



# ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

*The students will learn about environmental politics by creating and analyzing a power map related to the issue of CAFOs in NC. The students will determine who has the most/least power and how likely those people will agree/disagree with their goal. They will then create and analyze a power map related to a goal they want to accomplish collectively, and write a letter to a stakeholder.*

## LESSON LENGTH:

- 1 hour

## GOALS:

- To understand that power is central to environmental politics
- To understand that people have different interests and levels of power
- To show what students can do to address these problems
- Making an effective argument

## OBJECTIVES:

Students will be able to:

- Articulate specific, strategic environmental goals (at any scale, in any sector)
- Create a power map
- Identify actors and evaluate their position on the map
- Write a letter to an actor
- Use the different types of argument (ethos, pathos, logos)

Print 8 copies of page 7.

## NATIONAL, STATE, LOCAL STANDARDS

North Carolina Standard Course of Study

- **EEEn.2.8:** Evaluate human behaviors in terms of how likely they are to ensure the ability to leave sustainably on Earth.

## STUDENT TAKEAWAYS FROM LESSON:

- **Essential questions**
  - How does power operate to affect environmental outcomes?
  - What are the contrasting values/interests underlying action?
  - What makes for effective communication?
- **Definitions**
  - **Power:** Having the potential to influence another successfully by changing the behavior in a desired direction
  - **Power map:** a visual tool to identify the best individuals to target to promote social change.
  - **Politics:** the study of who gets what, when, and how based on ideas and interests; and institutions.
  - **Collective action:** the actions taken by a collection or group of people, acting based on a collective decision (i.e. how to work together collectively to address collective issues; tragedy of the commons).
  - **Individual action:** the actions taken by one individual person, acting based on his or her personal decisions.
  - **Collective action problem:** a situation in which multiple individuals would all benefit from a certain action, but an associated cost makes it implausible that any individual can or will undertake and solve it alone

## ASSESSMENTS:

- **Formative**
  - 1 minute debrief on goals
  - Providing feedback on actor's placement on power map
  - Group discussion
- **Summative**
  - Power map (with indication of movement)
  - Letter to actor/stakeholder

## **DIVERSITY (REACHING STUDENTS OF ALL LEVELS/ABILITIES):**

- Scalable—meet students where they are at, and instructors can expand from the student’s abilities
- The content spans across environment and policy information as well as values.

## **MATERIALS & EQUIPMENT:**

- 2 Post-it Posters for power maps
- CAFO background info (8 copies)
- Readings about CAFO actors for power map (cut in half-sheets)
- Sticky notes (5-6/person)
- Pens/pencils
- Markers
- 8x11 or lined paper (20 sheets)
- Envelopes (10)
- Stamps (10)

## **LOCATION:**

- This lesson can be taught anywhere.

## **RISK MANAGEMENT & SAFETY CONCERNS:**

- Students may have previous connections to or impressions of the actors written to in this activity. The instructors should be conscious of any bias that they say as well as any that students say. It is important to be as factual as possible when deciding power. The power map should be based on the goal.

## **BAD WEATHER ALTERNATIVE:**

- If short on time, facilitate a longer discussion on goals and then power. A brainstorming session could occur to talk about who they believe has power in the students’ community and who they believe does not have power; and whether this influences specific environmental problems and the people affected by the problems as well.
- The power map activity can be used as an accumulation of the environmental justice, politics, values, and tragedy of the commons lesson plans.

## **LESSON:**

### **ENGAGE:**

- Open by saying, that you will ask questions that the students may feel uneasy about but that this is a challenge by choice question. If students do not want to answer, be ready to provide a personal example or about someone you know.
- The instructor should ask the following questions to the students (Ensure the students feel the space is safe and judgement-free before asking these questions):



- Have you ever been forced to do something you didn't want to do? What did that feel like?
- On the flip side, have you ever persuaded people to join your side?
- I asked those questions because this directly relates to what power means and the importance of environmental politics. Politics is the study of who gets what, when, and how based on ideas, interests, and institutions. Decisions are made by those who ultimately have power. People use power to get what they want. What they want is informed by their values.
  - Ideas and interests directly relate to values and collective action.
  - Institutions are rules, norms, standards, and organizations (structural elements of society)

## EXPLAIN

- *In this activity, we will make a power map representing the opinions of actors about whether concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) should be allowed to continue operating in Duplin County, NC.*
- The tasks are:
  - The students read the background information (Appendix A) and discuss CAFOs and the situation in Duplin, North Carolina
  - Based on the background information, the group decides on a goal: Keep CAFOs running in Duplin County or shut them down (allow debate/discussion)
  - The instructor explains a power map



- Power mapping is a visual tool to identify the best individuals to target to promote social change. The role of relationships and networks is important when advocates seek change on issues.
- The instructor should ask a student to draw the axes as the instructor explain the axes, which are: level of power and level of agreement.
- Student draws x-axis and y-axis lines with four quadrants on the big sticky note poster paper.
- Another student (or same student) can write the words seen below:
  - X- axis: strongly disagree with goal [left] to strongly agree with goal [right]
  - Y-axis: Power (a lot of power (specific to issue) [at the top] to no power (specific to issue) [at the bottom])
- Ask students: What does this graph tell us as a whole? What does each quadrant show?
- Give an example, e.g. the mayor of Duplin County has power to make decisions, veto decisions, allow decisions, etc. *Where would a mayor go on the map according to our goal?*
  - As a group, you will have to decide if the mayor would be pro or anti-CAFO
- Divide the readings about the 8 provided actors (Appendix B) among the students. Have them read through the information about their actor and then decide where to place them on the power map.
- Have students write their actor on a sticky-note, place their actor on the power map, and explain their reasoning. Allow discussion and opportunities for students to change their minds.
- Facilitate a conversation about the power map. Ask the students: What do you see? What do you notice?
  - Are there replicas in different places?
  - What patterns, if any, do you notice?
  - What types of people/organizations do you find in the different quadrants?

## EXTEND

- **Part 1: Writing the Goal**
  - The instructor should work with students to write a goal regarding an environmental problem/issue that was/is hypothetically occurring.
  - Explain: *We have environmental problems because of collective action problems. Different rules/policies are the solution to this problem. Collective action often involves larger scales, since there are more people involved. Yet, it is possible to take individual action on large-scale issues, such as reducing greenhouse gas emission to reduce global climate change.*
  - The instructor should first ask the following questions:
    - WHAT is the problem?
      - Describe the problem.
    - WHERE is the problem happening?
    - WHO is a part of the problem? Who is the problem affecting? Who can affect the problem?
    - WHY is there a problem?
    - Describe the potential solutions.



- Using these questions, come up with a goal to address the environmental problem/issue. Remember to create a SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-bound) and strategic goal.
  - Some things for students to think about:
    - Bound yourself (you can't do everything. You want to do small things effectively)
    - Think about where needs & talents meet – a lot of what needs to change does not align with energy, natural tendency, talent, interest, and resources available.
  - If some are students are not satisfied with the goal, the instructor can ask, should we make a more stringent goal or is the bare minimum enough?
- This goal should be written on a poster paper for everyone to see once all students come to an agreement.
- **Part 2: The Power Map**
- Ask each student to identify 4-6 actors to write on their Sticky Notes and then place on the map drawn.
  - The actors can be anyone! Individuals (various types of individuals) and organizations (think faith groups, politics, social groups)
  - Ask students to discuss where they think they should place their actors with the person sitting next to them.
  - Initially only ask for 2-3 students to volunteer to place one of their sticky notes, as a check for understanding. Ask the students to give a brief explanation of their choice.
  - **EVERYONE UP!** Students should place all of the sticky notes on the power map.
  - Facilitate a conversation about the power map. Ask the students: What do you see? What do you notice?
    - Are there replicas in different places?
    - What patterns, if any, do you notice?
    - What types of people/organizations do you find the in different quadrants?
    - How do you think these patterns would change with a different goal? (i.e. if you represented a logging firm that wanted to cut down some trees in the Pisgah National Forest?)

## EXTEND/ELABORATE

- The instructor should have a further discussion with students regarding the power of the individual. One question that often comes up relating to collective action is: *Given that there are so many other people whose actions are affecting the issue, what difference do my own individual actions make?*
  - Individual's actions almost always still make a difference, even if there are many other people involved. An individual can influence what collective actions are made.
- **The Letter:**
  - Inform the students that the beginning of their individual action is to 1) make a choice so their decision will have the greatest impact possible and 2) voice their wants to those who are in power. To do this, writing a letter can be a very powerful form of individual action (and even more when it is done collectively).



- Students can write their letters individually or write a group letter:
  - Choose a stakeholder in power to receive the letter. Address the letter to this person (see Appendix C)
  - In the letter, define the problem
  - Then identify potential solution(s)
  - Argument/Advocating for the solution
    - Outline why the recipient's interests are served by the solution (e.g. what's in it for them? Good conscious? Good publicity?)
    - Why do the writers (the students) argue for the solution (e.g. do they care about their environment, their health, social justice/equality, etc.?)
  - Make a recommendation: What should the policy maker do? (Lobby for changes, send a proposal to their respective government?)
  - What strategy should the policymaker use to implement the recommendation?

## REFERENCE MATERIALS/RESOURCES:

- <https://www.energy.gov/lm/services/environmental-justice/environmental-justice-history>
- [https://sites.duke.edu/docst110s\\_01\\_s2011\\_sb211/what-is-environmental-justice/history/](https://sites.duke.edu/docst110s_01_s2011_sb211/what-is-environmental-justice/history/)
- <https://unctv.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/envh10.sci.life.eco.envracism/environmental-justice-opposing-a-toxic-waste-landfill/#0> (a video)
- <https://www.ncdcr.gov/blog/2013/02/26/a-watershed-moment-for-environmental-justice-the-warren-county-pcb-protests>
- <https://movetoamend.org/toolkit/guide-power-mapping>
- <http://mn.gov/mnddc/pipm/curriculumchangechart.html> (strategic goals)
- [https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/pihengage/pages/680/attachments/original/1471444093/Midwest\\_Strategy\\_Chart.pdf?1471444093](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/pihengage/pages/680/attachments/original/1471444093/Midwest_Strategy_Chart.pdf?1471444093) (empty strategic goal paper)



## APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CAFOS IN NC

Adapted from: <https://qz.com/433750/the-world-eats-cheap-bacon-at-the-expense-of-north-carolinas-rural-poor/>

- A **concentrated animal feeding operation (CAFO)**, as defined by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) is an animal feeding operation (AFO)—a farm in which animals are raised in confinement—that has over 1000 "animal units" confined for over 45 days a year.
- Pork has always been important to North Carolina's economy. It was among 16 commodities used as legal tender by colonists in the early 1700s. For almost as long, farmers and their neighbors have been fighting over how the animals should be managed.
- Today, the industry accounts for close to \$8 billion a year in revenue
- Since the late 1990s, Duplin has been the top hog producing county in the country.
  - Home to about 530 hog operations with capacity for over 2 million pigs; hogs outnumber humans almost 32 to 1
  - Hog industry seen as essential for the economy
- Accompanying all those swine is a lot of waste—hogs produce two-to-five times as much waste as humans.
  - The nearly 2.3 million hogs raised in Duplin County generated twice as much waste as the entire city of New York (p.11) in 2007, the nonprofit Food and Water Watch estimates.
  - Waste from CAFOs is collected in cesspools, what the industries call lagoons—uncovered earthen storage pools of waste.
  - Today, almost all of North Carolina's 2,100-plus hog farms still store their waste in open lagoons, which can be as large as a football field.
- The noxious odors are apparent to anyone traveling through hog country.
- Not a whole lot is known about the health and environmental effects of the lagoons.
  - There has been little research into claims that they hurt the health of people living or working near them through water or air contamination.
  - In recent years, environmentalists, academics, and public health advocates have begun documenting their impact.
  - Studies point to effects from impaired memory to higher infant mortality rates, wheezing, nausea, and higher blood pressure.
- Almost a quarter of the population lives below the poverty line, making Duplin County one of the poorest counties in North Carolina. It is also disproportionately black and Hispanic compared to the rest of the state.
  - A study released last year by UNCCH found that black North Carolinians were one and a half times as likely to live within three miles of an industrial hog operation as white residents. American Indians were twice as likely. Hispanic residents were 1.39 times as likely to live near these facilities in North Carolina. "This spatial pattern is generally recognized as environmental racism," the study's authors concluded.
- Armed protestors blocked construction of a new farm in Craven County northeast of Duplin after lagoons overflowed during storms, submerging entire towns in waste.





## APPENDIX B: ACTORS TO PLACE ON THE POWER MAP

(Cut apart, and give an actor to each girl.)

### (1) City Council

- The city council is elected by the citizens by a popular vote and is the governing body that can pass policy about the CAFOs in Duplin County (to protect them or shut them down).
- North Carolina state officials agree with the hog producers that the lagoons are safe and that the regulatory system in place is more than enough to mitigate any potential impact of the farms. Swine farms must have permits, approved waste management plans, detailed logbooks of how many times they fertilize the crops as well as soil samples to ensure they're not over-applying. Farmers also have to maintain "freeboard" of at least one foot between the liquid waste and the top of the lagoon to prevent overflow during storms.

### (2) Local swine farmers/hog growers

- From ncfarmfamilies.com: "Over 80% of North Carolina's pork farms are owned and operated by individual farm families, who make the preservation of the environment, the humane treatment of their livestock, and the well-being of the communities they live in top priorities. These family farms produce a high-quality, healthy, nutritious product - grown and processed right here in North Carolina - that is in high demand in North Carolina, across the country and around the world.
- These farms operate the right way. Pork farmers in North Carolina specifically work with animal scientists and veterinarians, including those at North Carolina State University, to make sure they raise and bring pigs to market humanely.
- Recently, these family farmers have been under attack by anti-agriculture activist groups. These attacks have the potential to badly damage the state economy, cost thousands of jobs, and put many family farmers out of business."

### (3) Smithfield Foods (hog producer/meat-processing company)

- Smithfield representatives say the company has gone beyond meeting state regulations on waste processing by setting up internal audits and reporting systems that provide local residents with a mechanism to file complaints. In 2000, Smithfield told the state it would spend \$17 million researching waste management alternatives, with the aim of implementing new, "environmentally superior" technologies.
- Smithfield Foods argues that few studies show a direct link between hog CAFOs and harm to people's health or the environment. Pollutants can also come from other sources like fertilizer, municipal human waste, or wildlife, they point out. They say that the lagoons, if maintained properly, can last forever and pose little threat to the environment or nearby residents. According to a 2008 Government Accountability Office survey, 53 of 68 government-sponsored or peer-reviewed studies failed to directly link air and water pollution from animal waste to environmental and health problems. Although the remaining 15 do show a link, they're not sufficiently damning to force hog producers or the state to do more.





#### (4) Duplin County residents that work in the CAFO business

- Today, the industry accounts for 46,000 full-time jobs in production and processing, according to the North Carolina Pork Council, making the state the second largest pork producer in the U.S.
- Some people prefer to think of the plaintiffs and critics of the industry as outsiders, attacking an economy and way of life they don't understand. Amanda James is president of Rose Hill Magnolia Elementary, a primary school located just behind a rendering plant in Duplin County that turns unwanted animal parts into feed and other products. She says the plant does a good job of minimizing the odors it sends into the air. "Not to mention the thousands of jobs that are provided to so many families in the area because of our hog farms," she says. "We here in Duplin County are fine and would appreciate if...others who don't like our way of life stay where they come from and quit trying to disturb our way of life," James adds.

#### (5) Meat-eaters (the American public)

- The CAFOs are a big reason why Americans can buy their pork for as little as \$2.50 per pound.
- Lagoons, which require little human-power to operate along with cheaper feed in the US and the use of larger and more efficient CAFOs have helped lower costs.

#### (6) Violet Branch (citizen of Duplin County)

- Lives next door to a swine farmer who keeps two lakes filled with a swampy mixture of feces and urine that he periodically spreads on his crops as fertilizer. An odor of rotting eggs fills her yard at least twice a week. It occasionally fills her home, giving her nausea and on some occasions causing her to vomit.
- Lagoons disrupt her life
  - She is so embarrassed by the odor that she no longer has friends over.
  - Her children get teased at school because their clothes smell like hog manure.
- Public health concerns
  - When the farmers spray the waste from the lagoons onto crops, a fine mist of liquefied feces collects on their houses and cars, attracting swarms of flies.





**(7) Elsie Herring** (citizen of Duplin County)

- She says that living next to a hog farm made her mother and brother's last years of life hard. Herring lives in the town of Wallace in Duplin, where she and her siblings grew up on land that her grandfather, a freed slave, had bought in 1891. Her mother died in 2001; her brother, who had Down syndrome, died in 2006. During their last few years, Herring avoided letting them sit outside when the farmer next door was spraying waste from his lagoon onto crops. The odor, she said, would drift over and give them breathing problems. Herring didn't have the time or money to drive her mother elsewhere so that she could escape the smell. "My mother, all she could do was get out and walk around outside," Herring says from inside her living room. The room, dotted with candles and air fresheners, also has an air conditioning unit, an expense that Herring says she's forced to incur because she can't leave her windows open now.
  - Lagoons devalue her property.
    - They are forced to close their family business, a restaurant, because the smell drove customers away.

**(8) Environmentalists**

- Local environmentalists argue that in eastern North Carolina, a swampy wetland where the ground water tables are high, waste runs off of the spray fields into ditches that lead into creeks and major streams like the Cape Fear River. A study released in January by researchers at the University of North Carolina and Johns Hopkins University found elevated levels of hog-related fecal bacteria—which can cause hepatitis, typhoid, dysentery and other health problems—in waterways near hog operations.
- A new study released in June by the U.S. Geological Survey found that 21 of 36 watersheds in eastern North Carolina with swine or poultry CAFOs showed higher levels of nutrients and major ions than those without. Other studies point to effects ranging from impaired memory function to higher infant mortality (paywall) rates; higher asthma rates in children to wheezing, nausea and higher blood pressure among the neighboring population.





## APPENDIX C: LIST OF STAKEHOLDERS IN NC

(organized by county so students can choose a senator/representative to write to)

Governor: Roy Cooper

Lieutenant Governor: Dan Forest

### North Carolina Senators

#### 2017-2018 Session

Party	District	Member	Counties Represented
(R)	<u>District 1</u>	<u>Bill Cook</u>	<u>Beaufort, Camden, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hyde, Pasquotank, Perquimans</u>
(R)	<u>District 2</u>	<u>Norman W. Sanderson</u>	<u>Carteret, Craven, Pamlico</u>
(D)	<u>District 3</u>	<u>Erica D. Smith</u>	<u>Bertie, Chowan, Edgecombe, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Tyrrell, Washington</u>
(D)	<u>District 4</u>	<u>Milton F. "Toby" Fitch, Jr.</u>	<u>Halifax, Nash, Vance, Warren, Wilson</u>
(D)	<u>District 5</u>	<u>Don Davis</u>	<u>Greene, Lenoir, Pitt, Wayne</u>
(R)	<u>District 6</u>	<u>Harry Brown</u>	<u>Jones, Onslow</u>
(R)	<u>District 7</u>	<u>Louis Pate</u>	<u>Lenoir, Pitt, Wayne</u>
(R)	<u>District 8</u>	<u>Bill Rabon</u>	<u>Bladen, Brunswick, New Hanover, Pender</u>
(R)	<u>District 9</u>	<u>Michael V. Lee</u>	<u>New Hanover</u>
(R)	<u>District 10</u>	<u>Brent Jackson</u>	<u>Duplin, Johnston, Sampson</u>
(R)	<u>District 11</u>	<u>Rick Horner</u>	<u>Johnston, Nash, Wilson</u>
(R)	<u>District 12</u>	<u>Ronald J. Rabin</u>	<u>Harnett, Johnston, Lee</u>
(R)	<u>District 13</u>	<u>Danny Earl Britt, Jr.</u>	<u>Columbus, Robeson</u>
(D)	<u>District 14</u>	<u>Dan Blue</u>	<u>Wake</u>
(R)	<u>District 15</u>	<u>John M. Alexander, Jr.</u>	<u>Wake</u>
(D)	<u>District 16</u>	<u>Jay J. Chaudhuri</u>	<u>Wake</u>
(R)	<u>District 17</u>	<u>Tamara Barringer</u>	<u>Wake</u>
(R)	<u>District 18</u>	<u>Chad Barefoot</u>	<u>Franklin, Wake</u>
(R)	<u>District 19</u>	<u>Wesley Meredith</u>	<u>Cumberland</u>
(D)	<u>District 20</u>	<u>Floyd B. McKissick, Jr.</u>	<u>Durham, Granville</u>
(D)	<u>District 21</u>	<u>Ben Clark</u>	<u>Cumberland, Hoke</u>
(D)	<u>District 22</u>	<u>Mike Woodard</u>	<u>Caswell, Durham, Person</u>
(D)	<u>District 23</u>	<u>Valerie P. Foushee</u>	<u>Chatham, Orange</u>
(R)	<u>District 24</u>	<u>Rick Gunn</u>	<u>Alamance, Randolph</u>
(R)	<u>District 25</u>	<u>Tom McInnis</u>	<u>Anson, Richmond, Rowan, Scotland, Stanly</u>
(R)	<u>District 26</u>	<u>Phil Berger</u>	<u>Guilford, Rockingham</u>
(R)	<u>District 27</u>	<u>Trudy Wade</u>	<u>Guilford</u>
(D)	<u>District 28</u>	<u>Gladys A. Robinson</u>	<u>Guilford</u>
(R)	<u>District 29</u>	<u>Jerry W. Tillman</u>	<u>Moore, Randolph</u>
(R)	<u>District 30</u>	<u>Shirley B. Randleman</u>	<u>Stokes, Surry, Wilkes</u>
(R)	<u>District 31</u>	<u>Joyce Krawiec</u>	<u>Forsyth, Yadkin</u>
(D)	<u>District 32</u>	<u>Paul A. Lowe, Jr.</u>	<u>Forsyth</u>
(R)	<u>District 33</u>	<u>Cathy Dunn</u>	<u>Davidson, Montgomery</u>
(R)	<u>District 34</u>	<u>Dan Barrett</u>	<u>Davie, Iredell, Rowan</u>
(R)	<u>District 35</u>	<u>Tommy Tucker</u>	<u>Union</u>
(R)	<u>District 36</u>	<u>Paul Newton</u>	<u>Cabarrus, Union</u>
(D)	<u>District 37</u>	<u>Jeff Jackson</u>	<u>Mecklenburg</u>
(D)	<u>District 38</u>	<u>Joel D. M. Ford</u>	<u>Mecklenburg</u>
(R)	<u>District 39</u>	<u>Dan Bishop</u>	<u>Mecklenburg</u>



(D)	<a href="#">District 40</a>	<a href="#">Joyce Waddell</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 41</a>	<a href="#">Jeff Tarte</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 42</a>	<a href="#">Andy Wells</a>	<a href="#">Alexander, Catawba</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 43</a>	<a href="#">Kathy Harrington</a>	<a href="#">Gaston</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 44</a>	<a href="#">David L. Curtis</a>	<a href="#">Gaston, Iredell, Lincoln</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 45</a>	<a href="#">Deanna Ballard</a>	<a href="#">Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Caldwell, Watauga</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 46</a>	<a href="#">Warren Daniel</a>	<a href="#">Burke, Cleveland</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 47</a>	<a href="#">Ralph Hise</a>	<a href="#">Madison, McDowell, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Yancey</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 48</a>	<a href="#">Chuck Edwards</a>	<a href="#">Buncombe, Henderson, Transylvania</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 49</a>	<a href="#">Terry Van Duvn</a>	<a href="#">Buncombe</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 50</a>	<a href="#">Jim Davis</a>	<a href="#">Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain</a>

## North Carolina House of Representatives Members 2017-2018 Session

<a href="#">Party</a>	<a href="#">District</a>	<a href="#">Member</a>	<a href="#">Counties Represented</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 1</a>	<a href="#">Bob Steinburg</a>	<a href="#">Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 2</a>	<a href="#">Larry Yarborough</a>	<a href="#">Granville, Person</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 3</a>	<a href="#">Michael Speciale</a>	<a href="#">Beaufort, Craven, Pamlico</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 4</a>	<a href="#">Jimmy Dixon</a>	<a href="#">Duplin, Wayne</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 5</a>	<a href="#">Howard J. Hunter, III</a>	<a href="#">Bertie, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 6</a>	<a href="#">Beverly G. Boswell</a>	<a href="#">Beaufort, Dare, Hyde, Washington</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 7</a>	<a href="#">Bobbie Richardson</a>	<a href="#">Franklin, Nash</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 8</a>	<a href="#">Susan Martin</a>	<a href="#">Pitt, Wilson</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 9</a>	<a href="#">Gregory F. Murphy, MD</a>	<a href="#">Pitt</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 10</a>	<a href="#">John R. Bell, IV</a>	<a href="#">Craven, Greene, Lenoir, Wayne</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 11</a>	<a href="#">Duane Hall</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 12</a>	<a href="#">George Graham</a>	<a href="#">Craven, Greene, Lenoir</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 13</a>	<a href="#">Pat McElraft</a>	<a href="#">Carteret, Jones</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 14</a>	<a href="#">George G. Cleveland</a>	<a href="#">Onslow</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 15</a>	<a href="#">Phil Shepard</a>	<a href="#">Onslow</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 16</a>	<a href="#">Bob Muller</a> [ APPOINTED 09/26/2017 ]	<a href="#">Onslow, Pender</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 17</a>	<a href="#">Frank Iler</a>	<a href="#">Brunswick</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 18</a>	<a href="#">Deb Butler</a> [ APPOINTED 02/06/2017 ]	<a href="#">Brunswick, New Hanover</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 19</a>	<a href="#">Ted Davis, Jr.</a>	<a href="#">New Hanover</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 20</a>	<a href="#">Holly Grange</a>	<a href="#">New Hanover</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 21</a>	<a href="#">Larry M. Bell</a>	<a href="#">Duplin, Sampson, Wayne</a>



(R)	<a href="#">District 22</a>	<a href="#">William D. Brisson</a>	<a href="#">Bladen, Johnston, Sampson</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 23</a>	<a href="#">Shelly Willingham</a>	<a href="#">Edgecombe, Martin</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 24</a>	<a href="#">Jean Farmer-Butterfield</a>	<a href="#">Pitt, Wilson</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 25</a>	<a href="#">Jeff Collins</a>	<a href="#">Franklin, Nash</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 26</a>	<a href="#">Donna McDowell White</a>	<a href="#">Johnston</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 27</a>	<a href="#">Michael H. Wray</a>	<a href="#">Halifax, Northampton</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 28</a>	<a href="#">Larry C. Strickland</a>	<a href="#">Johnston</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 29</a>	<a href="#">MaryAnn Black</a> [ APPOINTED 02/15/2017 ]	<a href="#">Durham</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 30</a>	<a href="#">Marcia Morey</a> [ APPOINTED 04/05/2017 ]	<a href="#">Durham</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 31</a>	<a href="#">Henry M. Michaux, Jr.</a>	<a href="#">Durham</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 32</a>	<a href="#">Terry E. Garrison</a>	<a href="#">Granville, Vance, Warren</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 33</a>	<a href="#">Rosa U. Gill</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 34</a>	<a href="#">Grier Martin</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 35</a>	<a href="#">Chris Malone</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 36</a>	<a href="#">Nelson Dollar</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 37</a>	<a href="#">Linda Hunt Williams</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 38</a>	<a href="#">Yvonne Lewis Holley</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 39</a>	<a href="#">Darren G. Jackson</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 40</a>	<a href="#">Joe John</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 41</a>	<a href="#">Gale Adcock</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 42</a>	<a href="#">Marvin W. Lucas</a>	<a href="#">Cumberland</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 43</a>	<a href="#">Elmer Floyd</a>	<a href="#">Cumberland</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 44</a>	<a href="#">William O. Richardson</a>	<a href="#">Cumberland</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 45</a>	<a href="#">John Szoka</a>	<a href="#">Cumberland</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 46</a>	<a href="#">Brenden H. Jones</a>	<a href="#">Bladen, Columbus, Robeson</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 47</a>	<a href="#">Charles Graham</a>	<a href="#">Robeson</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 48</a>	<a href="#">Garland E. Pierce</a>	<a href="#">Hoke, Richmond, Robeson, Scotland</a>



(D)	<a href="#">District 49</a>	<a href="#">Cynthia Ball</a>	<a href="#">Wake</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 50</a>	<a href="#">Graig R. Meyer</a>	<a href="#">Durham, Orange</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 51</a>	<a href="#">John Sauls</a>	<a href="#">Harnett, Lee</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 52</a>	<a href="#">James L. Boles, Jr.</a>	<a href="#">Moore</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 53</a>	<a href="#">David R. Lewis</a>	<a href="#">Harnett</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 54</a>	<a href="#">Robert T. Reives, II</a>	<a href="#">Chatham, Lee</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 55</a>	<a href="#">Mark Brody</a>	<a href="#">Anson, Union</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 56</a>	<a href="#">Verla Insko</a>	<a href="#">Orange</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 57</a>	<a href="#">Pricey Harrison</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 58</a>	<a href="#">Amos L. Quick, III</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 59</a>	<a href="#">Jon Hardister</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 60</a>	<a href="#">Cecil Brockman</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 61</a>	<a href="#">John Faircloth</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 62</a>	<a href="#">John M. Blust</a>	<a href="#">Guilford</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 63</a>	<a href="#">Stephen M. Ross</a>	<a href="#">Alamance</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 64</a>	<a href="#">Dennis Riddell</a>	<a href="#">Alamance</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 65</a>	<a href="#">Bert Jones</a>	<a href="#">Caswell, Rockingham</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 66</a>	<a href="#">Ken Goodman</a>	<a href="#">Hoke, Montgomery, Richmond, Robeson, Scotland</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 67</a>	<a href="#">Justin P. Burr</a>	<a href="#">Montgomery, Stanly</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 68</a>	<a href="#">D. Craig Horn</a>	<a href="#">Union</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 69</a>	<a href="#">Dean Arp</a>	<a href="#">Union</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 70</a>	<a href="#">Pat B. Hurley</a>	<a href="#">Randolph</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 71</a>	<a href="#">Evelyn Terry</a>	<a href="#">Forsyth</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 72</a>	<a href="#">Edward Hanes, Jr.</a>	<a href="#">Forsyth</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 73</a>	<a href="#">Lee Zachary</a>	<a href="#">Alexander, Wilkes, Yadkin</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 74</a>	<a href="#">Debra Conrad</a>	<a href="#">Forsyth</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 75</a>	<a href="#">Donny Lambeth</a>	<a href="#">Forsyth</a>



(R)	<a href="#">District 76</a>	<a href="#">Carl Ford</a>	<a href="#">Cabarrus, Rowan</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 77</a>	<a href="#">Harry Warren</a>	<a href="#">Rowan</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 78</a>	<a href="#">Allen McNeill</a>	<a href="#">Moore, Randolph</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 79</a>	<a href="#">Julia C. Howard</a>	<a href="#">Davie, Forsyth</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 80</a>	<a href="#">Sam Watford</a>	<a href="#">Davidson</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 81</a>	<a href="#">Larry W. Potts</a>	<a href="#">Davidson</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 82</a>	<a href="#">Larry G. Pittman</a>	<a href="#">Cabarrus</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 83</a>	<a href="#">Linda P. Johnson</a>	<a href="#">Cabarrus</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 84</a>	<a href="#">Rena W. Turner</a>	<a href="#">Iredell</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 85</a>	<a href="#">Josh Dobson</a>	<a href="#">Avery, McDowell, Mitchell</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 86</a>	<a href="#">Hugh Blackwell</a>	<a href="#">Burke</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 87</a>	<a href="#">Destin Hall</a>	<a href="#">Caldwell</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 88</a>	<a href="#">Mary Belk</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 89</a>	<a href="#">Mitchell S. Setzer</a>	<a href="#">Catawba</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 90</a>	<a href="#">Sarah Stevens</a>	<a href="#">Surry, Wilkes</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 91</a>	<a href="#">Kyle Hall</a>	<a href="#">Rockingham, Stokes</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 92</a>	<a href="#">Chaz Beasley</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 93</a>	<a href="#">Jonathan C. Jordan</a>	<a href="#">Ashe, Watauga</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 94</a>	<a href="#">Jeffrey Elmore</a>	<a href="#">Alleghany, Wilkes</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 95</a>	<a href="#">John A. Fraley</a>	<a href="#">Iredell</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 96</a>	<a href="#">Jay Adams</a>	<a href="#">Catawba</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 97</a>	<a href="#">Jason Saine</a>	<a href="#">Lincoln</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 98</a>	<a href="#">John R. Bradford, III</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 99</a>	<a href="#">Rodney W. Moore</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 100</a>	<a href="#">John Autry</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 101</a>	<a href="#">Beverly M. Earle</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 102</a>	<a href="#">Becky Carney</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>



(R)	<a href="#">District 103</a>	<a href="#">William Brawley</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 104</a>	<a href="#">Andy Dulin</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 105</a>	<a href="#">Scott Stone</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 106</a>	<a href="#">Carla D. Cunningham</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 107</a>	<a href="#">Kelly M. Alexander, Jr.</a>	<a href="#">Mecklenburg</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 108</a>	<a href="#">John A. Torbett</a>	<a href="#">Gaston</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 109</a>	<a href="#">Dana Bumgardner</a>	<a href="#">Gaston</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 110</a>	<a href="#">Kelly E. Hastings</a>	<a href="#">Cleveland, Gaston</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 111</a>	<a href="#">Tim Moore</a>	<a href="#">Cleveland</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 112</a>	<a href="#">David Rogers</a>	<a href="#">Burke, Rutherford</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 113</a>	<a href="#">Cody Henson</a>	<a href="#">Henderson, Polk, Transylvania</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 114</a>	<a href="#">Susan C. Fisher</a>	<a href="#">Buncombe</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 115</a>	<a href="#">John Ager</a>	<a href="#">Buncombe</a>
(D)	<a href="#">District 116</a>	<a href="#">Brian Turner</a>	<a href="#">Buncombe</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 117</a>	<a href="#">Chuck McGrady</a>	<a href="#">Henderson</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 118</a>	<a href="#">Michele D. Presnell</a>	<a href="#">Haywood, Madison, Yancey</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 119</a>	<a href="#">Mike Clampitt</a>	<a href="#">Haywood, Jackson, Swain</a>
(R)	<a href="#">District 120</a>	<a href="#">Kevin Corbin</a>	<a href="#">Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon</a>

