THE TEA PARTY IN NORTH CAROLINA

★ THREAT TO A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM ★

BY DEVIN BURGHART & LEONARD ZESKIND
PREFACE BY REV. DR. WILLIAM J. BARBER II
& FOREWORD BY ALAN McSURELY

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By Devin Burghart and Leonard Zeskind
Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights

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Contents

Preface *by Rev. Dr. William J. Barber II* 1

Foreword: Exposing the Hard Right's Bag of Tricks Against Poor and Working White People *by Alan McSurely* 2

Introduction 4

Inside the Tea Party in North Carolina 7

Tea Party Membership in North Carolina 10

North Carolina Tea Party Chapters 18

Beyond Policy: North Carolina Tea Party's Racially Divisive Posture 23

- Tea Party Racialized Voter Suppression 23
- Post HB 589 Voter Suppression Efforts 24
- North Carolina Tea Party Racism 25
- North Carolina Tea Party Nativism 26
- Guns and Militia Madness 27

North Carolina General Assembly Tea Party Support and Opposition 30

- Tea Party Support and Opposition in the NC House of Representatives 32
- Tea Party Support and Opposition in the NC Senate 34

A New Birth of Freedom is in the Offing 36

Appendices

- Appendix A: Tea Party Support and Opposition Ratings – NC House 38
- Appendix B: Tea Party Support and Opposition Ratings – NC Senate 41
- Appendix C: Tea Party Member Data Collection and Analysis Methodology 43
- Appendix D: Tea Party Chapters in North Carolina 45
- Appendix E: White Supremacist Violence from Ft. Bragg 47

Notes 49

Preface

By Rev. Dr. William J. Barber II

President, NC NAACP Conference of Branches

This report by Leonard Zeskind and Devin Burghart both grieves us and grabs us. It grieves us because almost 14 years into the 21st century it exposes the Tea Party agenda and how the North Carolina Legislature, under the leadership of Thom Tillis and Phil Berger, with Gov. McCrory's approving pen, has become a bastion of Tea Party policy extremism. They have turned it into the Anti-People's House, the Tea Party House, undermining and stalling policies that would advance health care, public education, equal protection under the law, and voting rights. It grieves us to see this in North Carolina, once arguably known as one of the more forward-thinking southern states.

But it also grabs our attention. It grabs our hearts. It grabs our justice sensibilities. This report is added proof that long walk to higher ground by the Forward Together Moral Monday Movement is of utmost importance. This report gives added urgency to our five national game changer policy objectives:

1. Economic sustainability through good jobs and labor rights to eliminate poverty.
2. Educational equality and excellence for all
3. Health care and environmental justice for all
4. Addressing disparities in the criminal justice system.
5. Protecting and expanding voting and civil rights.

Forward Together. Not One Step Back! Why we shall not be moved in the fight for justice NOW!

William J. Barber II

Foreword

Exposing the Hard Right's Bag of Tricks Against Poor and Working White People

by Alan McSurely, Civil Rights Lawyer
Communications Committee Chair, North Carolina NAACP

In 1967, some of us went across the mountains into Eastern Kentucky to start the task of rebuilding the Black-White fusion political movement that had led to progressive state governments in North Carolina and other parts of the south during the latter part of the 1800's. We were immediately targeted. In August, a few months before the gubernatorial election, the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor led a raid on our house, and arrested Margaret Herring, Joe Mulloy, and me, charging us with committing the crime of *sedition*. The Pike County Sheriff testified he believed "sedition" was holding meetings with White and Black people together.

A month after we were thrown in jail, the U.S. District Court declared the Kentucky sedition law unconstitutional. Three months later, the man who arrested us lost the election for Lt. Governor of Kentucky. When we sued him and his co-conspirators, I was able to get a much better understanding of the bag of race-based tricks that the big corporations and their banks allow their political operatives to use, to elect and re-elect their political agents.

The bag of tricks has a common theme: Target and blame poor people of color for every social problem caused by low-wages, scarce jobs, no health insurance and under-funded schools. Try not to target poor and working *white* Americans, although they suffer from low-wages, scarce jobs, under-funded schools and no health insurance, almost as much as their Black neighbors. Instead offer white working people big doses of propaganda about some social issue like abortion, guns, prayers, gay people, and crime, throw in some patronage jobs, and convince them they are "conservatives."

In 1967 while we were fighting to stay out of jail for suggesting that white and black people had a lot in common, Richard Nixon was studying a memo written by a young Colgate graduate, Kevin Phillips, which provided a blue print for maintaining racial divisions and suspicions. The memo, soon published as *The Emerging Republican Majority,* was full of new racial demographics and predictions. Written shortly after overwhelming congressional majorities passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that unleashed black voting power within the southern electorate, Nixon's game plan had one central premise. Black kids and black voters entering the mainstream of southern society,

with federal assistance if necessary, could be used to scare working white families, particularly if Republican politicians would use certain tested euphemisms to pander to their prejudices. The euphemisms of Nixon's *southern strategy*, and the prejudice-pandering propaganda spewing from lips of opportunistic politicians has been the shameful hallmark of the right-wing anti-democracy movement ever since.

In 2008, a few days (some say hours) after the first black President was elected, the anti-democracy movement invented what it called a grass-roots movement--a virtually all-white group called the Tea Party. Most of its visible black members are paid. It has popped up in several counties in North Carolina. Sometimes the Americans for Prosperity, a national hard-right group funded by the Pope and Koch families, puts a call out to the Tea Party to hold counter-demonstrations against the exciting new multi-racial democracy movement we call Forward Together, Not One Step Back. The Tea Party spokespeople are often tongue-tied when they are asked why they cannot attract any people of color and why their numbers keep getting smaller.

In the next pages, the pro-democracy movement we call Forward Together, Not One Step Back, can learn more about the North Carolina anti-democracy movement, which still uses the Tea Party label. The *Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights*, and its two principals, Leonard Zeskind and Devin Burghart have been studying the internal workings of the far right and white nationalist cadre and those who set up the Tea Party for decades. Zeskind's book, *Blood and Politics: The History of White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, published by Farrar Straus & Giroux in May 2009 is the desk book for any political analyst, editor or reporter who is reporting on the real world. Cong. John Lewis was recently in North Carolina and had an elegant way of stating the present state of the House of Representatives. "Some of them," Cong. Lewis said, "have not made the adjustment yet to an educated, thoughtful black man as President. That will take some time."

We are seeing adjustments being made today. When we won a great victory in this fall at the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, it has been difficult for the hard-right leadership in Raleigh—Speaker Tillis, Senate Leader Berger, and Gov. McCrory -- to adjust to the new real world.

We urge you to study the report the IREHR research team has written for the NC NAACP and join with those of us who have adjusted and are pleased to go Forward Together, Not One Step Back!

Introduction

This report on the Tea Party in North Carolina details the movement's constituent organizations, the issues they mobilize around, and their impact on public policy. It also describes the broad-based non-electoral opposition it has engendered. As the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights (IREHR) reported in January 2014, most of the recent growth in core Tea Party membership has been in the South. The growth in North Carolina has notably exceeded national averages.

IREHR begins with an examination of the North Carolina Tea Party membership. We delineate where Tea Party organizations are. We analyze how many members are in each location, and whether that membership is in metropolitan, urban or rural population centers. Our examination of chapters finds that a number are part of national organizations, and that across the state they are well-networked with each other. It should be noted that IREHR's research in this arena is original and one-of-a-kind. Our data is highly valued by academics, some of whom have used IREHR's Tea Party membership numbers as the basis for further study. The membership data cited in this report is the basis for many of IREHR's further findings.

This report documents the "Birtherism" found in Tea Party leadership ranks. We also look at the opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment, and the promise of birthright citizenship and equality before the law that this part of the Constitution promises. IREHR found militia members, and support for phony sovereign "common law" citizenship, in addition to ordinary racism and anti-immigrant nativism. IREHR also examined the level of support for this movement inside the state legislature.

A final section of this report describes the HKonJ and Moral Monday movement. Although the HKonJ organization was created years before the Tea Parties emerged, and had a progressive "fusionist" agenda of its own, it has become the primary vehicle for *opposition* to the Tea Party movement in North Carolina. It regards itself as rooted in the post-Civil War Reconstruction and

the long struggle for justice and equality that has opposed white supremacy, even its current and most ugly forms.

The Obama presidency and control of the executive branch of government has curbed, over time, the federal impact of the Tea Parties. In a number of states, however, the Tea Party movement is truly wide and deep. In those states, like North Carolina, the Tea Party movement's impact has been greatest.

At its July 2010 national convention, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) passed a resolution condemning racism when it appeared in the Tea Party movement. The oldest, largest and most respected civil rights organization called upon "all people of good will to repudiate the racism of the Tea Parties, and stand in opposition" to it.

The significance of racism within the Tea Party movement has increased since its founding in 2009 as a vehicle to protest the policies of President Obama, the first African American president of the United States. In October 2010, when IREHR published *Tea Party Nationalism*, its first major report on this movement, we detailed a number of hard-core white nationalists who had taken up seats and leadership in Tea Parties. We described the racial language that Tea Party leaders used, the embrace of the Confederate battle flag, the widespread rejection on the Fourteenth Amendment, and the widely-held perception that President Obama was not a natural born American. In reports since, IREHR has documented the extent to which the rank-and-file anti-immigrant movement owed its existence to the Tea Parties. In the most recent years, academic documentation of this racism has multiplied, and some studies indicate that the problem is getting worse.

Tea Partiers deny this racism at almost every juncture. Indeed, that is one of several points that separate the white nationalists, who are discussed in this report, from Tea Partiers. The former do not deny their racism, they extoll it and turn it into one of the central points of their ideology. Tea Partiers, by contrast, claim often that it is their belief in the free market, low taxation and limited government that sets them apart. They are "aware of the cultural opprobrium that attaches to undisguised antipathy."[1]

A multi-year longitudinal study found that at their earliest moments of membership, "identification with the Tea Party was positively associated with anti-Black prejudice, libertarian ideology, social conservatism, Social Dominance Orientation and national decline."[2] In other words, their racism was part of an ideological construct, and less a stand-alone issue. Overtime, however, pure libertarians *tended* to drop away from the Tea Party movement, while "socially conservative Whites" were more likely to increase in numbers.[3] At the same time, the study found that the whites' levels of racial identity tended to increase. ***The longer members were in the Tea Party milieu, the more racist they became.***

Other academics found both racial animus and the fact that Tea Partiers were "statistically more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrant and sexual minorities across a range of different

issues…and are firmly opposed to the idea of group equality."[4] Thus, Tea Partiers are motivated by a desire to protect white privileges. Another set of academics found that educational segregation was a "strong predictor" of Tea Party activism, that such segregation "shapes perceptions of economic inequality," and separates those they regard as the "undeserving" poor, from others.[5] This complex of racism and animus is dangerous enough as it stands. But it is set in an environment in which whites, but not blacks, regard the battle over racism as a zero-sum contest that they are losing, rather than an attempt to build a better, more moral, egalitarian society.[6]

Further, the Tea Party Movement has emerged at a dangerous point in history. According to a 2012 Associated Press poll, the general public's racial animus towards black people had increased during the first four years of the Obama presidency. It found that "a slight majority now express prejudice towards blacks."[7] Race relations in our society as a whole are declining, getting worse, and the Tea Party movement may be part of the cause.

The Tea Party movement's long war for its version of "constitutional" government, limited spending, reduced taxation and opposition to regulations is well known. Less well-known and requiring closer public examination are the racism, anti-immigrant nativism and opposition to the extension of voting rights within the movement's ranks. A wide public education on the Tea Parties' anti-democratic failings should ensue and a cry of warning should be heard.

Inside the Tea Party in North Carolina

On Saturday, August 2, 2014, about 200 almost all-white Moore County Tea Citizens and supporters gathered in Pinehurst North Carolina's Cannon Park for a Fifth Anniversary Picnic and Rally. A three-piece country band played popular favorites. Three gray-haired women, full of vim if not vigor, were celebrated as the local Tea Party organization's "founders." The membership chair, Nancy Kasko, spoke about her anxieties and fears in February 2009, after President Obama took office. Organizations such as FreedomWorks, Americans for Prosperity, the John Locke Foundation, and a dozen or so more sent speakers to the dais and had tent-booths set up on the grounds. And numerous Republican candidates or their wives spoke throughout the day. Although rain dampened the proceedings at points, the rally successfully presented a typical mix of Tea Party passion, far right ideological tutoring, and crass electioneering—without the explicit white supremacist rhetoric of Klan groups.[8]

Not that Moore County had been free of such activity in recent times. On July 7, 1982, in the town of Robbins, about 20 Klansmen rallied with a group then known as the Carolina Knights. The following October, the Carolina Knights rallied at Thurlow's Lake. That incident prompted more than 500 Moore County residents to sign an ad in the News Outlook saying, "This is not Klan Country." A year later, on October 12, 1983, robed and armed members of the Carolina Knights harassed the family members of Bobby Person in Carthage. Person, a guard at the Moore County Correctional Unit, had applied for a supervisory position—a prospect to which Klan members objected with harassment and threats of violence.[9] Although Bobby Person eventually went to court, with the aid of the Southern Poverty Law Center, and won protection, other Klan groups moved in to fill the vacuum left by the departing Carolina Knights.

In May 1988, the Christian Knights Ku Klux Klan had marched about 20 to 30 members through the town of Carthage and several smaller communities on a Saturday afternoon.[10] They repeated the action in March 1991, when they marched again in Moore County.[11]

The anti-racist viewpoint in Moore County was best expressed on September 9, 2013, when close to 1,000 county residents gathered in Southern Pines for a Moral Monday rally led by the NAACP. NAACP Moore County President O'Linda Gillis led the event, and Rev. William Barber II addressed the crowd. A write-up by the NAACP of the event noted that North Carolina had "gotten a bad image recently, because their representatives had been drinking a lot of tea."[12]

At the Tea Party rally in August 2014, Jay Delancy, director of the Voter Integrity Project (VIP) headquartered in Raleigh, took the microphone to make a fundraising appeal. The VIP is akin to the voter suppression organization True the Vote, the subject of a 2012 IREHR special report.[13]

Indeed, Delancy had attended the 2011 True the Vote Summit in Houston, and claimed that he was "motivated by groups like the King Street Patriots (of Houston, TX) and their 'True the Vote' campaign."[14] He started the Voter Integrity Project that same year, before the current voting law, the Voter Information Verification Act of 2013 was passed. Now the VIP acts in concert with the law's provision which allows vigilante-style activism. The VIP culls public records looking for "voter fraud." Tea Partiers and volunteers visit Democratic Party leaning districts to investigate voters' addresses, including making visits to specific addresses and interrogating residents when residents cooperate.

At the Moore County Tea Citizens rally, Delancy made his fundraising appeal by claiming the "NAACP is trying to stop us," and said a photo he takes of the crowd holding up their photo IDs will "drive the Moral Monday crowd crazy." He doesn't need to explain his project to this crowd rather he simply wants to remind attendees that he and VIP are part of their movement.

The speaker from the John Locke Foundation, Becky Gray, had no other message than to say that her organization is an "ideas shop" promoting "personal responsibility," and that she will be reappearing next week at a Moore County Republican Women meeting. Gray serves as Outreach Vice President for the Foundation, which aims to undue business regulation, decrease crime and end the "costly, immoral, and destructive welfare state."[15] Becky Gray had information packets to hand out from her booth, which included copies of the Foundation's monthly tabloid.

Speakers also showed from Americans for Prosperity, the Pope Center for Education Policy, the NC Family Policy Council, NC Values Coalition, Fair Tax, Grass Roots North Carolina, and other similarly minded ultra-conservative organizations. Representatives from the Randolph Tea Party, and Conservatives for Guilford County spread their message.

The most popular speaker at the rally, as measured by enthusiastic applause and rapt attention, was Deneen Borelli, an African American woman who serves as the Director of Outreach for FreedomWorks, a Tea Party organization headquartered in Washington D.C. She spent her time at the microphone lambasting the NAACP and the so-called "black liberal establishment." Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and the NAACP were her favorite targets, although neither the North Carolina NAACP, nor its president the Rev. William Barber, were apparently deemed worthy of her

mention. The all-but-one white crowd greatly appreciated her attacks on these icons of black advancement.

A string of candidates for public office were listed as speakers on the printed program: Mike Robinson for the Supreme Court, a representative for Hunter Murphy for the Court of Appeals; Judge Bill Southern and Judge Paul Holcombe for the Court of Appeals and Steve Bibey for District 19-B District Court; Ed Dennison, Becky Carlson, Daniel Armstrong and Scott Cadell for the Moore County Board of Education; and Allen McNeil for Representative from District 78.

Tea Party Membership in North Carolina

Wealthy donors like the Koch Brothers and North Carolina's Art Pope have been extensively examined. National groups with an impact on North Carolina, such as Americans for Prosperity, have been similarly investigated and exposed. Nevertheless, significant indicators suggest that the current political conjuncture is a result of more than just money or outside groups.

Both the Koch-endowed Americans for Prosperity as well as FreedomWorks have had a presence in North Carolina (NC) for several years before 2009. Art Pope's money and the network of organizations he built up were also active in the state. The John William Pope Civitas Institute, for example, was incorporated back in 2005. Despite their presence and their investment in building a far-right state infrastructure, the politics and civic engagement in the state were moving against them prior to 2008.

Since President Obama's election, campaign contributions, ad dollars, and the gravitas of well-heeled conservative think-tanks have helped transform the political landscape in North Carolina. So too, have the people that make up the Tea Party movement.

As IREHR has noted repeatedly, Tea Partiers are more than minions for millionaires, or the sum of ballots cast on Election Day. They are not illusions created by public relations magicians. Over the last five years, real people have been involved in real activities aimed at impacting politics, culture, and civil society.

In this section, we examine Tea Party membership in North Carolina, look at where membership is geographically situated, and discuss some of the movement's demographic characteristics.

IREHR has been tracking membership in the national Tea Party factions since 2010. This includes membership data for five national Tea Party factions: 1776 Tea Party (also known as TeaParty.org), FreedomWorks, Patriot Action Network, Tea Party Nation, and Tea Party Patriots, along with donor data for the Tea Party Express (Our Country Deserves Better PAC).[16] While the unaffiliated local Tea Party chapters will be discussed in more detail later in this report, the overwhelming bulk of Tea Party membership is associated with one or another of these national groupings. All of these groups have a presence in North Carolina.

On the ground, membership matters. Membership numbers give power and cache` to movement organizations. More importantly, the act of membership expresses a deeper level of participation. Membership is a declaration of allegiance and identity. Becoming a member is a powerful statement in a low-commitment culture.

Tea Party members put the "move" in movement. Members add their voices, their concerns, their sweat, and their financial support to the organizations that gird the movement. Members do "the work"-- they make calls, knock on doors, organize meetings, recruit new members, become leaders, and more. Their impact in North Carolina has been profound.

The core members of this movement have created, and recreated, a diverse set of organizations. They have competed with each other as well as collaborated to form a movement that is both self-conscious and capable of re-invention.

It is important to note that many of the groups that now constitute the core of the Tea Party movement were on-the-ground in North Carolina before the Tea Party ignited. Half of the national factions active in North Carolina existed well before the movement emerged in early 2009. Those membership organizations aided the movement's takeoff and accelerated its growth.

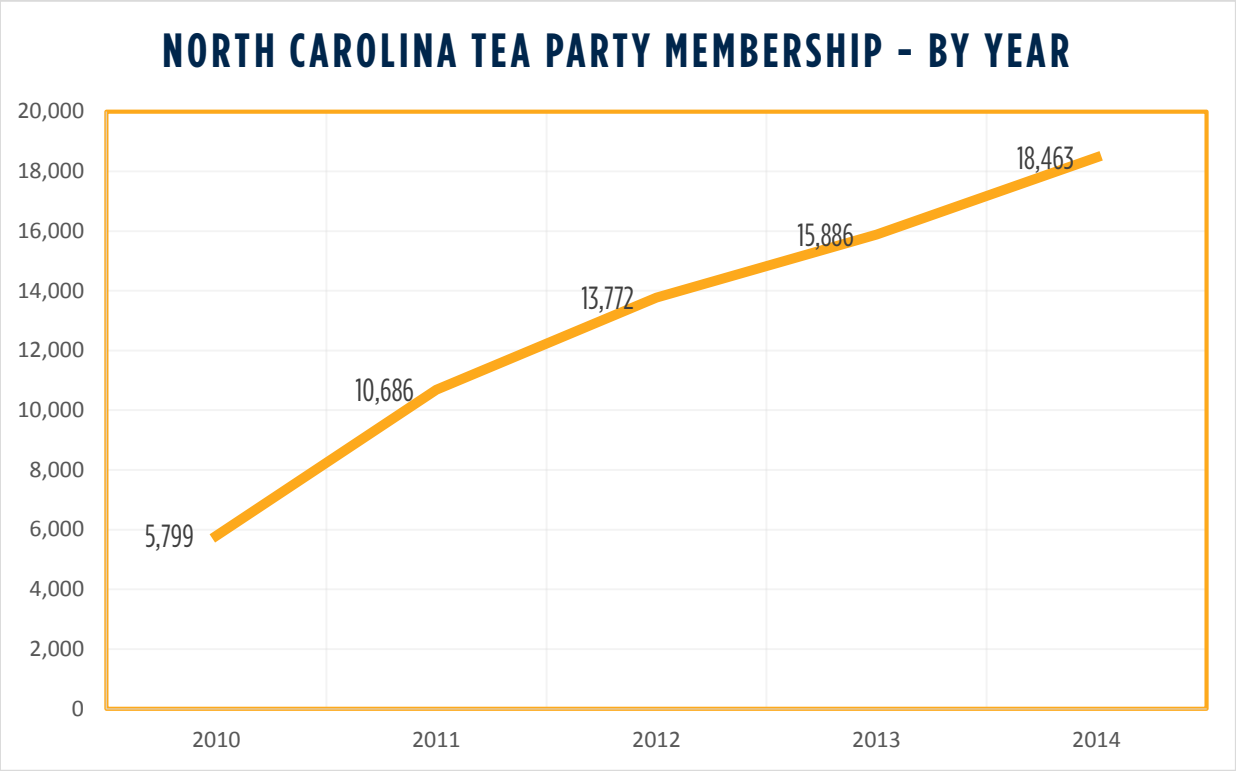
It is the actual membership of Tea Party organizations that allows them to make decisions and carry out their programmatic initiatives. Its impact, made stronger by concerted action, has been undeniable. Tea Partiers have rallied across the state, met regularly to discuss what they believe are important issues, socialized with each other, and organized themselves into a relatively strong voting bloc.

Unfortunately, the hard-core membership in the Tea Party movement has been the least examined level of movement participation. In part, this is because accurate data is hard to come by. Like other far-right movements, national Tea Party organizations have been less than transparent when it comes to membership figures. Groups have also notoriously exaggerated their numbers, inflating the size to enhance their status with politicians and the general public. Nonetheless, the number of members in the Tea Party movement has been measurable.

As of June 2014, North Carolina Tea Party membership stood at 18,463. *See the map on page 13 to see the geographic distribution around the state.*

Tea Party membership in North Carolina continues to grow faster than than the national average. While overall national trends point to slowing membership growth, North Carolina Tea Party membership continued to grow by 16 percent between June 2013 and June 2014. This continued a steady trend upward since Tea Parties membership started in the state. Nationally, Tea Party membership grew by just 4 percent from 2012 to 2013. In that same year, North Carolina Tea Party membership rose by 15 percent from 13,722 to 15,866 members. Since IREHR began tracking membership, Tea Party membership in North Carolina has nearly tripled – growing from 5,799 in 2010 to 18,463 in 2014.

The following table illuminates core membership growth in North Carolina each year since the Tea Parties founding.



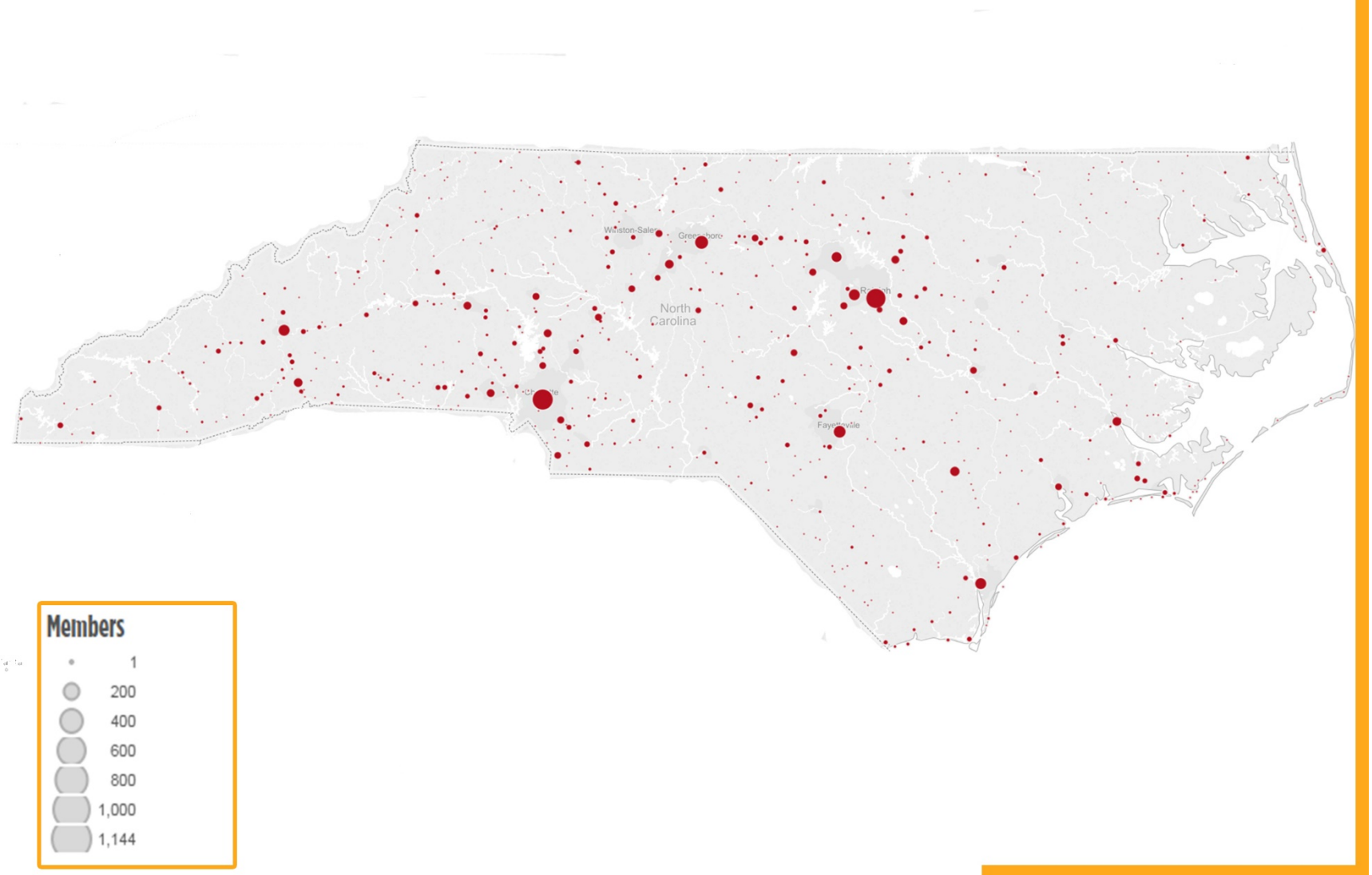
All of these national factions have a membership presence in North Carolina, though the influence of each varies significantly. FreedomWorks dominates the other factions with a state-level office and having established a presence in the state even before the Tea Party took off. FreedomWorks has 9,024 members – nearly one-half of all Tea Party members in North Carolina.

Against IREHR's expectations, the second largest number of Tea Party members Patriot Action Network had the second largest number, after FreedomWorks, of Tea Party members in North Carolina. As described in *Tea Party Nationalism*, Patriot Action Network appeals to the Tea Party movement's militia impulse and to Islamophobia. Patriot Action Network has 3,032 members. Tea Party Patriots, the group most closely associated with the grassroots side of the Tea Party in the past, have only 2,916 members.

The next tier of Tea Party membership belongs to the smaller, more militant national factions. Tea Party Nation has the next highest number with just 1,869 members in North Carolina.

A strong tie exists between Tea Party Nation leader Judson Phillips and NC Freedom leader David DeGerolamo. Phillips had DeGerolamo speak on two panels at the big Tea Party Nation convention in Nashville in 2010. These two Tea Party Nation leaders have been documented promoting the

Map: North Carolina Tea Party Membership - by Location



An interactive version of this map is avaiable at irehr.org

repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment. They both believe that only property owners should have the right to vote. 1776 Tea Party has also been able to attract 1,496 members in North Carolina. The leadership of this faction came from the Minuteman Project, a nativist vigilante group. The 1776 Tea Party is focused on anti-immigrant and birther issues.

As of September 24, 2014, Tea Party Express reported contributions from 79 different North Carolina residents for a total of $33,953 in the 2013-2014 reporting period.

On gender, North Carolina Tea Party membership is consistent with national averages. Just over two-thirds of members listed their sex identification as men (67.2%) and just under one-third (32.8%) identified as female.

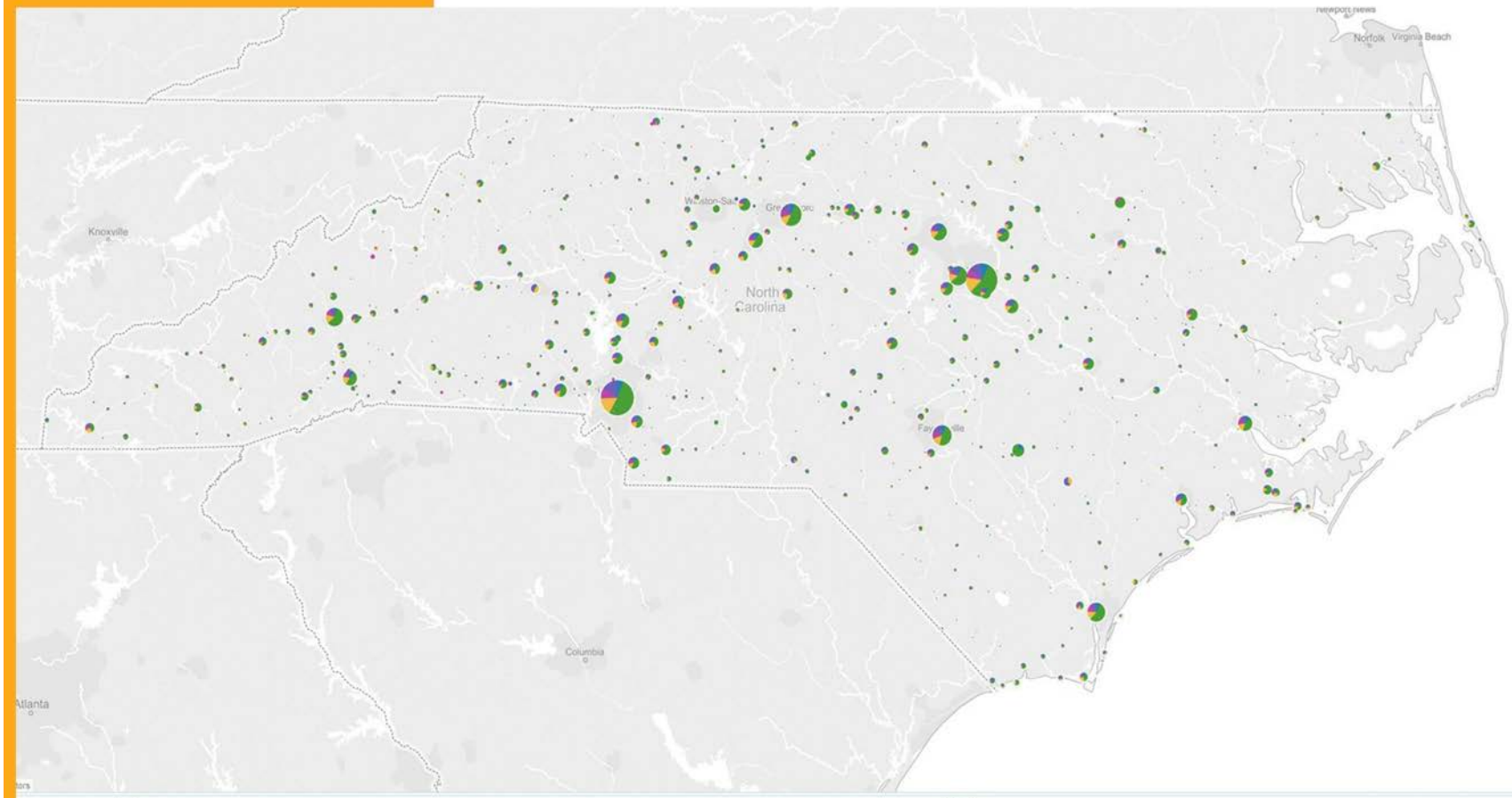
Geographically, Tea Parties members are spread across the state. Cities with the largest number of Tea Party members include Charlotte (1144), Raleigh (1038), Greensboro (474), Fayetteville (391), Cary (349), Wilmington (340), Asheville (320), Durham (279), Concord (248), and High Point (223).

A look at county-level data shows that Tea Parties membership is disbursed fairly similarly across areas generally defined as urban, suburban and rural. Not surprisingly since nearly a third of the state population live in urban areas, the largest number of Tea Party members in North Carolina (6312) is located in areas categorized as urban – i.e. in the 12 counties in metro areas of 1 million population or more. However, when measured as a percentage of the population, a slightly higher percentage live in very rural areas—specifically non-metro counties that are completely rural or that have less than 2,500 urban population and that are not adjacent to a metro area. (see Table for more details).

Top 50 Cities in North Carolina for Tea Party Membership

Rank	City	Members
1	Charlotte	1144
2	Raleigh	1038
3	Greensboro	474
4	Fayetteville	391
5	Cary	349
6	Wilmington	340
7	Asheville	320
8	Durham	279
9	Concord	248
10	High Point	223
11	New Bern	215
12	Hendersonville	210
13	Mooresville	192
14	Clayton	186
15	Hickory	183
16	Wake Forest	178
17	Gastonia	170
18	Apex	166
19	Kernersville	150
20	Salisbury	146
21	Greenville	145
22	Matthews	144
23	Statesville	143
24	Chapel Hill	142
25	Jacksonville	138

Map: NC Tea Party Membership – By Faction



Faction

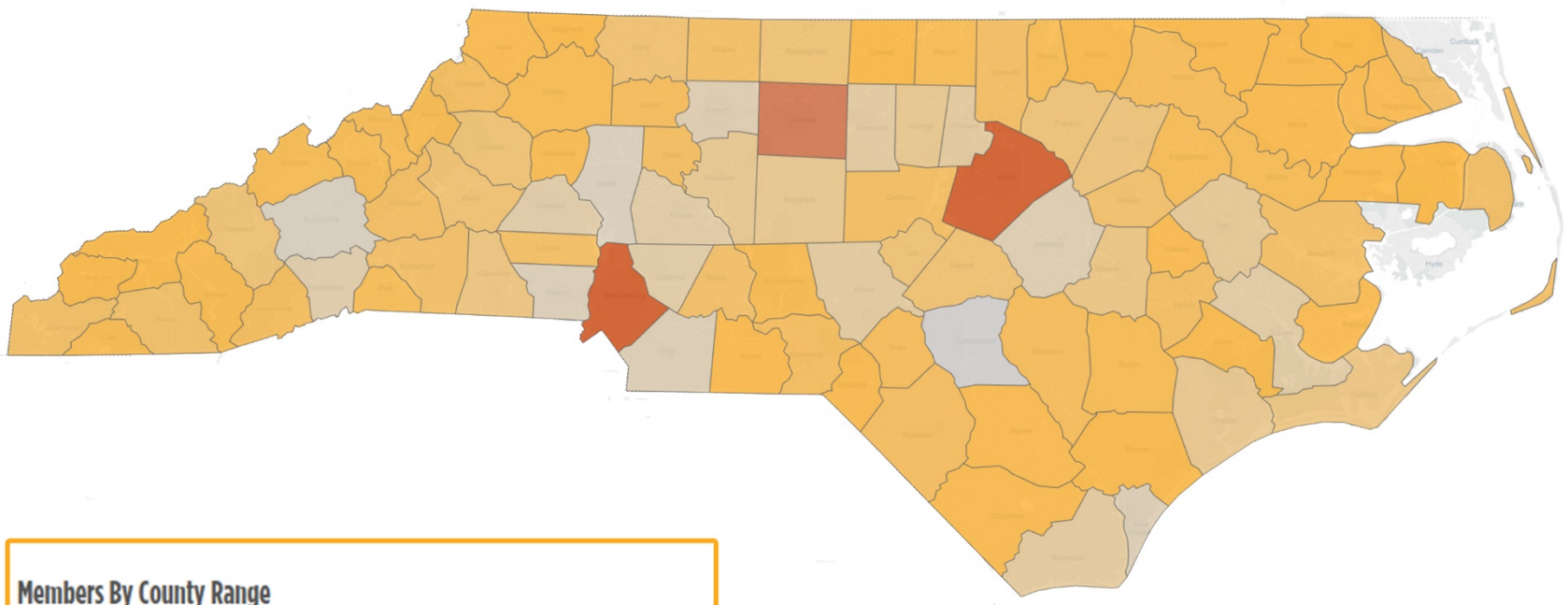
- 1776 Tea Party
- FreedomWorks
- Patriot Action Network
- Tea Party Express
- Tea Party Nation
- Tea Party Patriots

Members

1
200
400
600
800
1,000
1,144

An interactive version of this map is avaiable at irehr.org

Map: North Carolina Tea Party Membership – by County



Members By County Range

1 — 1,000

An interactive version of this map is avaiable at irehr.org

Table: North Carolina Tea Party Membership – Urban/Rural Continuum

TYPE	COUNTIES	POPULATION	TEA PARTY MEMBERS	% OF POPULATION
Nonmetro - Completely Rural Or Less Than 2,500 Urban Population, Not Adjacent To A Metro Area	7	90,363	218	0.24%
Metro - Counties In Metro Areas Of 1 Million Population Or More	12	3,047,381	6321	0.21%
Nonmetro - Urban Population Of 2,500 To 19,999, Not Adjacent To A Metro Area	5	111,292	216	0.19%
Metro - Counties In Metro Areas Of Fewer Than 250,000 Population	9	898,868	1681	0.19%
Metro - Counties In Metro Areas Of 250,000 To 1 Million Population	25	3,387,806	6251	0.18%
Nonmetro - Completely Rural Or Less Than 2,500 Urban Population, Adjacent To A Metro Area	9	159,592	283	0.18%
Nonmetro - Urban Population Of 20,000 Or More, Adjacent To A Metro Area	15	1,076,328	1727	0.16%
Nonmetro - Urban Population Of 20,000 Or More, Not Adjacent To A Metro Area	2	97,718	153	0.16%
Nonmetro - Urban Population Of 2,500 To 19,999, Adjacent To A Metro Area	16	666,135	850	0.13%

North Carolina Tea Party Chapters

While a large number belong to national Tea Party organizations, many Tea Party members also belong to one or more local Tea Party chapters. These groups help create an intricate web of Tea Party organizations across the state.

More than 80 local Tea Party chapters were active in North Carolina at the peak of Tea Party activity in 2010-2012. While attrition, internal conflicts and organizational re-shuffling have reduced the number, 57 different local Tea Party groups still remain active in 2014.

The network of state-level groups is strong. These state level groups, like the North Carolina Tea Party and NC Freedom, act as networking hubs.

Regional groups, like the Eastern North Carolina Tea Party and the Yadkin Valley Tea Party, add another layer of networking and organizing support.

County level groups, such as the Citizens for Liberty First in Wayne County and the Stokes County Tea Party, add a tertiary layer of organizing. Some groups serve larger, rural areas. Others help coordinate multiple local groups. Several of the county level Tea Party groups overlap with county level Republican organizations and GOP Women's Clubs.

The majority, however, are local Tea Party groups. The size of these local groups can range from the over 1500 members of the Triangle Conservatives Unite! (We Surround Them), to a few dozen active with Will of the People Rockingham.

With a few notable exceptions, it should be observed that Tea Party groups in North Carolina have not relied on outside funding for their support. Those exceptions include the North Carolina chapter of FreedomWorks, which is supported by the national organization. And the Tea Party of Henderson County received a $9000 grant from Tea Party Patriots on October 18, 2012.[17]

Outside of that financial contribution, the Tea Party Patriots footprint in North Carolina has begun to wane. Only seven active local Tea Party chapters are listed as local-affiliated groups of the Tea Party Patriots, the national Tea Party faction most associated with grassroots groups. IREHR data analysis has revealed that the number of Tea Party Patriots' local-affiliated groups plunged by nearly 90 percent nationally.[18]

As noted previously, FreedomWorks has a much bigger footprint in the state than the Tea Party Patriots due to the presence of a statewide chapter, and having been organizationally active in the state before the rise of the Tea Party. Despite that, just seven of the active local Tea Party groups are affiliated with FreedomWorks.

Several of the leaders of local Tea Party groups are active in national Tea Party factions. For instance, Catherine Oxford, a leader in the Charlotte Tea Party group CAUTION, is a member of four

national groups – 1776 Tea Party, FreedomWorks, Patriot Action Network, and Tea Party Nation. Linda Harper of the Goldsboro-based Citizens for Liberty First in Wayne County is a member of FreedomWorks, Patriot Action Network, Tea Party Nation, and Tea Party Patriots. Peggy Smetana of the Pinehurst-based Moore Tea Citizens is a member of FreedomWorks and Tea Party Nation. Rusty Snyder of the Asheboro-based Randolph Tea Party Inc. is a member of FreedomWorks and the Patriot Action Network. Jodi Riddleberger of Conservatives for Guilford County is a member of Patriot Action Network and Tea Party Patriots. Steve Carter of Alamance Conservatives, Jennifer Stepp of the Tea Party of Greater Gaston County, and Velvet Shelton of the Surry County Tea Party Patriots are all members of FreedomWorks.

These local Tea Party groups also help members become more politically active and engaged than non-Tea Party members. For example, local groups, like the Caldwell Tea Party, have been regularly holding meetings with candidates for lower offices – from candidates for judicial office, to school board candidates, all the way down to the candidates for the Soil and Water Conservation District.[19]

Map: North Carolina Tea Party Chapters

An interactive version of this map is available at irehr.org

Beyond Policy: North Carolina Tea Party's Racially Divisive Posture

Much has been written about the Tea Parties' legislative impact in North Carolina, with discussion of regressive changes in everything from education, environmental and tax policy, to the rolling back of civil rights legislation. Often left out of that discussion is how Tea Party groups – both nationally and locally – seeded the ground for these changes by re-injecting the politics of racial animus into the state policy debates.

One instance perfectly captures the outsized influence of North Carolina Tea Partiers. The early summer of 2012 was the height of the second attempt by the North Carolina Legislature to pass a new voter suppression bill. Thom Tillis, North Carolina Speaker of the House, anxiously tried to garner support for a Voter ID bill that might survive a veto from Governor Bev Perdue.

In the midst of this fight, on May 24, North Carolina NAACP president, Rev. William Barber II, and other Civil Rights leaders gathered in the House gallery to ask Speaker Tillis to meet with Civil Rights leaders. The response: Rev. Barber and six other supporters were arrested.[20]

In a move that harkened back to previous struggles over voting rights, at a press conference the following day, Tillis went so far as to demand that Rev. Barber apologize. Tillis also used the arrest as a way to duck any future meeting with civil rights leaders, "As I understand it there's a police investigation associated with what happened yesterday. Until that police investigation is complete, it would be inappropriate for me to meet with somebody who's the subject of a police investigation, I would think."[21]

While Speaker Tillis kept throwing obstacles in the way of meeting with civil rights leaders, he did take time to meet with Tea Partiers and anti-immigrant leaders. At a June 13, 2012, meeting in Tillis' office, the following were some of those in attendance:

David DeGerolamo is a leader of the Tea Party group, NC Freedom. DeGerolamo is active in the national faction, Tea Party Nation. He was a featured speaker at the big 2010 Tea Party Nation convention in Nashville.[22] He is also a proponent of birther racism and is engaged in far-right militia and so-called Threeper circles.[23] DeGerolamo has even advocated eliminating the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In a 2010 interview, DeGerolamo told Tea Party Nation leader Judson Phillips, "I want the Fourteenth Amendment repealed."[24] DeGerolamo's group also promoted the view that the Fourteenth Amendment should be repealed. As noted in *Tea Party Nationalism*, NC Freedom publicized a series of seminars conducted by a group calling itself the North-Carolina American Republic. These workshops, entitled "Restore our Republics," promoted the notion that individuals can declare themselves citizens of the North-Carolina Republic – the "real government" that was taken away by the Reconstruction Acts after the Civil War. By these lights, the Fourteenth Amendment is considered illegitimate. These ideas are derived from the

warped constitutionalism of the Posse Comitatus in the 1980s, and groups such as the Freemen and Republic of Texas in the 1990s.

Donna Yowell is a Tea Party activist with the group, Feet to the Fire (she would go on to be the state coordinator for the True the Vote voter suppression efforts). From the earliest days of the Tea Party, Yowell of Fuquay-Varina, North Carolina, has been a stalwart out to defeat the president. She joined the Tea Party almost right away in 2009, becoming a member of groups like the Haywood County, NC 9-12 Project and Triangle Conservatives Unite.[25] She also became a member of four different national Tea Party factions: FreedomWorks, the Patriot Action Network, Tea Party Nation, and Tea Party Patriots.[26] After the 2010 midterm elections, she formed the Tea Party spin-off group, Feet to the Fire. Through this group she bashed on teachers unions in Wisconsin, supported nativist legislation, promoted the anti-environmental conspiracy theory around "Agenda 21," and tried to "to insure a conservative platform for NCGOP."

William Gheen runs the Raleigh-based nativist group ALIPAC. As IREHR documented in *Beyond FAIR: The Decline of the Established Anti-Immigrant Organizations and the Rise of Tea Party Nativism*, Gheen was one of the early advocates of bringing anti-immigrant politics into the core of the Tea Party movement. He has spoken at many different North Carolina Tea Party events. Gheen has a long history of incendiary racist comments, including suggesting that "illegal and violent" "extra political activities" might be the only way to save "white America" from "Dictator Barack Obama."[27]

James and Maurine Johnson run the nativist outfit NC FIRE. Like William Gheen, James Johnson, the leader of North Carolinians for Immigration Reform and Enforcement and NC FIRE, has a penchant for sharing white nationalist materials online, and for distributing photos of himself with his white nationalist friends. On Nov 5, 2011 Johnson shared an article from the white nationalist journal, *American Renaissance*, criticizing Martin Luther King Jr. because he "denied racial differences" and "wanted to force people to associate with each other." Johnson's comment on the article was that the article contained "the hidden truth no one talks about [sic]." Another article Johnson shared from *American Renaissance* in December 2011 criticized Newt Gingrich's "pandering to Hispanics," and also puts forth that "whites would do well to study his record closely before pulling the lever next year."

On November 6, Johnson shared an article from the white nationalist website VDARE entitled, "Stupid is as Stupid Does—Black Politicians Training Their Replacements." The article concludes, "And, in fact, black people are going. They are being replaced by Hispanics, either by hook or by crook. And blacks are co-conspirators in the sunseting [sic] of their political power. And no one deserves it more for the damage they did to this country. Don't let the door hit you on the way out." On his Facebook page, Johnson also shared a photo of himself with Roan Garcia-Quintana, a South Carolina Tea Party leader and national board member of the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC), the lineal descendant of the old white Citizens Councils. During a CofCC event, Garcia-Quintana, once proclaimed "there are three types of people in the world: Negroids, Mongroids, and Caucasians."

Ron Woodard is the president of NC LISTEN, the Cary, North Carolina anti-immigrant group. NC Listen is listed as a local affiliate of the nativist group, Federation for American Immigration Reform. Woodward has appeared at anti-immigrant, Tea Party and Threeper events.

Randy Dye is a retired trauma nurse living in Pittsboro and a blogger from the far-right websites: Randy's Right and NC Renegadge (a project with David DeGerolamo). Dye is the perpetrator of a particularly racially incendiary outburst onstage at a Raleigh, North Carolina Tea Party rally in April 15, 2011, organized by Triangle Conservatives Unite! Dye created a stir when he symbolically water-boarded an effigy of President Obama by pouring bottled water over a plastic head of Obama in the midst of rant against the President, then he kicked the head across the stage. William Gheen, who calls Dye a "friend" had this to say about the event, "I want to say on the record that I thought Randy Dye's expression of his contempt for that elected dictator in the White House with the forged birth certificate was completely appropriate."

This assemblage of activists, gathered in Tillis' office, captures many of the core themes expressed on-the-ground by local Tea Party groups: voter suppression, racism, nativism, and the militia impulse.

Despite this push by Tea Party and nativist groups, enough votes to override a veto threat could not be wrangled before the end of the session. HKonJ played a significant role in these events, providing the political energy to protect voting rights. Nevertheless, efforts to protect voting rights faced new dangers.

Tea Party Racialized Voter Suppression

Even as the efforts of Speaker Tillis to muster support for a veto-proof voter ID bill fizzled, North Carolina became a priority target for voter suppression activists. Two statewide voter suppression networks developed in the state: True the Vote North Carolina and the Voter Integrity Project. Both groups sprang out of a Texas Tea Party effort. These groups created a county by county, precinct by precinct, apparatus in North Carolina that served as an anti-democratic force intent on obstructing free and fair elections.

Both the Voter Integrity Project and True the Voter North Carolina interfaced with dozens of local Tea Party groups. As IREHR documented in the 2012 special report, *Abridging the Vote: True the Vote in North Carolina*, these groups had nearly 300 True the Vote volunteers in North Carolina during the 2012 elections, including 71 in Wake County alone. The highest concentration of North Carolina True the Vote activists were in the counties with the highest African American and Latino populations in the state. Thirty percent of those volunteers were members of at least one Tea Party national faction and more than half were active in local Tea Party activity.

With Tea Parties' support in 2012, a Republican majority was elected in both houses of the North Carolina General Assembly as well as a Republican governor. Not surprisingly, a sweeping, draconian voter suppression bill was soon to follow.

HB 589, the so-called Voter Information Verification Act, was passed in August 2013. The law's provisions will:

- Shorten the Early Voting period by a full week,
- Eliminate same-day voter registration during the Early Voting period,
- Eliminate flexibility in opening Early Voting sites at different hours within a county,
- Eliminate straight party ticket voting,
- Repeal pre-registration for 16 and 17 year olds, and repeals mandate for election officials to conduct high school registration drives,
- Authorize poll observers with an expanded range of interference,
- Expand the scope of who may examine registration records and challenge voters,
- Repeal out-of-precinct voting,
- Make it more difficult to add satellite polling sites for the elderly or voters with disabilities,
- Change the official ballot, particularly for direct-recording electronic voting machines,
- Limit who can assist a voter adjudicated to be incompetent by court,
- Repeal three public financing programs,
- Raise contribution limits to $5,000; and the limit increases every two years with inflation,
- Repeal disclosure requirements of outside money under Candidate Specific Communications,
- Reduces disclosure of electioneering communications in legislative, state and federal elections and increases influence of "dark money,"
- Study rather than require electronic filing,
- Change the presidential primary to first Tuesday after South Carolina, if South Carolina holds its primary before March 15.[28]

Post HB 589 Voter Suppression Efforts

Getting the legislature to institute sweeping voter suppression legislation was apparently not enough for Tea Party groups and their allies in the important battleground state of North Carolina.

In September, Americans for Prosperity mailed an official-looking letter to hundreds of thousands of North Carolina residents with grossly incorrect voter registration information. The letter included the following misleading and potentially vote-suppressing information: the wrong deadline for registering to vote, false information about how voters are notified of their precinct after registering, the wrong office for questions on voter registration, and the wrong zip code for turning in a voter registration form.[29] Joshua Lawson, a spokesman for the North Carolina State Board of Elections told the *News & Observer* that "Misinformation about voter registration can be a felony if it is intentionally misleading and is proven to suppress voters."[30]

North Carolina Tea Party Racism

Embedded in North Carolina Tea Party ideology is a sense of white dispossession At the core of the dispossession theme is the notion that the Tea Party is essential to "take our country back." This notion begs the question as to who is the "our," and who took the country, and where did they take it.

This theme runs throughout local Tea Party groups across North Carolina. For instance, the motto of Conservatives for Guilford County is "In order to take back your country, you must first take back your county."[31] And the Tar River Tea Party held a "Take Back Our Country" Rally on June 24, 2010.[32]

Beyond the expressions (overt and covert) of white dispossession, racist expressions of hatred of President Obama—ranging from birther racism and racially tinged calls for impeachment, to acts of simulated racial violence against the president have been rampant in North Carolina Tea Party groups.

Birther racism has been with the Tea Party in North Carolina from the beginning. Take, for instance, the July 7, 2009 Tea Party rally of nearly seven hundred supporters in Frankfort where signs were seen by the audience with the caption, "Where's the birth certificate?"[33] Then there is the May 2012 Rowan Tea Party Patriots meeting where three different Republican candidates waxed on about the birth certificate issue, even claiming that the one President Obama publicly shared earlier in the spring was a "forgery."[34] The North Carolina Tea Party featured an article on its website declaring, "Mr. Obama's Birthplace Still A Mystery."[35] Diane Rufino of the Eastern North Carolina Tea Party wrote on their website that she wanted to see more discussion of President Obama's birth certificate in Dinesh D'Souza's movie, *2016*.[36]

In an article entitled "Confessions of a Birther", David DeGerolamo published on his website, NC Renegade, "I confess to being a sentient man who believes that our president is ineligible to be the 'commander in chief'. If supporting the laws of our country allows cowards to label me a "birther", so be it."[37] He added, "What is even more egregious is the culpability of Congress in a display of incredible cowardice. Not one congressman or congresswoman will stand up and speak the truth in this matter. Whether it is a fear of black Americans rioting if a challenge is made as stated in the article below or another reason, this is another example of the trashing of the Constitution and their oaths of office."[38]

Even as the birth certificate issue has dimmed, some North Carolina Tea Party leaders continue to openly express the idea that Obama is not an American. Take, for example, the September 17, 2014 Facebook post by Thomas S. Harrington, chairman of the Tea Party group Will of the People – Rockingham County, "Before Obama was ever elected the first time I predicted that he would destroy this country. Ever since I have constantly watched with horror as he has proceeded to do just that. We don't know who or what this man is, but I will never believe that he is an American."[39] The Tar River Tea Party Facebook page even referred to President Obama as a "Blood-Sucking Tick."[40]

Then there are the open acts of rage against the first African-American president. For instance, the previously described effigy actions by Randy Dye at a Tea Party rally. And a member of the 1776 Tea Party from Faison, North Carolina garnered media attention in October 2012 when he drove a trailer containing a hanging effigy of President Obama to New York City.[41]

North Carolina Tea Party Nativism

Three nativist groups were already entrenched in the state well before the Tea Party movement took off in 2009. Thus, it is not surprising to find a high level of anti-immigrant activism by Tea Parties in North Carolina.

As IREHR reported in *Tea Party Nationalism*, anti-immigrant sentiment and activism have been part of the Tea Party mix from the beginning. Indeed, the report noted then that one of the six national factions, 1776 Tea Party, had imported its staff leadership directly from the nativist vigilante group, the Minuteman Project.

In *Beyond FAIR*, IREHR found both an increase in anti-immigrant activism by national and local Tea Party groups, as well as a measurable number of anti-immigrant leaders who had joined the Tea Parties and consequently accelerated the rate of anti-immigrant activism by those Tea Parties.

However, Tea Party nativism flourished on-the-ground in North Carolina well before national Tea Party factions, like the Tea Party Patriots, took on anti-immigrant politics as a top-tier issue.[42]

As the June 2012 meeting with Speaker Tillis highlighted, there is significant cross-pollination between nativist groups and Tea Party organizations in the state. Nativist leaders, including William Gheen of ALIPAC, James Johnson of NC FIRE, and Ron Woodard of NC LISTEN have all spoken at Tea Party rallies. Gheen, in particular, was influential early on in encouraging anti-immigrant activists to jump into the Tea Party movement when it took off in early 2009. IREHR has also documented multiple instances of North Carolina Tea Party members who are also active in the nativist vigilante group, the Minuteman Project.

As a result, today it is virtually impossible to tell where the nativist movement stops and the Tea Party begins in North Carolina. Successful organizing by both Tea Party and nativist groups helped transform efforts in the legislature. For example, an immigrant rights-supported bill meant to allow undocumented immigrant to obtain drivers licenses became HB 786, became a law which contains anti-immigrant "papers please" style legislation reminiscent of Arizona's controversial SB 1070.

Tea Party nativism in North Carolina is linked to racially charged language about the "Reconquista" and the flood of immigrants from Mexico. It has also been infused with Islamophobia. The term "Islamophobia" has been defined as "unfounded hostility towards Muslims, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims." Among the characteristic elements of Islamophobia: Islam is monolithic and cannot adapt to new realities; Islam does not share common values with other major

faiths; Islam as a religion is inferior to the West; it is archaic, barbaric, and irrational; Islam is a religion of violence and supports terrorism; and Islam is a violent political ideology.[43]

Tea Party leaders and members have employed anti-Muslim language. Also, North Carolina Tea Party and nativist groups have at times formed common cause with Islamophobic groups. For example, on November 22, 2013, the Fayetteville chapter of the Islamophobic group ACT! For America held a screening of the nativist film, "They Come to America." The event also included a panel discussion featuring James Johnson of NC FIRE and Ron Woodard of NC LISTEN. The event was advertised by groups like the Moore Tea Citizens, and by leaders like David DeGerolamo.[44]

Some North Carolina Tea Party groups do not limit their bigotry to Muslims or Hispanics. Anti-Semitism also has a place in the Tea Parties of North Carolina. For instance, the front page of the Orange County (North Carolina) Tea Party tells readers, "To develop an understanding of our true present state of affairs, below are links to some AWAKENING very harsh reality video that must be seen by all to understand what we're up against and how corrupt the system really is."[45] The exhortation is followed by a link to the anti-Semitic 9-11 Truther conspiracy video called, "The New World Order- Secret Societies and Biblical Prophecy."[46]

Guns and Militia Madness

The issue of guns isn't new to the Tea Party. As IREHR detailed in the 2010 special report, *Tea Party Nationalism*: *A Critical Examination of the Tea Party Movement and the Size, Scope, and Focus of Its National Factions*, there has been a "militia impulse" in the movement from the very beginning. A number of data points suggest that the militia impulse is strong among North Carolina Tea Partiers.

Look no further than the Asheville Tea Party PAC who gained notoriety for their "Great Gun Giveaway" in the wake of the Newtown school massacre. The gun raffle to raise money for Tea Party candidates gave the winner one of two custom built AR-15 assault rifles. The PAC is now engaged in the Great Gun Giveaway 3.0 and has added the SAR ST10 9mm Tactical Pistol as a prize.

Asheville's success spawned a slew of imitators. The Tarheel Tea Party LLC is holding a "Take Down" Rifle Raffle for THE CAUSE, which provides the winner with a limited edition NRA Ruger 10/22 awarded on election night.[47] The Randolph Tea Party raffled off a Mossberg International 715T rifle.[48] And the 9-12 Project serving Cherokee, Clay and surrounding counties held a gun raffle at their April 12 preparedness seminar.

Beyond guns as a fundraising vehicle, North Carolina Tea Partiers also turned out in force for a "Day of Resistance" gunapalooza organized nationally by the relatively new Tea Party group, TheTeaParty.net. Joined by gun groups, militia outfits and John Birch Society members, local Tea Party Chapters hastily organized events nationwide for February 23, 2013 – or .223, a symbolic nod to the far-right's favorite ammo. Turnout was high at North Carolina 'gunapalooza' events in Asheville, Charlotte, Lenoir, Marion, and Burke County.

Gun talk is *not* about hunting or self-defense in some North Carolina Tea Party circles, but rather about militia madness.

Two of the Tea Party chapters in North Carolina continue to promote efforts aimed at overthrowing the government. There's the Alamance Tea Party, a group which has advertised more than a dozen so-called "Common Law Grand Jury" meetings by a group called the National Liberty Alliance.

The North Carolina Liberty Alliance is the other local Tea Party group connected with the National Liberty Alliance, but also listed as a local chapter on FreedomWorks website. Both groups are run by Howard Beatty, head of Alamance Tea Party. The North Carolina Liberty Alliance is a common law court group affiliated with the National Liberty Alliance, a group that wants to return the country to a period in which slavery was legally enshrined.

Founded in 2011 by Poughkeepsie, New York sovereign citizen leader John Darash, the National Liberty Alliance is an effort to create so-called Common Law Grand Juries. The group claims to have sowed more than one hundred Common Law Grand Juries across the country. Like the Common Law Courts of the 1990s, the National Liberty Alliance contends that they don't have to obey the current laws or institutions. Similar to the Freeman in the early-1990s and the Posse Comitatus of the 1970s-1980s, this latest iteration of the bogus Common Law Grand Jury scheme threatens to "arrest" and try local officials, judges, etc. for treason and other high crimes.

The National Liberty Alliance preaches that with just twenty-five Common Law Grand Jury activists in each county "we can turn back the 'political and judicial clock' to 1789, we can indict criminals including judges and politicians, we can reinstate the real duties of the Sheriff, we can reinstate the 'Elected Committeemen', we can get our armories and militia back, we can force compliance of the Third Continental congress's (2009) Articles of Freedom, we can stop Agenda 21" and more. [49]

In addition to Tea Party groups promoting bogus legal theories and treasonous efforts to form their own judicial system, another group popular in North Carolina Tea Party circles is an outfit that has created its own government-in-exile.

The group, called the North-Carolina American Republic, believes that "their state" was stolen from them by the "unconstitutional" Fourteenth Amendment. [50] Railing against the Reconstruction Acts, the group claims that "We the people of North-Carolina have re-established the state that was taken from us and are breathing new life into our original Constitution." The group further claims that, "In 1997, on behalf of the inhabitants of North-Carolina which were present, a small body gathered and legally re-established the de jure (lawful) state of North Carolina that was taken on July 1st, 1868." The group encourages people to declare themselves "state citizens"—to renounce their voter registration in the "de facto state" and participate in the government of the North-Carolina Republic.

Founder of the North-Carolina American Republic, John Ainsworth, has expanded his efforts to additional states with his group, America's Remedy. According to the group's website, "Our primary goal, through education, is to ignite a peaceful Counter-Revolution among the American people;

and to reclaim our lawful states (body politics) which were annulled by the second American revolution, also known as the Reconstruction Acts."[51]

Normally, a group that wants to overthrow the current government wouldn't be welcome in mainstream political circles. But these are anything but normal times. From the Tea Party movement's earliest days, Tea Partier groups across North Carolina have been hospitable to the North-Carolina American Republic, America's Remedy, and their founder John Ainsworth.

NC Freedom, at one time a significant statewide Tea Party group, publicized a series of seminars by the North-Carolina American Republic.[52] An NC Freedom leader who met with Thom Tillis on the 2012 voter IDA law, David DeGerolamo, has not only publicized these seminars, he has also called for a repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment.

America's Remedy had a booth at Surry County Tea Party Patriots "NC 5th District Constitution Day Tea Party Rally" on September 18, 2011. [53] America's Remedy was also at the Raleigh Capital Tax Day Tea Party Rally in April 2011, organized by Triangle Conservatives Unite.[54]

John Ainsworth spoke at the April 14, 2012 "ProsperiTea Party Rally" organized by Conservatives for Guilford County in Greensboro.[55] When not speaking at Tea Party events, Ainsworth is busy speaking at other far-right gatherings, such as the North Carolina Sons of Confederate Veterans and the twice-yearly hardcore militia and "threeper" confab known as PatCon.[56]

Under one roof, Tea Party gatherings in North Carolina have brought together those who run the state and individuals who want to overthrow it.

North Carolina General Assembly Tea Party Support & Opposition

Fusing together an engaged membership, an extensive network of local chapters, and support from national organizations, the Tea Party movement in North Carolina has become bigger than the sum of its parts. Other studies, such as the Democracy North Carolina Annual Report Card on the legislature have done a superb job chronicling the breadth of Tea Party-backed legislation in the North Carolina General Assembly. Other studies have explored the influence of far-right legislative networks like the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).

What has been studied less, however, is the level of support the Tea Party actually has amongst North Carolina legislators.

Consider, for instance, an October 2013 Tea Party gathering in Concord, North Carolina. State Representative Larry Pittman addressed the crowd, relying on birther racism to engage the audience.

In response to a post on his Facebook wall calling Obama a traitor, Pittman said that he disagreed with the post, and that Obama has done nothing in office to betray his native country… *of Kenya.*

"Someone had posted something [on Facebook] with a picture of Barack Obama and across it said 'traitor,' " Pittman said. "And, you know, I don't always agree with the guy, I certainly didn't vote for him but I gotta defend him on this one. I just don't think it's right at all to call Barack Obama a traitor. There's a lot of things he's done wrong but he is not a traitor. Not as far as I can tell. *I haven't come across any evidence yet that he has done one thing to harm Kenya."*[57]

Pittman is a Tea Party die hard. In a legislature that passed nearly every part of the Tea Party agenda, how many more are Tea Party stalwarts, and how many just followed their lead? What is the level of opposition to the Tea Party in the General Assembly? In this section of the report, IREHR attempts to grapple with those important questions.

IREHR has conducted a non-partisan, data-driven examination of the extent of Tea Party influence and of opposition to the Tea Party in the North Carolina General Assembly. Using multiple data streams, it rated all the members in both the North Carolina House and Senate on a scale ranging from opposition to the Tea Party to strong Tea Party support.

Pulling together data from first-person accounts, field reports, interviews, material from national and local Tea Party groups, videos, North Carolina watchdog groups, social media (including Facebook

and Twitter), press accounts, IREHR's extensive archives, and numerous other sources, this study collected, and sorted data on General Assembly members into the following categories:

- Self-proclaimed membership in the Tea Party movement,
- Membership in one or more of the national Tea Party factions,
- Attendance and participation in Tea Party rallies, meetings and events,
- Tea Party endorsements,
- Campaign contribution from Tea Party groups,
- Show of support for Tea Party groups on social media,
- Participation in ALEC, the far-right American Legislative Exchange Council, and
- Other factors.

Once organized, points were assigned to each category, with a negative value assigned for opposition to the Tea Party and up to two points awarded in each category, based on the level of activity. As an example, if a legislator attended several different Tea Party rallies or events, that legislator would receive two points in the "Attended Tea Party Events" category. Total points across the data categories were then tallied for each legislator to attain a legislative score.

That score was then translated into a rating from "None" to "Strong Tea Party" support based on the following scale:

- "Opposition to the Tea Party" – Assembly members openly spoke out against the Tea Party, attended HKonJ or Moral Mondays events where opposition to the Tea Party agenda was expressed, or spoke positively about the Moral Mondays movement.
- "None" – Assembly members did not self-proclaim allegiance to the Tea Party, did not appear to have attended Tea Party events, were not endorsed by any Tea Party groups, did not receive campaign contributions from any Tea Party PACS, were not members of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), and did not express support for Tea party groups on social media. Members also did not express support for the Moral Mondays movement, or participate in HKonJ or Moral Mondays events.
- "ALEC Only" - Assembly members did not appear to have any Tea Party obvious ties, but they were active with the American Legislative Exchange Council.
- "Mild Tea Party" - Assembly members scored 1-2 points on the Tea Party support chart. They may have attended a Tea Party rally, or received a Tea Party PAC contribution, or voiced support for a local or national Tea Party group, but not much more.
- "Tea Party" - Assembly members of the legislature scored 3-5 points on the Tea Party support rating scale, with points coming in more than one category.
- "Strong Tea Party" - Assembly members with more than five points on the Tea Party supporting rating scale, with points registered in multiple categories.

Tea Party Support and Opposition in the NC House of Representatives

The North Carolina House of Representatives is dominated by Tea Party supporters, with nearly half (59 of 120 members) of its members having some level of support for the Tea Party. This includes twenty-one members categorized as Mild Tea Party supporters, twenty-three categorized as Tea Party supporters, and fifteen who are Strong Tea Party supporters.

A significant number (29) of House members are also active with the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). In fact, 23 of those 29 active with ALEC are also categorized as having some level of Tea Party support.

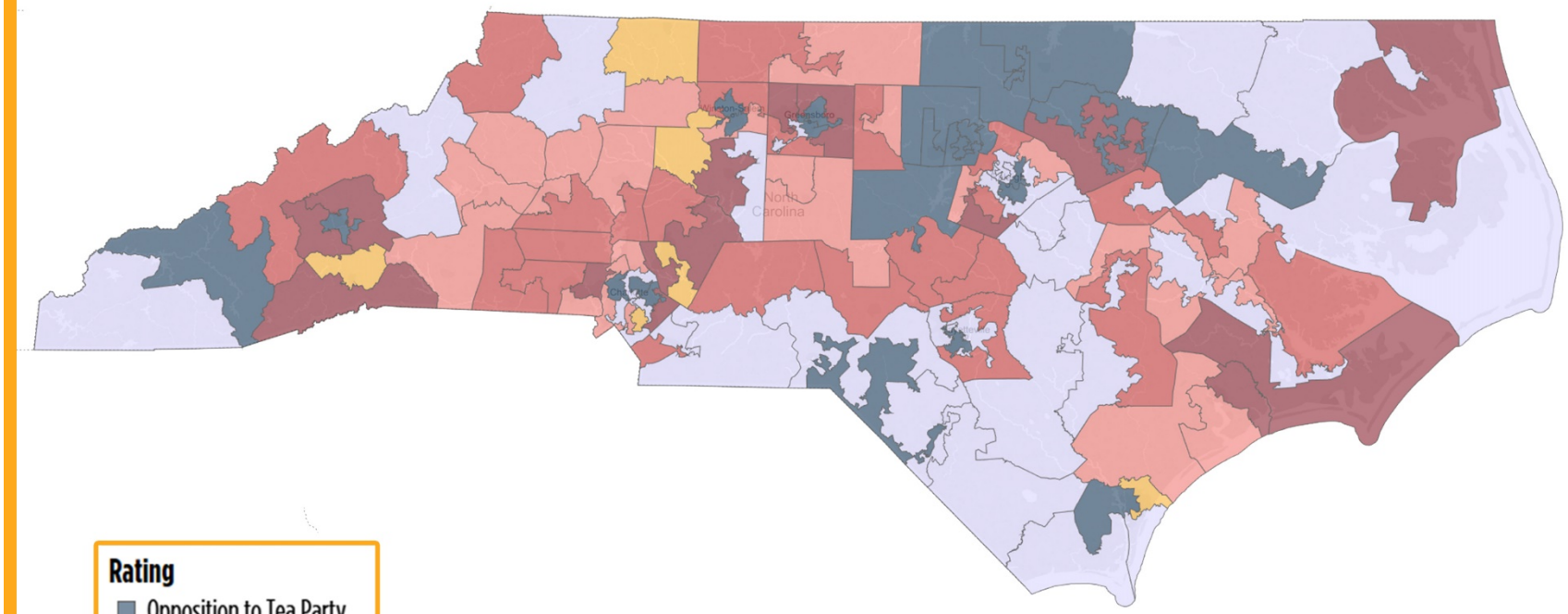
Of the remaining members of the North Carolina House of Representatives, thirty-one members have not expressed opposition to, or support for the Tea Party. The remaining twenty-four members have expressed some level of opposition to the Tea Party.

Table: NC House of Representatives Tea Party Support / Opposition Rating Totals

RATING	NUMBER OF LEGISLATORS
Opposition To Tea Party	24
None	31
Alec Only	6
Mild Tea Party	21
Tea Party	23
Strong Tea Party	15

For a complete listing of North Carolina State Representatives and their Tea Party support / opposition rating, see Appendix A.

Map: NC House Tea Party Support / Opposition Ratings



Rating

- Opposition to Tea Party
- None
- ALEC Only
- Mild Tea Party
- Tea Party
- Strong Tea Party

An interactive version of this map is avaiable at **irehr.org**

Tea Party Support and Opposition in the NC Senate

Like the House, nearly half of the North Carolina Senate is made up of Tea Party supporters, with 48 percent of the upper chamber (24 of 50 members) categorized as Tea Party supporters. This includes ten Mild Tea Party supporters, ten Tea Party supporters and four Strong Tea Party supporters. Just one Senator is an ALEC member (and he is also a Strong Tea Party supporter).

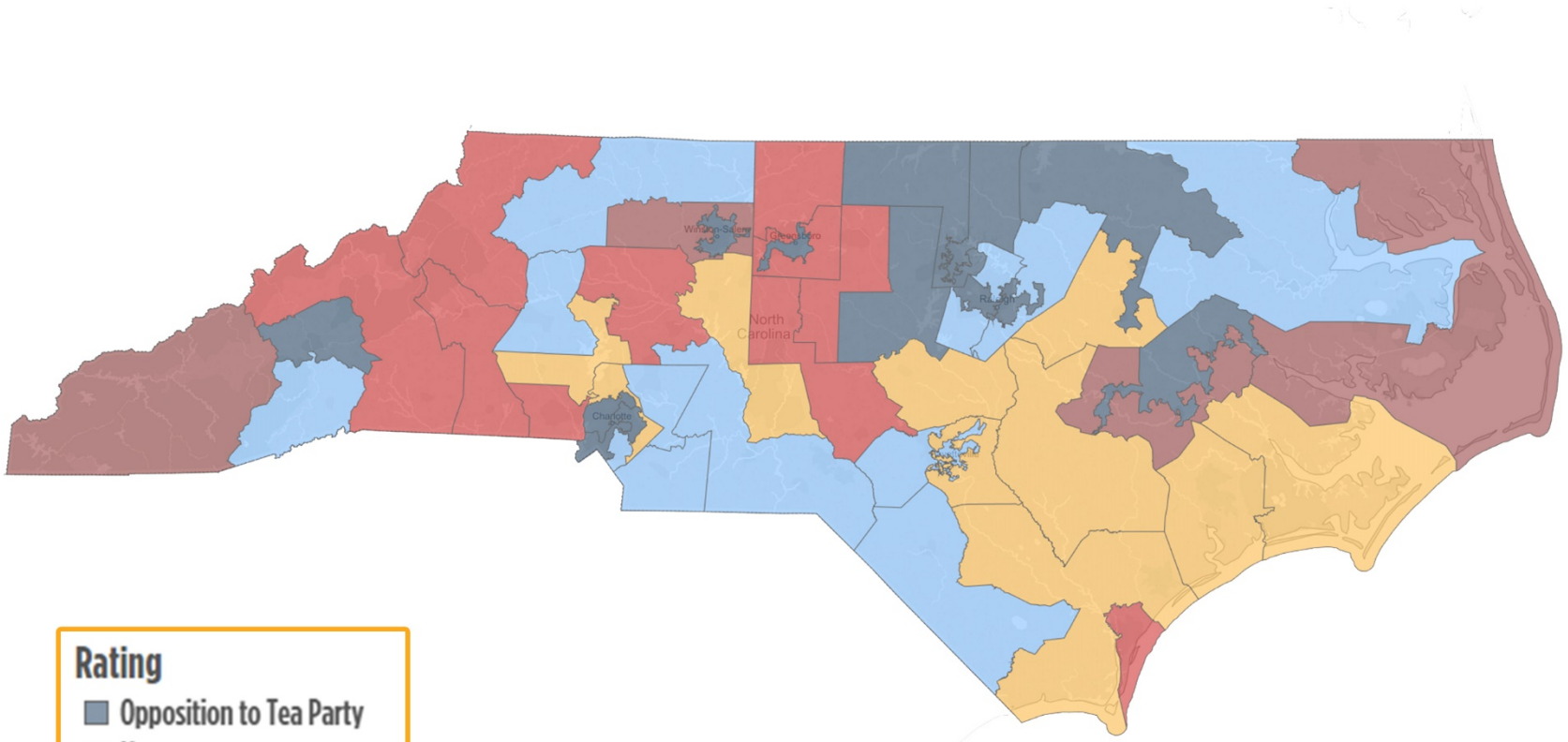
The remaining twenty-six Senators are equally divided between those who have expressed opposition to the Tea Party, and those who have expressed neither support nor opposition.

Table: NC Senate Tea Party Support / Opposition Rating Totals

RATING	NUMBER OF LEGISLATORS
Opposition To Tea Party	13
None	13
Mild Tea Party	10
Tea Party	10
Strong Tea Party	4

For a complete listing of North Carolina State Senators and their Tea Party support / opposition rating, see Appendix B.

Map: NC Senate Tea Party Support / Opposition Ratings



Rating

- Opposition to Tea Party
- None
- Mild Tea Party
- Tea Party
- Strong Tea Party

An interactive version of this map is avaiable at **irehr.org**

A New Birth of Freedom is in the Offing

On November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln dedicated the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg on a portion of the grounds where so many had fought bravely and died in a war-changing battle just four months before. The nation's first Republican president gave a speech that day that has lived on into the 21st century as a call to freedom, equality and justice. The speech ended with the famous words:

> *It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*

After the Civil War, during the period known as Reconstruction, the promise of a new birth of freedom was engraved into the Constitution with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. All were adopted and ratified before 1871. The Thirteenth ended all slavery and involuntary servitude. The Fourteenth promised birthright citizenship and equality before the law. The Fifteenth provided for voting rights for former male slaves and expanded the electorate.

Although that Constitution was abridged and disregarded during the period of Jim Crow and legal segregation, a new civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s birthed a period known as the Second Reconstruction. New civil rights laws, new voting rights legislation and a mass movement—black, brown, yellow, red and white—Christian, Jew, Moslem, Hindu, Buddhist, Native American Spiritualist and atheist—joined hands to end Jim Crow and birth a new freedom once again.

After both the First Reconstruction after the Civil War, and the Second Reconstruction during the height of the Civil Rights and Freedom movements, efforts emerged to "redeem" white political power and protect white privileges. First white rioting mobs shot voters. Ku Klux Klan killers murdered civil rights advocates. Later followers of the so-called "racist populism" of Gov. George Wallace won power at the ballot box by simple voting. Always they played on the fears that some white people had about the prospects of political power wielded by black people. And now they are worried about the future demographic change that will turn white people into a minority and cause them, perhaps, to lose the prerogatives of majority status.

Today, almost 150 years after the First Reconstruction, in North Carolina that "new birth of freedom" is once again rising. Tens of thousands are marching under the banner of the Historic

Thousands on Jones Street and Moral Monday. One hundred and sixty organizations have joined an active coalition that marches, rallies, and prays together. Almost 900 individuals have stepped forward and volunteered to be arrested. On February 8, 2014, at 9:30 in the morning, tens of thousands of North Carolinians began gathering at Shaw University in Raleigh for the Historic Thousands on Jones Street People's Assembly. Led by the North Carolina NAACP and with 160 coalition partners, upwards of 80,000 marched that day in a rebuke of the policies of the state legislature. The state legislature was rolling back the gains of the past—including narrowing and restricting voting rights. But the overriding demands of the Moral Mondays are defense of labor rights, education equality, health care for all, equal protection under the law and voting rights.

These mobilizations constitute a new birth of freedom. They are also the most advanced struggle in the country against the Tea Party movement and its racist ways. By standing in defense of past gains AND moving forward at the same time, they have constructed a strategy to ultimately defeat the Tea Party movement. By putting forward a new "fusionist" strategy that melds all in defense of all, and all in support of all, the HKonJ-Moral Mondays constitute the best alternative to the Tea Parties insistence on every individual alone against every other individual.

The Institute for Research & Education for Human Rights concludes: Down with Tea Party racism! Forward Together! Not One Step Back!

Appendix A: Tea Party Support and Opposition Ratings – NC House

DISTRICT	REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	ASSUMED OFFICE	RATING
1	Bob Steinburg	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
2	Winkie Wilkins	Democratic	2005	Opposition to Tea Party
3	Michael Speciale	Republican	2013	Tea Party
4	James Dixon	Republican	2011	Tea Party
5	Annie Mobley	Democratic	2007	None
6	Paul Tine	Democratic	2013	None
7	Bobbie Richardson	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
8	Susan Martin	Republican	2013	Tea Party
9	Brian Brown	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
10	John Bell	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
11	Duane Hall	Democratic	2013	None
12	George Graham	Democratic	2013	None
13	Patricia McElraft	Republican	2007	Strong Tea Party
14	George Cleveland	Republican	2005	Strong Tea Party
15	Phillip Shepard	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
16	Chris Millis	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
17	Frank Iler	Republican	2009	None
18	Susi Hamilton	Democratic	2011	Opposition to Tea Party
19	Ted Davis, Jr.	Republican	2012	None
20	Rick Catlin	Republican	2013	ALEC Only
21	Larry Bell	Democratic	2001	None
22	William Brisson	Democratic	2007	None
23	Joe Tolson	Democratic	1997	Opposition to Tea Party
24	Jean Farmer-Butterfield	Democratic	2003	None
25	Jeffrey Collins	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
26	N. Leo Daughtry	Republican	1993	None
27	Michael Wray	Democratic	2005	None
28	James Langdon, Jr.	Republican	2005	None
29	Larry Hall	Democratic	2007	Opposition to Tea Party
30	Paul Luebke	Democratic	1991	Opposition to Tea Party
31	Henry Michaux, Jr.	Democratic	1983	Opposition to Tea Party
32	Nathan Baskerville	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
33	Rosa Gill	Democratic	2009	Opposition to Tea Party
34	Grier Martin	Democratic	2013	None
35	Chris Malone	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
36	Nelson Dollar	Republican	2005	Tea Party
37	Paul Stam	Republican	2003	Strong Tea Party
38	Yvonne Lewis Holley	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party

39	Darren Jackson	Democratic	2009	None
40	Marilyn Avila	Republican	2007	Tea Party
41	Thomas Murry	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
42	Marvin Lucas, Jr.	Democratic	2001	None
43	Elmer Floyd	Democratic	2009	None
44	Rick Glazier	Democratic	2003	Opposition to Tea Party
45	John Szoka	Republican	2013	Tea Party
46	Ken Waddell	Democratic	2013	None
47	Charles Graham	Democratic	2011	None
48	Garland Pierce	Democratic	2005	Opposition to Tea Party
49	Jim Fulghum	Republican	2013	None
50	Graig Meyer	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
51	Michael Stone	Republican	2011	Tea Party
52	Jamie Boles	Republican	2009	Tea Party
53	David Lewis, Sr.	Republican	2003	Tea Party
54	Robert Reives	Democratic	2014	Opposition to Tea Party
55	Mark Brody	Republican	2013	None
56	Verla Insko	Democratic	1997	Opposition to Tea Party
57	Pricey Harrison	Democratic	2005	Opposition to Tea Party
58	Alma Adams	Democratic	1994	Opposition to Tea Party
59	Jon Hardister	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
60	Marcus Brandon	Democratic	2011	None
61	John Faircloth	Republican	2011	Tea Party
62	John Blust	Republican	2001	Strong Tea Party
63	Stephen M. Ross	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
64	Dennis Riddell	Republican	2013	Tea Party
65	Bert Jones	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
66	Ken Goodman	Democratic	2011	None
67	Justin Burr	Republican	2009	Tea Party
68	D. Craig Horn	Republican	2011	Tea Party
69	Dean Arp	Republican	2013	None
70	Patricia Hurley	Republican	2007	Mild Tea Party
71	Evelyn Terry	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
72	Edward Hanes, Jr.	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
73	Mark W. Hollo	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
74	Debra Conrad	Republican	2013	Tea Party
75	Donny C. Lambeth	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
76	Carl Ford	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
77	Harry Warren	Republican	2011	Tea Party
78	Allen Ray McNeill	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
79	Julia Howard	Republican	1989	ALEC Only
80	Roger Younts	Republican	2013	None

81	Rayne Brown	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
82	Larry G. Pittman	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
83	Linda Johnson	Republican	2001	ALEC Only
84	Rena W. Turner	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
85	Josh Dobson	Republican	2013	None
86	Hugh Blackwell	Republican	2009	Mild Tea Party
87	Edgar V. Starnes	Republican	1997	Mild Tea Party
88	Rob Bryan	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
89	Mitchell Setzer	Republican	1999	Tea Party
90	Sarah Stevens	Republican	2009	ALEC Only
91	Bryan Holloway	Republican	2005	Tea Party
92	Charles Jeter	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
93	Jonathan Jordan	Republican	2011	Tea Party
94	Jeffrey Elmore	Republican	2013	None
95	C. Robert Brawley	Republican	2013	Tea Party
96	Andy Wells	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
97	Jason Saine	Republican	2011	Tea Party
98	Thom Tillis	Republican	2007	Mild Tea Party
99	Rodney Moore	Democratic	2011	Opposition to Tea Party
100	Tricia Cotham	Democratic	2007	None
101	Beverly Earle	Democratic	1995	Opposition to Tea Party
102	Becky Carney	Democratic	2003	None
103	William Brawley	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
104	Ruth Samuelson	Republican	2007	ALEC Only
105	Jacqueline Schaffer	Republican	2013	None
106	Carla Cunningham	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
107	Kelly Alexander, Jr.	Democratic	2009	None
108	John Torbett	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
109	Dana Bumgardner	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
110	Kelly Hastings	Republican	2011	Tea Party
111	Timothy K. Moore	Republican	2003	Tea Party
112	Michael Hager	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
113	Chris Whitmire	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
114	Susan Fisher	Democratic	2005	Opposition to Tea Party
115	Nathan Ramsey	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
116	Timothy Moffitt	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
117	Charles McGrady	Republican	2011	ALEC Only
118	Michele D. Presnell	Republican	2013	Tea Party
119	Joe Sam Queen	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
120	Roger West	Republican	2001	None

Appendix B: Tea Party Support and Opposition Ratings – NC Senate

DISTRICT	REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	ASSUMED OFFICE	RATING
1	Bill Cook	Republican	2013	Strong Tea Party
2	Norman Sanderson, Jr.	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
3	Clark Jenkins	Democratic	2003	None
4	Angela R. Bryant	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
5	Donald Davis	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
6	Harry Brown	Republican	2005	Mild Tea Party
7	Louis Pate	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party
8	William Rabon	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
9	Thom Goolsby	Republican	2011	Tea Party
10	Brent Jackson	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
11	E.S. "Buck" Newton	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
12	Ronald Rabin	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
13	Michael P. Walters	Democratic	2009	None
14	Dan Blue	Democratic	2009	Opposition to Tea Party
15	Neal Hunt	Republican	2005	None
16	Josh Stein	Democratic	2009	Opposition to Tea Party
17	Tamara Barringer	Republican	2013	None
18	Chad Barefoot	Republican	2013	None
19	Wesley Meredith	Republican	2011	Mild Tea Party
20	Floyd McKissick	Democratic	2007	Opposition to Tea Party
21	Ben Clark	Democratic	2013	None
22	Mike Woodard	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
23	Valerie Foushee	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
24	Rick Gunn	Republican	2011	Tea Party
25	Gene McLaurin	Democratic	2013	None
26	Phil Berger	Republican	2001	Tea Party
27	Trudy Wade	Republican	2013	Tea Party
28	Gladys Robinson	Democratic	2011	Opposition to Tea Party
29	Jerry W. Tillman	Republican	2003	Tea Party
30	Shirley Randleman	Republican	2013	None
31	Joyce Krawiec	Republican	2014	Strong Tea Party
32	Earline Parmon	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
33	Stan Bingham	Republican	2001	Mild Tea Party
34	Andrew C. Brock	Republican	2003	Tea Party
35	Tommy Tucker	Republican	2011	None
36	Fletcher L. Hartsell, Jr.	Republican	1991	None
37	Jeff Jackson	Democratic	2014	Opposition to Tea Party

38	Joel Ford	Democratic	2013	Opposition to Tea Party
39	Bob Rucho	Republican	2008	None
40	Malcolm Graham	Democratic	2005	Opposition to Tea Party
41	Jeff Tarte	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
42	Austin M. Allran	Republican	1987	None
43	Kathryn Harrington	Republican	2011	Tea Party
44	David Curtis	Republican	2013	Mild Tea Party
45	Daniel Soucek	Republican	2011	Tea Party
46	Warren Daniel	Republican	2011	Tea Party
47	Ralph Hise	Republican	2011	Tea Party
48	Tom Apodaca	Republican	2003	None
49	Terry Van Duyn	Democratic	2014	Opposition to Tea Party
50	Jim Davis	Republican	2011	Strong Tea Party

Appendix C: Tea Party Member Data Collection and Analysis Methodology

The data in this report was derived from a collection of online directories on the major national Tea Party faction websites: Tea Party Nation, Tea Party Patriots, 1776 Tea Party (also known as TeaParty.org), FreedomWorks Tea Party, and Patriot Action Network (formerly known as ResistNet). The data for the sixth national Tea Party formation mentioned in this report, the Tea Party Express, was drawn from filings with the Federal Elections Commission (FEC). Data for TheTeaParty.net was not available.

The data provides a partial picture of the Tea Party activist base. It is important to note that there may be many more individuals who are not listed in these social networking directories – who either chose not to register, who have registered on some other site (such as one or more of the many local Tea Party sites), or who do not have sufficient computer skills.

One important note regarding the Tea Party Patriots data in the 2013 and 2014 Tea Party Membership data. Member information from those registered on TeaPartyPatriots.org was gathered, as it had been in previous years. However, in 2013 an overwhelming number of the members on TeaPartyPatriots.org were labeled "deleted," "never active" or no longer displayed location information in the profile section of the website. This could be the result changes to the membership database, or the limitations of the WordPress system the Tea Party Patriots switched to in early November 2011.

As a result the available member data for TeaPartyPatriots.org is limited in 2014, as it was in 2013. Thankfully, the Tea Party Patriots also maintain a very active Ning social networking site. While there is not a 1-to-1 crossover between TeaPartyPatriots.org and TeaPartyPatriots.ning.com, an examination of data of the two for previous years showed considerable overlap. The 2013 Tea Party Patriots member data in this report relies on the data from TeaPartyPatriots.ning.com. Tea Party Patriots membership numbers from 2010-2012 come from TeaPartyPatriots.org. As a result, year-to-year comparisons and conclusions about membership activity are somewhat limited for the group.

Tea Party Membership Data

There are several levels of Tea Party membership data contained in this report. The most recent national faction membership totals come from June 2014.

Additional Tea Party membership data used in this report was collected during the periods from June 1 to June 10, 2013, June 1 to June 15, 2012, June 1 to June 12, 2011, and May 1 to June 1, 2010. Using software generously provided by Sequentum, an automated process allowed for the copying and compiling of the website membership data into a local SQL database.

Records retrieved from all five Tea Party faction sources generally included: name, city, state, country, and gender. Some records were incomplete – missing various parts of city, state, country,

gender, etc. Incomplete records were included in the overall numbers, but not included in areas where data was missing.

We also downloaded the Committee Master File, Candidate Master File, Contributions to Candidates, Transactions from One Committee to Another, Contributions from Individuals, Adds, Changes, and Deletes data files from the FEC.gov on September 21, 2013. The most recent contributor records available from the FEC for the Our Country Deserves Better PAC – TeaPartyExpress.com, are from the June 30, 2013 filing. A query was written to extract those contributors from the local database of downloaded FEC data, then the extracted data was imported into the Tea Party 2013 membership database.

From the initial captured material, we worked with the data to eliminate duplicates and extraneous data. We also normalized the data, making sure that column names were the same, and that state and abbreviations were consistent. We then imported that data into a main SQL database.

Once we had a completed Tea Party membership data set, we then geo-coded the set using the city and state information. That information was later used to map the location of membership location using Tableau Public.

After the importation process we ran specific queries to work specifically with Tea Party member data and to extract the information we needed. Those queries included: Tea Party Membership by Region and Subregion, Tea Party Members by State, Tea Party Members by City, Tea Party Members by Faction, and Tea Party Membership Totals by City as a percentage of the City population.

Additional Data Sources

In addition to the Tea Party data, we relied on several other data sources in this report. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau helped allowed the matching of locations to specific counties.

Additionally, this report also relied on data from the 2013 Rural-Urban Continuum Codes, a classification scheme that distinguishes metropolitan counties by the degree of urbanization and adjacency to a metro area.

The official Office of Management and Budget (OMB) metro and nonmetro categories have been subdivided into three metro and six nonmetro categories. Each county in the U.S. is assigned one of the nine codes. This scheme breaks county data into finer residential groups, beyond metro and nonmetro, allowing for analysis of trends in nonmetro areas that are related to population density and metro influence.

The data is compiled by the United States Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service. It is available online at http://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/rural-urban-continuum-codes.aspx.

Appendix D: Tea Party Chapters in North Carolina

Group	Location
9.12 Project Polk Co NC	Columbus
9-12 Project - Haywood County (Haywood County Tea Party)	Waynesville
Alamance Conservatives	Burlington
Alamance County Tea Party	Alamance
Alleghany County Tea Party	Sparta
Anti-Islam Anti-Illegal North Carolina	Onslow
Asheville Tea Pac	Asheville
Asheville Tea Party	Asheville
Beaufort Patriot Tea Party	Beaufort
Bladen Guards Tea Party	Bladen County
Blue Ridge Tea Party Patriots	Hendersonville
Burke County Tea Party	Morganton
Caldwell Tea Party	Caldwell County
Cape Fear Tea Party Patriots	Wilmington
Catawba Valley Tea Party	Conover
Caution (Common Americans United To Inspire Our Nation)	Charlotte
Cherokee County 912 (Murphy)	Murphy
Citizens For Constitutional Liberties - Home Of The Wayne County Tea Party	Wayne County
Citizens For Liberty First In Wayne County	Goldsboro
Conservatives For Guilford County	Greensboro
Crystal Coast Tea Party Patriots	Newport
Crystal Coast Tea Party Patriots - Morehead City Group	Morehead City
Crystal Coast Tea Party Patriots - West Carteret Group	Cape Carteret
Cumberland County Tea Party	Fayetteville
Eastern North Carolina Tea Party	Kinston
Freedomworks North Carolina	Raleigh
Jackson County Tea Party Patriots	Sapphire
Jacksonville - Onslow Tea Party Patriots	Jacksonville
Moore Tea Citizens	Pinehurst

Morehead-Beaufort North Carolina Tea Party	Morehead City
NC Tea Party	Raleigh
NC Freedom	Raleigh
North Carolina Liberty Alliance	Oak Ridge
North-Carolina American Republic (NCAR)	Mooresville
Orange County Tea Party	Hillsborough
Outer Banks Tea Party	Kill Devil Hills
Randolph Tea Party Inc.	Asheboro
Roanoke Valley Patriots (Roanoke Valley Tea Party)	Littleton
Rowan County Tea Party Patriots	Salisbury
Shelby 912 Tea Party	Shelby
Stand Up North Carolina (SUNC)	Mooresville
Stokes County Tea Party	Danbury
Surry County Tea Party Patriots	Mount Airy
Tar River Tea Party - Rocky Mount	Rocky Mount
Tarheel Tea Party LLC	Asheville
Tea Party Of Greater Gaston County	Gastonia
Transylvania Tea Party	Transylvania
Triangle Conservatives Unite! (We Surround Them)	Raleigh
We The People Of Ashe County (Formerly The Ashe County Tea Party)	Jefferson
We The People (Fayetteville)	Fayetteville
Will Of The People Rockingham	Wentworth
Wilson Tea Party	Wilson
Winston-Salem Forsyth County Tea Party Patriots	Winston Salem
Yadkin Valley Tea Party	Yadkin Valley
Yadkin Valley Tea Party - Mocksville Chapter	Mocksville
Yadkin Valley Tea Party - Statesville Chapter	Statesville
Yadkin Valley Tea Party - Union Grove Chapter	Union Grove

Appendix E: White Supremacist Violence from Ft. Bragg

The problem of white supremacist violence emanating from military bases is not directly related to the racism and bigotry of the Tea Party movement. They are different kinds of phenomena. Thus violence committed by military base personnel is largely unmitigated by civic discourse about the Tea Party movement. Nevertheless, it has been a significant problem in North Carolina's past, and it remains a threat in the future. For these reasons, it warrants inclusion in this report as an Appendix.

This problem has received significant attention from the military. In March 1999, the Military Law Review published a 78-page report, "Racial Extremism in the Army," by Major William M. Hudson. In July 2008, the Federal Bureau of Investigation published an assessment by its Counterterrorism Division, "White Supremacist Recruitment of Military Personnel since 9/11." Further, the military newspaper, The Stars and Stripes: Authorized Publication for the U.S. Armed Forces, have covered this topic, as well the problem of civil rights violations. One such article claimed that "Ku Klux Klan applications," abounded in their surroundings.[58] It should be noted, however, that the military's response to this problem has been uneven, often requiring civilian intervention.

In 1986, the Southern Poverty Law Center took Glenn Miller and other White Patriot Party leaders to court for running a paramilitary organization in contempt of a previous court order. Testimony from a former member of the 82nd Airborne stationed at Ft. Bragg, near Fayetteville, described how he had personally conducted paramilitary training for the White Patriot Party leaders. Testimony from a former Marine, who had been arrested the previous year, described how he had purchased stolen military weapons from various sources, including Ft. Bragg, and delivered them to the White Patriot Party. This included LAW rockets, claymore mines, c-4 plastic explosive, and ammunition, rifles and pistols. The Southern Poverty Law Center "identified ten active-duty soldiers in North Carolina" that were Klan or White Patriot Party members. In a related case, a Marine Lance Corporal, Richard Pounder, was given the choice to stay in the Marines and quit the White Patriot Party or to leave the Marines. He decided to stay in the White Patriot Party.[59] It should be noted that Glenn Miller retired from Ft. Bragg after a twenty year stint in the service, including time in the Special Forces. Miller is now charged with three murders in the Kansas City-area, after he shot up the Jewish Community Center and a Jewish retirement home.

In December 1995, eight months after Gulf War veteran Timothy McVeigh bombed the Oklahoma City federal building and murdered 168 people and injured over 600, trouble appeared in the Ft.

Bragg – Fayetteville area again. Ft. Bragg's PFC James Burmeister 2nd, a known white supremacist, PFC Malcom Wright Jr. and Randy Meadows, were charged with killing a black couple, Jackie Burden and Michael James, as they walked down the street in the black community. It was a random killing, done after a night of drinking and working themselves up into a racist frenzy. Meadows became a prosecution witness, but Wright and Burmeister were both given life sentences. Burmeister died in a prison hospital about ten years later. According to an article in Esquire magazine about the events, Burmeister and crew were part of a racist skinhead group on the base that numbered between 22 and 60.[60]

Other military bases from Texas to California and back to Colorado have dealt with this problem. It requires active monitoring, an unflinching will to use the power of the courts, and a military leadership determined to root it out. The citizens of Fayetteville and the NAACP remember these crimes from the past. An informed public should take notice.

Notes

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[2] Ibid, p. 4.

[3] Ibid, p. 8.

[4] Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto, *Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ), 2013.

[5] Rory McVeigh, Kraig Beyerlein, Burrel Vann Jr., and Priyamvada Trivedi, "Educational Segregation, Tea Party Organizations, and Battles Over Distributive Justice," American Sociological Review 2014 79: p. 630 Originally published online May 23, 2014.

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[7] "AP Poll: Majority Harbor Prejudice Against Blacks," Associated Press, October 27, 2012.

[8] IREHR representative's report on this rally included extensive written notes, published documents collected at the event, audio and photographic reporting as well. All served as the basis for this report on the Moore County rally.

[9] National Anti-Klan Network, "SPECIAL REPORT: Klan Resurgence and Racially-Motivated Violence in North Carolina (1979-83)," N.D. Document in IREHR files.

[10] North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, "Update on Hate Group Activity and Bigoted Violence, May-October 1988." N.D. Document in IREHR files.

[11] North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, "1991 REPORT: Bigoted Violence and Hate Group Activity in North Carolina. N.D. Document in IREHR files.

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[13] Devin Burghart and Leonard Zeskind, *Abridging the Vote: True the Vote in North Carolina*, Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, October 2012, http://www.irehr.org/news/special-reports/445-abridging-the-vote-report-pdf.

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[15] "About the John Locke Foundation," John Locke Foundation website, Accessed October 5, 2014. http://www.johnlocke.org/about/.

[16] For more details on data collection method, see Appendix C: Tea Party Member Data Collection and Analysis Methodology.

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[21] Ibid.

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