could elect representatives of their own choosing. The post-*Gingles* districts were a direct grant of political power and federal apportionment to marginalized black communities. The accompanying hope was that legislators chosen by the communities would better understand how to drive investment, beneficial relationships and policy to improve them.

No majority-minority black district was ordered in a northern state, the implication being either that northern black Americans already enjoyed economic parity, or that northern white voters could outnumber yet represent black needs regardless. It is not clear why this colorblindness was accepted as existing in the north but not the south, or if any evidence was used to substantiate this other than a historical affiliation with Abolition and the predominance or outright control of Democrat party candidates over congressional seats in states such as Massachusetts.

In the wake of the US Supreme Court 2026 *Callais* decision overturning racially based political districting in all instances devoid of direct, present-era malice, some Democrat civil rights and congressional leaders such as Kamala Harris, Chuck Schumer, Hakeem Jeffries, and Al Sharpton decried the ruling as a return to “Jim Crow” and an attack on voting rights. Broadly speaking, they infer it is a political effort to achieve white nationalism.

The purpose of our investigation was to measure the success of the racially based apportionment scheme spanning over 30 years of congressional governance and impacting every American. Whether this generous investment by the American people achieved its purpose--to finally compensate for past injustice through a massive grant of political and economic influence above and beyond equal protection--is an important national question to answer factually.

Legal Background

We based our study on the two major Supreme Court Cases that impacted the Voting Rights Act, and bookend the lifespan of the majority-minority districts examined:

A. *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986)

1. Black voters in North Carolina challenged multi-member legislative districts enacted in 1982. They argued that at-large countywide voting submerged cohesive minority populations into larger white-majority blocs.
2. The case served as the first major test of the amended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (1982), which established a "results test" (discriminatory effect) rather than requiring proof of intentional discrimination.
3. The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously struck down North Carolina's multi-member scheme, holding that submerging minority voters in large multi-member districts diluted their voting strength under Section 2.
4. To successfully bring a Section 2 vote-dilution claim, the court held plaintiffs must demonstrate all three of these elements:
 - a. Geographic Compactness: The minority group must be large and compact enough to form a majority in a single-member district.
 - b. Political Cohesion: The minority group must vote cohesively as a bloc.
 - c. Majority Bloc Voting: The white majority must vote sufficiently as a bloc to usually defeat the minority's preferred candidate

Table 1: VRA Changes

Key Component	Before	After
District Structure	Multi-member, county-wide district electing multiple representatives at once (e.g., Mecklenburg County electing 8 seats).	Broken down into individual, single-member districts (1 representative per district).
Demographic Makeup	75% White / 25% Black across the entire multi-member footprint.	1 Majority-Black District (55%+ Black) alongside neighboring white-majority districts.
Electoral Mechanism	Minority population is submerged; the 75% White majority bloc controls all seats.	Concentrated minority population forms a voting majority within its own compact geographic boundary.
Representation Outline	100% White Representative Slate (0 Black-preferred candidates elected due to polarized bloc voting).	At Least 1 Black-Preferred Representative Elected from the newly created single-member opportunity seat.

5. Ironically, after the historic and hard-fought integration of America's school districts with *Brown v Board of Education*, in *Gingles* the Supreme Court decided in favor of segregating congressional districts by race.

B. Louisiana v. Callais (2026)

In *Louisiana v. Callais* (decided on April 29, 2026), the U.S. Supreme Court voted 6–3 to invalidate Louisiana's 2024 congressional map, including its newly created second majority-black district, as an unconstitutional racial gerrymander. The Court did not formally strike down Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, nor did it overturn *Thornburg v. Gingles*, but this decision significantly tightened the standard for successful vote-dilution claims: plaintiffs must now show strong evidence that a state intentionally drew districts to reduce minority voters' electoral opportunity because of race, rather than for a nonracial reason such as partisan advantage. The ruling makes it substantially harder to obtain or preserve majority-minority districts through Section 2 litigation, places existing VRA remedial maps under greater legal pressure, and calls into question the boundaries and continued status of numerous districts, the impacts of which our study focused on. Majority-Minority Districts Included in the Study:

A. District Selection Approach

Following the *Gingles* decision, eight new majority-minority districts were formed in the early 1990's:

- Alabama-07
- Georgia-11
- Illinois-04
- Louisiana-04
- North Carolina-01
- North Carolina-12
- South Carolina-06
- Virginia-03

A key criterion in selecting districts for our study was that they could not have been outright invalidated or overturned during the duration of the study (2000 – 2024). Both LA-04 (*United States v. Hays*) and GA-11 (*Miller v. Johnson*) were overturned in 1995, so they were removed. Similarly, NC-12 was overturned a year later (*Shaw v. Hunt*). Finally, in 2016, NC-01 was also overturned (*Covington v. North Carolina*) and removed.

A second criterion was that the target districts needed to maintain a black majority throughout the duration of the study. Most of the districts maintained this majority as mandated, but a couple were only able to hold a plurality. The decision was taken to keep these in the study, nonetheless. IL-04 is a hispanic majority-minority district, not a population with a national historic political injury in America, so it was excluded.

Gingles also protected three black majority districts that were already established prior to the decision:

- Georgia-05
- Louisiana-02
- Mississippi-02

All these held their black majority/plurality for the study duration and were included.

B. Background on Target Districts

Alabama's 7th Congressional District (AL-07)

Alabama's 7th District stretches across much of the state's historic Black Belt while also incorporating parts of the Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Montgomery urban areas. It is a district of striking contrasts, combining metropolitan assets with the longstanding economic challenges of the rural Black Belt. Rural counties that are shaped by agriculture, population loss, persistent poverty, and limited infrastructure lie alongside major higher-education, medical, and employment centers, including the University of Alabama (UA), the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB), and Alabama State University (ASU). Selma is its largest city fully within the district and remains an important national symbol of the civil rights movement.

Georgia's 5th Congressional District (GA-05)

Georgia's 5th District is the urban core of metropolitan Atlanta, encompassing most of Atlanta along with portions of Fulton, DeKalb, and Clayton Counties and communities such as East Point, Forest Park, and parts of the Decatur-area inner suburbs. It is home to many of the institutions that define Atlanta's role as the economic, educational, transportation, cultural, and political center of the Southeast including Georgia Tech, Emory University, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, major downtown and Midtown business districts, and a dense network of arts, nonprofit, healthcare, and professional-service organizations. The district has also experienced substantial reinvestment and population change, especially in intown neighborhoods, while retaining wide disparities in income, housing access, and neighborhood opportunity.

Louisiana's 2nd Congressional District (LA-02)

Louisiana's 2nd District is anchored by New Orleans and the lower Mississippi River corridor, connecting one of America's most distinctive historic port cities to parts of the Baton Rouge region and intervening river-parish communities. Its economy reflects that geography: tourism and hospitality, port and logistics activity, healthcare, higher education, petrochemical and industrial activity, public-sector employment, and a large network of small businesses and cultural enterprises all play meaningful roles. The district has been deeply shaped by the history of New Orleans—its Creole and African American cultural traditions, music, food, Mardi Gras, maritime commerce, civil rights history, and the continuing demographic and housing shifts in the Hurricane Katrina aftermath.

Mississippi's 2nd Congressional District (MS-02)

Mississippi's 2nd District lies along the Mississippi River and is centered on the Delta, extending across a vast area of predominantly rural counties including parts of the Jackson metropolitan area. The Delta's rich alluvial soil made it one of the country's most productive agricultural regions, historically associated with cotton and now with a broader mix of row crops, catfish farming, food processing, health services, government, education, and small-scale local commerce. It is also one of the most culturally influential regions in the United States, recognized as a foundational landscape of blues music and African American history. At the same time, decades of agricultural mechanization, outmigration, uneven infrastructure, and limited access to capital have contributed to a dispersed settlement pattern and enduring economic challenges. The district's character is thus defined by the contrast between Jackson-linked urban activity and the rural Delta's agricultural economy, cultural legacy, and population decline.

South Carolina's 6th Congressional District (SC-06)

South Carolina's 6th District is situated in central and eastern South Carolina, linking the inland Black Belt and agricultural counties with parts of the Columbia, Sumter, Orangeburg, Lowcountry, and coastal-region economies. It is a large and economically diverse district shaped by both Lowcountry growth and inland economic inequality. Communities in this district range from rural farming and forestry areas to military and health care-linked employment centers, university towns, transportation corridors, and rapidly developing coastal markets. This broad geography produces substantial internal variation, where some areas benefit from population growth, tourism, logistics, manufacturing, and proximity to Charleston or Columbia, while others face chronic challenges related to rural poverty, housing, transportation, health access, and outmigration.

Virginia's 3rd Congressional District (VA-03)

Virginia's 3rd District is a densely populated area of Hampton Roads and includes Norfolk, Newport News, Hampton, and Portsmouth, with part of Chesapeake. It is largely defined by the maritime, military, industrial, logistics, and public-sector economy of the Hampton Roads region. The Port of Virginia, shipbuilding, naval installations, defense contracting, healthcare, higher education, tourism, and related service industries are central economic anchors. The district's cities are also connected by the region's waterways, bridges, tunnels, and military facilities, creating a relatively urban, interdependent labor and housing market. VA-03's substantial institutional and employment assets contrast widely with low-income households, housing stability, and varying neighborhood opportunities across its older urban communities.

C. Changes in Target Districts

Across the six districts, the major structural boundary shifts since 2000 have been primarily driven by federal litigation—specifically enforcement of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, as interpreted under *Gingles*. State legislatures were required to unpack historically concentrated

Black populations and construct additional majority-minority districts, reducing the number of Republican-held congressional seats in the process.

Alabama's 7th District (AL-07)

For decades, AL-07 served as Alabama's sole majority-Black district, stretching from Birmingham through the rural Black Belt down into split portions of Mobile County. Following the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Allen v. Milligan* (2023), federal courts found that Alabama improperly packed Black voters into AL-07 to dilute their influence elsewhere.

This ruling exposes the conundrum of racially based redistricting. The intent behind *Gingles* was to construct districts where the “Black” vote, in quotes because it is predicated on political belief by skin color, was not diluted by the “White” vote. Eventually this goal was contorted into the opposite argument, that blacks were being packed into districts to avoid diluting the “White” vote. The solution from the courts was to ratio black and white populations such that even more majority-minority black districts were created, without reflecting on whether the scheme was a socioeconomic success.

Court-appointed Special Masters drew a remedial map for the 2024 cycle. AL-07 shed heavily Black precincts in Mobile and Montgomery, distributing those voters into a redrawn, competitive AL-02 (a second majority-minority seat). As a result, AL-07's spatial footprint became more concentrated in Jefferson County (Birmingham) and the central Black Belt.

Louisiana's 2nd District (LA-02)

In post-2000 maps, LA-02 was centered tightly around Orleans Parish. However, following the 2010 census—which saw dramatic New Orleans population displacement post-Hurricane Katrina—state mappers reshaped LA-02 into a long, narrow ribbon picking up Black neighborhoods along the Mississippi River and connecting New Orleans to East Baton Rouge.

Like Alabama, federal litigation (*Robinson v. Ardoin*) led to Louisiana adopting a court-mandated map for 2024 that created a second majority-Black district (LA-06). This forced LA-02 to shed its Baton Rouge extension and contract back toward the Greater New Orleans area and River Parishes.

Virginia's 3rd District (VA-3)

Historically, VA-03 was one of the most famously contorted districts in the country, using a narrow strip of the James River to connect Black communities in Richmond, Petersburg, Newport News, and Norfolk.

In 2015–2016, a federal court ruled that the Virginia legislature engaged in an unconstitutional racial gerrymander by packing Black voters into VA-03 to protect adjacent conservative seats. The court-ordered 2016 re-map transformed VA-03 into a geographically compact, Hampton Roads-centric district (Norfolk, Newport News, Hampton), shifting Richmond-area Black voters into neighboring VA-04.

Georgia's 5th District (GA-05)

In the early 2000s, GA-05 was an anchor seat comprised almost entirely of the City of Atlanta and inner Fulton County.

Rapid economic improvement and population growth inside Atlanta proper altered the district's demographic weight, with an overall decrease in black residents. Over successive redistricting cycles (including the court-ordered 2023 remedial map), mappers repeatedly pushed GA-05 outward into southern DeKalb County and northern Clayton County to maintain its status as a reliable majority-minority coalition district.

Mississippi's 2nd District (MS-02)

Spanning the entire Mississippi Delta, MS-02 has continually struggled with persistent population loss relative to the rest of the state.

To compensate for shrinking headcount in northern Delta counties across the 2000, 2010, and 2020 census cycles, legislators continuously expanded MS-02 southward. It progressively swallowed up Hinds County (Jackson) and stretched further down the river to Natchez, growing geographically larger in every redistricting cycle just to meet minority and federal population equivalence thresholds.

South Carolina's 6th District (SC-06)

SC-06 has historically been configured to connect rural Black Belt counties in the Pee Dee and Lowcountry with urban centers in Columbia and Charleston.

Following the 2020 census, the South Carolina legislature altered SC-06 by shifting heavily Black urban precincts out of Charleston (SC-01) into SC-06. While "civil rights" plaintiffs successfully argued in lower courts that this was a racial gerrymander designed to lock in SC-01 as a safe coastal seat, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the map configuration in 2024, leaving SC-06 with a heavy concentration of Charleston's minority voters.

D. Congressional Representation Over the Study Duration

A key promise coming out of the *Gingles* decision was the creation of single majority-minority districts represented by black congressmen and women. From the table below, this promise has been kept with black representatives in place since the early 1990s for the six target districts. The one exception was a two-year break in LA-02 where Anh "Joseph" Cao, a Vietnamese American, unseated William Jefferson, who was under federal indictment and made infamous over \$90,000 cash found in his freezer.

Table 2: Congressional Representation in Each District

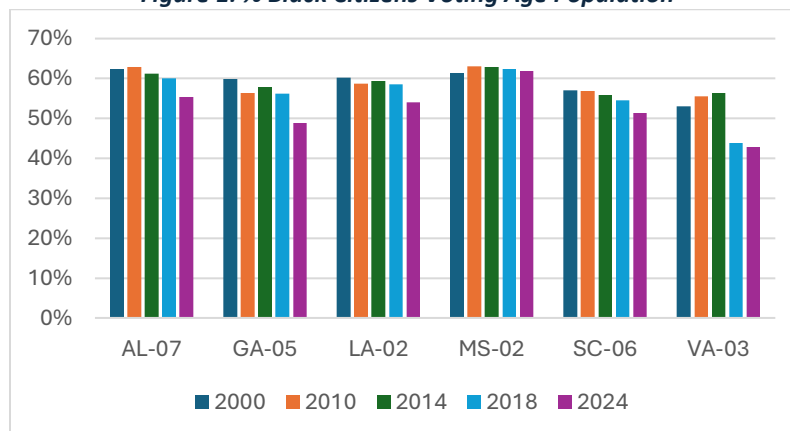
Majority Minority District	Representative	Tenure/Years Served	Party	Race/Ethnicity
AL-07	Earl Hilliard	1993-2003	Democratic	Black/African American
	Artur Davis	2003-2011	Democratic	Black/African American
	Terri Sewell	2011-Present	Democratic	Black/African American
GA-05	Kwanza Hall	2020 (Special)	Democratic	Black/African American
	Nikema Williams	2021-Present	Democratic	Black/African American
LA-02	William J. Jefferson	1991-2009	Democratic	Black/African American
	Joseph Cao	2009-2011	Republican	Asian American (Vietnamese)
	Cedric Richmond	2011-2021	Democratic	Black/African American
	Troy Carter	2021-Present	Democratic	Black/African American
MS-02	Bennie Thompson	1993-Present	Democratic	Black/African American
SC-06	Jim Clyburn	1993-Present	Democratic	Black/African American
VA-03	Bobby Scott	1993-Present	Democratic	Black & Filipino American

What was not mandated by *Gingles* is that the majority-minority districts would be exclusively held by the Democrat party (with the Cao exception) for over 30 years. Regardless, the data show that the resulting Democrat control did nothing lasting to improve outcomes for marginalized blacks. In MS-02, SC-06 and VA-03, Congressmen Thompson, Clyburn and Scott have been in their seats over the entire duration of this study.

E. Black Citizens of Voting Age Population

Gingles mandated a majority of black minority voters within the affected districts. Most of the districts studied here have met this mandate since the year 2000. Of late though, GA-05 and VA-03 have not held a majority because of court-ordered redistricting.

Figure 1: % Black Citizens Voting Age Population



Study Methodology

A. Data Sources

Given the long study duration, it was important to find data sources that reliably spanned this timeframe and provided robust socioeconomic data to answer the study purpose. The Decennial Census and American Community Survey provided this. Remarkably, Report S0201 in the bi-annual American Community Survey (ACS) changed little from 2010 to 2024, so it provided the bulk of the data collected on the metrics, simplifying data collection and cohesion. The single S0201 ACS report was not available in the 2000 Census, so the same data were collected from different sub-reports there.

Other socioeconomic data sources were considered at the county level. However, challenges were found in translating results to the congressional district level. Allocation based on county population/households cannot be readily squared with district boundaries, so this was abandoned.

B. Metrics

To assess the socioeconomic performance of the study's majority-minority districts, a set of basic needs of every citizen and a set of aspirational ones were studied as shown below:

Table 3: Metrics for Basic Needs & Aspirational Needs

Metrics	Definition
Basic Needs	
Employment	<u>Unemployment Rate</u> : number of unemployed 16 years and older/total population 16 years and older
Children Raised in a Stable Nuclear Family	<u>Single Motherhood Rate</u> : number of female householders, no husband present, with children under 18/total number of family households
Children Raised Above the Poverty Line	<u>Poverty Rate</u> : number of families with related children of the householder under 18 years/total number of families
Food Security	<u>Food Stamp Rate</u> : number of households with Food Stamp/SNAP benefits/total number of households
Own a Car	<u>Car Ownership Rate</u> : number of occupied housing units with no car/total number of occupied housing units
Aspirational Needs	
Own a Home	<u>Home Ownership Rate</u> : number of owner-occupied housing units/total number of occupied housing units
College Degree	<u>Bachelor's Degree Attainment Rate</u> : population of 25 years and older with at least a Bachelor's degree/total population of 25 years and older
Discretionary Income	<u>Annual Discretionary Income</u> : median household income minus weighted average of annual mortgage or rent costs

C. Data Analysis

Using these metrics, the socioeconomic performance of the target districts was studied at three levels. First, at the state level the performance of the target district was compared to the aggregate of the remaining districts. This cleanly isolated the district's performance against its peer districts within the unique state domain. It also highlighted any material changes in district boundaries that may have occurred.

Second, the performance of all target majority-minority districts was aggregated and compared to the aggregate remaining districts across the six states. This eliminated state-to-state variations and was the basis for drawing conclusions about the overall performance of the mandated or protected districts over the study duration.

Lastly, the 2024 performance for each basic need in all 49 districts across the six states was mapped against the political leaning of each district using the 2025 Cook Partisan Voting Index, to understand the impact that Republican versus Democrat control of a district had on its performance. Bubble charts were used, where bubble size reflected the CVAP of the district. This allows observation of economic performance impacting the entire black population, regardless of district, based on political representation.

Key Findings

A. State Level

The State level comparisons between the majority-minority district in the state versus the aggregate of their peer districts are presented individually below for each metric. The values represented for each year represent the % difference between the rate of the majority-minority district and their peers with an indication whether the performance of the majority-minority district is worse or better than its peers. Since it is a comparison of two rates, the point difference between the two rates is also given. For a metric like unemployment where the absolute rate is low, the difference between the two points will be small.

For the discretionary income metric, both the % and absolute dollar difference are shown between the majority-minority district and its peer districts in the state.

1. Employment

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- The improvement seen in VA-03 beginning in 2018 is likely redistricting related, with the new boundary encompassing better economically developed populations. This sleight-of-hand technique improves district economic performance by diluting the impact of poverty, not resolving it. GA-05 experienced the largest improvement in comparison with 2000, likely for the same reason. In 2000, the district was a compact urban core that was not experiencing economic growth at the same pace as its peer, more affluent suburban districts. Gentrification of the inner city led to expansion of the majority-

minority district boundary into DeKalb and Clayton counties to maintain racial quota compliance.

- For LA-02, the court ordered the creation of a second majority minority district (LA-06) which likely explains the large drop in 2024.
- SC-06 also saw a major redistricting change following the 2020 Census which may explain some of the improvement in 2024.

Table 4: Key Findings - Employment

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	43% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	19% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	32% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	42% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	33% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)
GA-5	55% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)	18% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	31% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	22% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	25% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)
LA-2	28% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	33% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	26% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	34% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	5% <u>worse</u> (<1 pt)
MS-2	35% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	27% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	37% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	19% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	20% <u>worse</u> (<1 pt)
SC-6	38% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	21% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	29% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	29% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	15% <u>worse</u> (<1 pt)
VA-3	45% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	39% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	43% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	26% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	20% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)

2. Children Raised in a Stable Nuclear Family

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- No noticeable changes or improvements were observed across the study duration other than those already noted via unpacking or updating district boundaries after 2020.

Table 5: Key Findings - Children Raised in a Stable Nuclear Family

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL-7	46% <u>worse</u> (20 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (24 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (23 pts)	44% <u>worse</u> (20 pts)	40% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)
GA-5	51% <u>worse</u> (24 pts)	34% <u>worse</u> (14 pts)	38% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	40% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	31% <u>worse</u> (11 pts)
LA-2	42% <u>worse</u> (19 pts)	32% <u>worse</u> (15 pts)	35% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	36% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	25% <u>worse</u> (10 pts)
MS-2	37% <u>worse</u> (15 pts)	37% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	35% <u>worse</u> (16 pts)	43% <u>worse</u> (21 pts)	38% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)
SC-6	33% <u>worse</u> (12 pts)	40% <u>worse</u> (19 pts)	39% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)	41% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)	38% <u>worse</u> (14 pts)
VA-3	56% <u>worse</u> (24 pts)	50% <u>worse</u> (22 pts)	59% <u>worse</u> (29 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (17 pts)	50% <u>worse</u> (12 pts)

3. Children Raised above the Poverty Line

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- AL-07 showed some improvement in 2024. This may be because of the court-ordered shift of black voters into a redrawn AL-02.
- As previously discussed, LA-02 also had a similar redistricting which may explain its 2024 relative improvement.

Table 6: Key Findings - Children Raised above the Poverty Line

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	51% worse (17 pts)	38% worse (14 pts)	42% worse (16 pts)	39% worse (12 pts)	25% worse (5 pts)
GA-5	51% worse (14 pts)	32% worse (10 pts)	28% worse (8 pts)	28% worse (6 pts)	26% worse (5 pts)
LA-2	38% worse (13 pts)	39% worse (14 pts)	31% worse (10 pts)	35% worse (11 pts)	6% worse (1 pt)
MS-2	16% worse (5 pts)	30% worse (10 pts)	32% worse (10 pts)	32% worse (11 pts)	37% worse (11 pts)
SC-6	40% worse (11 pts)	31% worse (11 pts)	40% worse (13 pts)	42% worse (12 pts)	31% worse (7 pts)
VA-3	58% worse (13 pts)	54% worse (13 pts)	59% worse (18 pts)	34% worse (6 pts)	44% worse (8 pts)

4. Food Security

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- GA-05 and LA-02 saw the largest improvement in 2024 likely for the redistricting reasons already discussed.
- The 2000 Census did not report on food stamp usage.

Table 7: Key Findings - Food Security

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	Not Available	38% worse (9 pts)	45% worse (8 pts)	43% worse (9 pts)	34% worse (6 pts)
GA-5	Not Available	16% worse (3 pts)	24% worse (5 pts)	23% worse (3 pts)	12% worse (1 pt)
LA-2	Not Available	30% worse (6 pts)	33% worse (8 pts)	29% worse (6 pts)	8% worse (1 pt)
MS-2	Not Available	39% worse (10 pts)	30% worse (8 pts)	34% worse (7 pts)	36% worse (6 pts)
SC-6	Not Available	39% worse (9 pts)	44% worse (10 pts)	48% worse (10 pts)	38% worse (5 pts)
VA-3	Not Available	53% worse (9 pts)	52% worse (10 pts)	36% worse (4 pts)	50% worse (9 pts)

5. Own a Car

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- VA-03 saw relative improvement beginning in 2018. This also appears to be from redistricting done in 2014 and is consistent with the large reduction in black CVAP seen in the chart on page 10 at the same time.

Table 8: Key Findings - Own a Car

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	59% <u>worse</u> (10 pts)	55% <u>worse</u> (7 pts)	49% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	51% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)
GA-5	64% <u>worse</u> (24 pts)	60% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	60% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	62% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	58% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)
LA-2	62% <u>worse</u> (16 pts)	54% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	52% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	57% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	38% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)
MS-2	43% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	42% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	43% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)	39% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)
SC-6	53% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	48% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	48% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	46% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)
VA-3	60% <u>worse</u> (10 pts)	59% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	60% <u>worse</u> (9 pts)	43% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)	41% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)

6. Own a Home

- Majority minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states for the duration of the study.
- LA-02 again saw an improvement in 2024, likely tied to the redistricting already discussed.
- Home ownership worsened significantly in SC-06 from 2000. Many factors could have influenced this including predatory lending that inflated home ownership in 2000, then the housing market crash in 2007-2008 that led to high foreclosure rates and higher growth of multi-family rental units in its urban core.

Table 9: Key Findings - Own a Home

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	13% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	19% <u>worse</u> (12 pts)	20% <u>worse</u> (11 pts)	21% <u>worse</u> (13 pts)	20% <u>worse</u> (12 pts)
GA-5	55% <u>worse</u> (25 pts)	49% <u>worse</u> (22 pts)	39% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)	45% <u>worse</u> (20 pts)	45% <u>worse</u> (21 pts)
LA-2	44% <u>worse</u> (22 pts)	29% <u>worse</u> (15 pts)	26% <u>worse</u> (14 pts)	26% <u>worse</u> (14 pts)	11% <u>worse</u> (7 pts)
MS-2	13% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	13% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	10% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	13% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	10% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)
SC-6	4% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	11% <u>worse</u> (7 pts)	19% <u>worse</u> (11 pts)	21% <u>worse</u> (13 pts)	26% <u>worse</u> (16 pts)
VA-3	35% <u>worse</u> (18 pts)	30% <u>worse</u> (16 pts)	52% <u>worse</u> (23 pts)	27% <u>worse</u> (14 pts)	29% <u>worse</u> (16 pts)

7. College Degree

- Majority minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study with one exception.
- GA-05 has better performance than its peers over the course of the study. This is the only instance of this in all metrics tested. This district is unique given it includes Metro Atlanta and several premier research universities. It is a paradox since it also routinely exhibits some of the highest income inequality in the nation.
- MS-02 saw material worsening in this category since 2000 compared to its peers. This district leads the nation in outward migration of graduates, in a state where 50% of public university graduates leave within three years of graduation.
- 2024 improvements in AL-07 and SC-06 are likely redistricting related as previously discussed.

Table 10: Key Findings - College Degree

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	60% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	30% <u>worse</u> (3 pts)	27% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	29% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)	14% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)
GA-5	28% <u>better</u> (6 pts)	35% <u>better</u> (9 pts)	23% <u>better</u> (5 pts)	25% <u>better</u> (6 pts)	25% <u>better</u> (7 pts)
LA-2	2% <u>worse</u> (<1 pt)	1% <u>better</u> (1 pt)	11% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	8% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)	6% <u>worse</u> (1 pt)
MS-2	1% <u>worse</u> (<1 pt)	2% <u>better</u> (1 pt)	18% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	14% <u>worse</u> (2 pts)	30% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)
SC-6	51% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	62% <u>worse</u> (7 pts)	45% <u>worse</u> (5 pts)	44% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	20% <u>worse</u> (4 pts)
VA-3	52% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	45% <u>worse</u> (7 pts)	56% <u>worse</u> (8 pts)	34% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)	30% <u>worse</u> (6 pts)

8. Discretionary Income

- Majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- VA-03 had the single worst performance of any majority-minority district across any metric in the study. Unlike rural districts MS-02 and AL-07 with lower regional housing costs, it faces mid-Atlantic urban living expenses on a predominant service, logistics, and military base pay-scale.
- All districts experienced wider gaps versus their peers in 2014. The “asymmetric recovery” following the Great Recession resulted in basic survival costs rising faster than wages. For example, high foreclosures created more renters which increased prices. Also, the Affordable Care Act required low-to-moderate income workers to absorb higher deductibles and co-pays for health care.
- Again, a couple of the districts saw significant improvements in their gap versus their peers in 2024, likely due to redrawn district lines.

Table 11: Key Findings - Discretionary Income

Majority-minority Districts	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
AL -7	57% worse (\$10K)	51% worse (\$10K)	63% worse (\$13K)	52% worse (\$13K)	35% worse (\$14K)
GA-5	24% worse (\$6K)	17% worse (\$5K)	22% worse (\$7K)	8% worse (\$3K)	5% worse (\$3K)
LA-2	32% worse (\$6K)	8% worse (\$2K)	46% worse (\$11K)	47% worse (\$12K)	26% worse (\$6K)
MS-2	23% worse (\$5K)	32% worse (\$7K)	33% worse (\$7K)	32% worse (\$8K)	37% worse (\$13K)
SC-6	46% worse (\$9K)	47% worse (\$6K)	62% worse (\$14K)	56% worse (\$15K)	39% worse (\$16K)
VA-3	61% worse (\$14K)	73% worse (\$20K)	98% worse (\$27K)	59% worse (\$22K)	63% worse (\$30K)

B. Aggregation of All Majority-Minority Districts

To best understand the overall impact the *Gingles* decision had on the relative socioeconomic performance of mandated majority-minority districts, results for each metric were aggregated on a weighted average across all districts and then compared against the same weighted average for the remaining districts across all six states. All values represented for each year represent the % difference between the rate of the majority-minority districts and their peers with an indication of whether the performance of the majority-minority district is worse or better than its peers. Since it is a comparison of two rates, the point difference between the two rates is also given.

- Overall, majority-minority districts performed worse than their peers across all states across the duration of the study.
- Little progress was made in closing the performance gap versus their peers from 2000, across all metrics.
- District boundary changes likely explain the sudden aggregate improvement seen in 2024 for Employment, as already discussed.

Table 12: Key Findings - % Difference Between the Rate of the Majority-Minority Districts and Their Peers

Metrics	2000	2010	2014	2018	2024
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Basic Needs

Employment	44% worse (3 pts)	26% worse (2 pts)	34% worse (3 pts)	32% worse (1 pt)	20% worse (<1 pt)
Children Raised in a Stable Nuclear Family	46% worse (19 pts)	42% worse (19 pts)	45% worse (21 pts)	43% worse (19 pts)	39% worse (16 pts)
Children Raised Above the Poverty Line	48% worse (14 pts)	43% worse (13 pts)	46% worse (14 pts)	39% worse (11 pts)	35% worse (8 pts)
Food Security	Not Available	40% worse (8 pts)	41% worse (9 pts)	38% worse (7 pts)	32% worse (5 pts)
Own a Car	59% worse (10 pts)	54% worse (7 pts)	53% worse (7 pts)	53% worse (6 pts)	47% worse (5 pts)

Aspirational Needs

Own a Home	24% worse (14 pts)	23% worse (13 pts)	26% worse (14 pts)	25% worse (14 pts)	22% worse (12 pts)
College Degree	19% worse (2 pts)	13% worse (2 pts)	22% worse (4 pts)	17% worse (2 pts)	13% worse (2 pts)
Discretionary Income	40% worse (\$8K)	38% worse (\$9K)	54% worse (\$13K)	41% worse (\$12K)	32% worse (\$14K)

C. Political Mapping of District Level Performance

To understand whether political party control influences performance, 2024 performance results for each “Basic” need (x axis) across all 49 districts for the six states studied were mapped using the Cook Partisan Voting Index (y axis). This index measures the political leaning of a district based on its recent election results. In the graph, Republican leaning districts are represented with a positive value and Democrat leaning ones with a negative value to distinguish them.

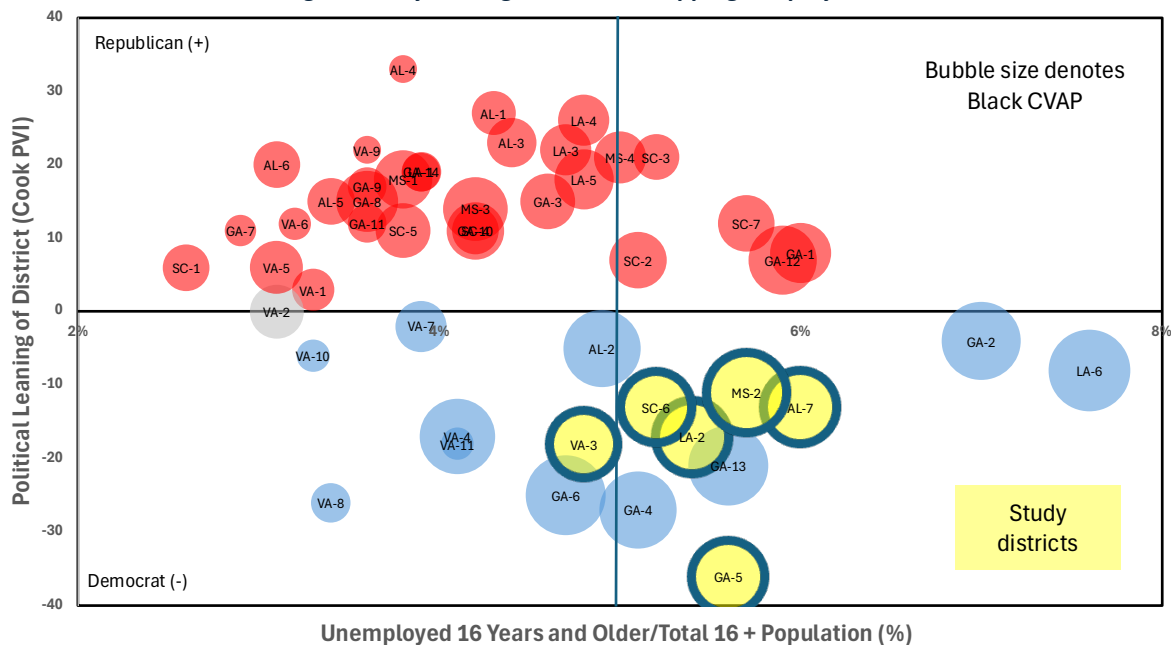
A bubble chart is used to introduce a third variable, Black Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP), where the bubble size is proportional to the Black CVAP value of each district. For this type of chart, it is helpful to look at the data in four quadrants. The upper left (Quadrant 1) reflect Republican leaning districts with a low score on the metric, with upper right (Quadrant 2) a high score. The bottom left (Quadrant 3) are the democrat leaning districts with a low score and the bottom right (Quadrant 4) with a high score.

In the chart, Republican led districts are colored red, Democrat ones are blue, and the 6 majority-minority districts tracked in this study are colored yellow. There is one district with a political leaning of zero which is colored gray.

1. Employment

- 81% of Republican led districts representing 2.6M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 1 (lowest unemployment rate)
- 53% of Democrat led districts representing 2.6M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 4 (highest unemployment rate)
- Five of the six studied majority minority districts fell in Quadrant 4.

Figure 2: Key Findings - Political Mapping: Employment



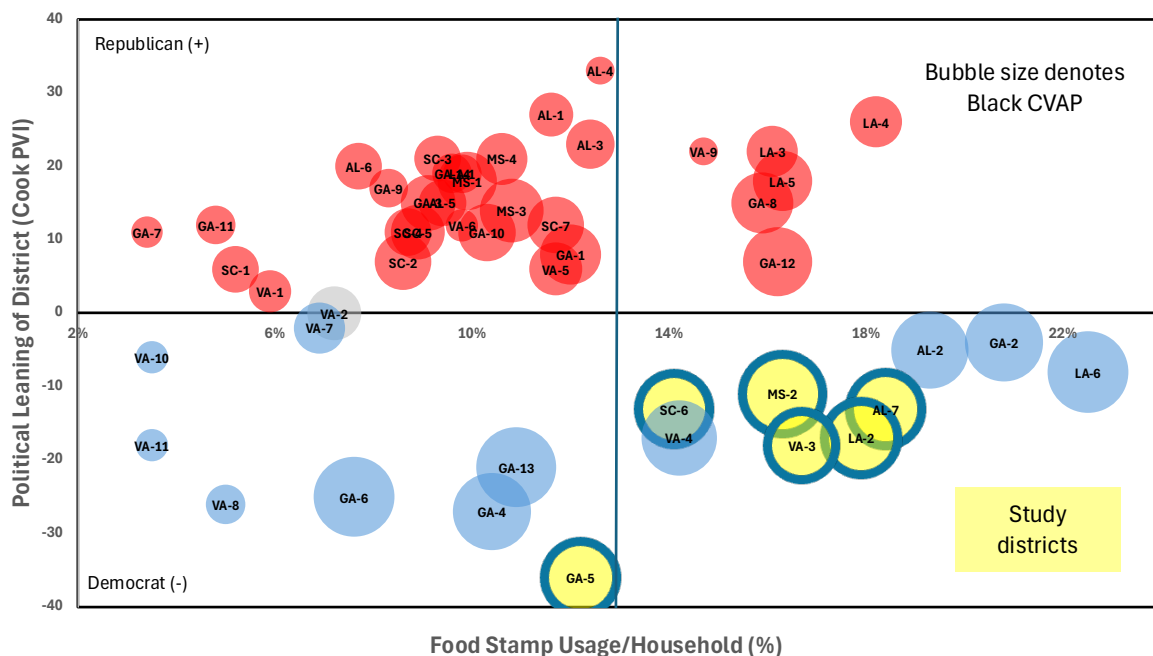
2. Children Raised in a Stable Nuclear Family

- 84% of Republican led districts representing 2.6M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 1 (fewest single mother families)
- 65% of Democrat led districts representing 3.1M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 4 (most single mother families)
- All studied majority-minority districts fell into Quadrant 4
- Affluent Virginia districts had some of the lowest incidence of single mother families.

4. Food Security

- 81% of Republican led districts representing 2.6M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 1 (lowest incidence of SNAP usage)
- 53% of Democrat led districts representing 2.5M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 4 (highest incidence of SNAP usage)
- Five of the six studied majority minority districts fell into Quadrant 4
- Again, affluent Virginia districts had some of the lowest SNAP usage

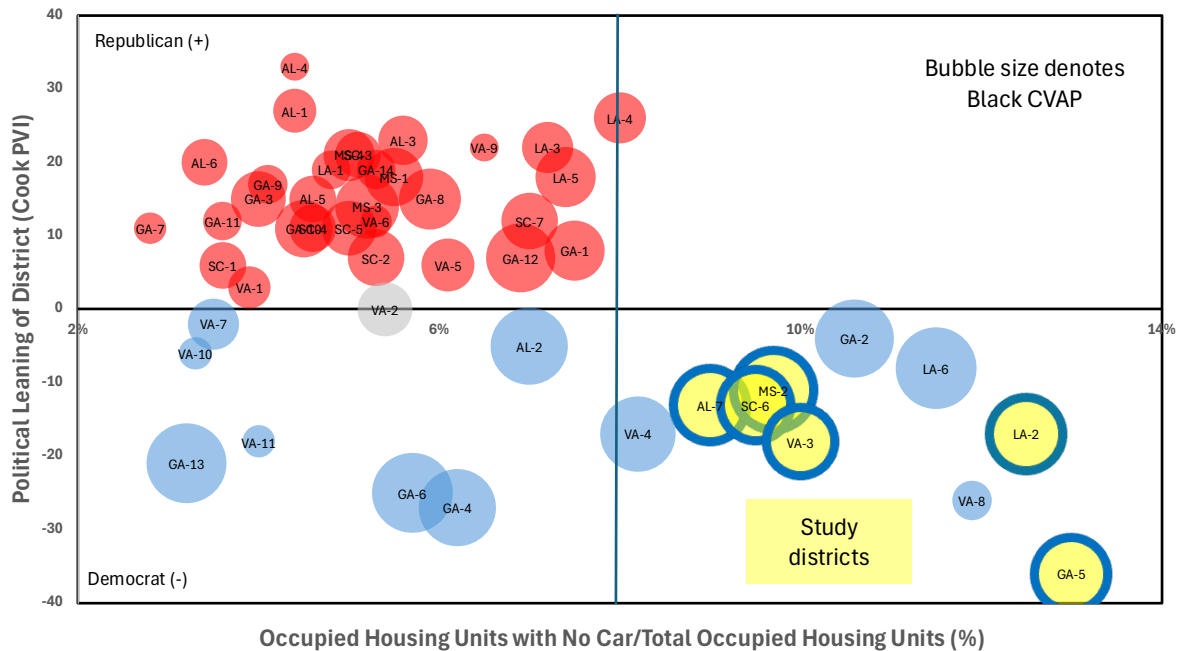
Figure 5: Key Findings - Political Mapping: Food Security



5. Own a Car

- 100% of Republican led districts representing 3.5M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 1 (lowest incidence of SNAP usage)
- 59% of Democrat led districts representing 2.6M Black CVAP fall in Quadrant 4 (highest incidence of SNAP usage)
- All six studied majority minority districts fell into Quadrant 4

Figure 6: Key Findings - Political Mapping: Own a Car



Conclusion

Our nation is founded on the principle of political equality under the dominion of Nature and Nature's God. This secures equal economic opportunity while making success the responsibility of the individual.

The *Gingles* districts inverted the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence and its structural corollary the United States Constitution. They were an attempt to equalize economic outcomes by mandating political inequality, based on race. The data shows that Democrats locked in control of densely black-populated swaths of the South for at least 30 years, failed the incredible leadership opportunity to uplift them, and used national taxpayer dollars to incentivize broken homes and government dependence over rebuilding stable families and developing economic and individual civic potential.

Such policies may have improved electability for candidates like Clyburn, who maintained his congressional seat for decades despite the continuing impoverishment of many constituents. But they betrayed the national goal of investing in the success of millions of Southern blacks and resulted in unknown ingenuity costs to America by failing to drive productive participation in the US economy.

These failures cannot be accidental. When we rejected our American identity as the first nation on Earth to choose the Law as our King, and the only nation that restricts our government to

the task of securing rights granted to each citizen equally by God, we erred. When we allowed tribalism to trump American citizenship, re-segregated along racial lines, and placed our faith in a political party over the sovereignty of individuals, we erred. When we abandoned the principle of seeking human dignity through achievement and property rights, and instead embraced victimhood, government dependence, and revenge politics, we erred.

Tragically, this study strongly indicates that the decision by the courts to use Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act to repair the socioeconomic condition of blacks through above-equal political enfranchisement was abused. The Democrat party appears to have gerrymandered political power in states that were otherwise controlled by the Republican party, expanding their congressional influence. Systemic racism was cynically projected and used as a continuing predicate for holding seats and building Democrat Electoral College votes in conservative states, without meaningful improvements for downtrodden blacks as compared to their regional peers.

Looking at the Electoral College votes argument, the concurrent development of the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact additionally validates surmising an unsavory political calculation to racial redistricting post-*Gingles*. The near-total gerrymandering of New York, California and other big states to ultimately overrule the Electoral College through permanently securing 271 Democrat votes cannot be ignored in factually assessing the outcome of this study. Our system of government was designed to protect the political minority, not drive it into submission.

With the return of colorblind voting districts post-*Callais*, except in circumstances where immediate and intentional racism is proven to have directed specific districting efforts and require repair, we have a new opportunity. Using the great principles of our founding including limited government, political equality, rule of law, deregulation, education in American civics to build engaged citizens, and incentives to hard work such as low taxes and respect for property rights we can engage the potential of every American who develops their God-given gifts within the framework of our social contract. We can reverse the downward-spiraling cascade of social ills that statistically plagues children raised in single-parent homes, restoring dignity to all our young people. We can fulfill the promise of the best outcome for the greatest number of Americans: The right to succeed in life under the laws of American republicanism, personal grit and Divine Grace.

Will *Callais* be the Economic Emancipation Proclamation for America's marginalized black populations? That depends on each of us choosing representatives willing to boldly support and defend our core national values of political equality and the individual right to pursue happiness.

Data Sources

Source	Description	Date Accessed	Link / Citation
U.S. Census	2010 American Community Survey – S0201 Report	August 2026	https://data.census.gov/table
U.S. Census	2014 American Community Survey – S0201 Report	August 2026	https://data.census.gov/table
U.S. Census	2018 American Community Survey – S0201 Report	August 2026	https://data.census.gov/table
U.S. Census	2024 American Community Survey – S0201 Report	August 2026	https://data.census.gov/table
U.S. Census	2000 Decennial Census API (S0201 equivalent)	August 2026	https://api.census.gov/data
Cook Partisan Voting Index	2025 Cook PVI SM : District Map and List (119th Congress)	September 2026	https://www.cookpolitical.com/cook-pvi/2025-partisan-voting-index
U.S. Census	American Community Survey-CVAP Special Tabulation	September 2026	https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html

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