

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA

2021 LEGISLATIVE SESSION, HOUSE FLOOR

VOTE ON SB 739 AND SB 740

NOVEMBER 4, 2021

Transcribed by:

Denise Myers Byrd, CSR 8340, RPR

Discovery Court Reporters and

Legal Videographers, LLC

4208 Six Forks Road

Suite 1000

Raleigh, North Carolina 27609

(919) 424-8242

denise@discoverydepo.com

1 (Transcription from audio recording
2 started at 6:53.)

3 SPEAKER MOORE: The bill will be
4 temporarily displaced.

5 Let's go to Senate Bill 739. The clerk
6 will read.

7 THE CLERK: Senators Hise, Daniel, and
8 Newton, Senate Bill 739, the bill will be
9 entitled Senate Redistricting Plan 2021 SBK-7.
10 The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts.

11 SPEAKER MOORE: Gentleman from
12 Caldwell, Representative Hall, is recognized to
13 debate the bill.

14 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you,
15 Mr. Speaker.

16 Members, this is the State Senate
17 proposed map that was drawn in the State Senate
18 committee. I'll tell the members that the
19 Senate has passed our state House map this
20 morning and have not made any changes. And
21 historically, the bodies have not changed each
22 other's maps in terms of the State House and
23 State Senate, and so I would ask you to approve
24 this map.

25 I'll speak briefly to the merits of

1 this map. And I think one of the best pieces of
2 information about this map is that they were
3 able to really limit the split of municipalities
4 in this map to 10. That's 10 total municipality
5 splits out of 552 in North Carolina, or
6 1.8 percent of municipalities across the state.

7 Additionally, there were a couple of
8 Democratic amendments that were accepted into
9 the map. And so ultimately I would ask the
10 members to vote yes on the State Senate map.

11 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,
12 further debate. If not, the question before the
13 House is the adoption -- or the passage, rather,
14 of Senate Bill 739 on second reading. Those in
15 favor will vote aye. Those opposed will vote
16 no. The clerk will open the vote.

17 Representative Brody. Representative
18 Saine.

19 Brody aye.

20 The clerk will lock the machine and
21 record the vote.

22 64 having voted in the affirmative and
23 48 in the negative, Senate Bill 739 passed the
24 second reading and will be read a third time.

25 THE CLERK: The General Assembly of

1 North Carolina enacts.

2 SPEAKER MOORE: The question before the
3 House is the passage of Senate Bill 739 on third
4 reading. Those in favor will vote aye. Those
5 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the
6 vote.

7 Representative Gill. The chair sees
8 Representative Baker. Representative Autry wish
9 to vote.

10 Is Representative Gill on the floor?
11 There she is. Okay.

12 Saine. Saine aye.

13 The clerk will lock the machine and
14 record the vote.

15 65 having voted in the affirmative and
16 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 739 passes its
17 third reading and the bill was ordered enrolled.

18 Senate Bill 740, the clerk will read.

19 Sorry. Senate Bill 740 is back before
20 the body.

21 And actually, before the gentleman
22 debates, the chair would like to extend the
23 courtesy to the gallery on motion of the
24 gentleman from Forsyth county, Representative
25 Zenger. The chair is happy to extend the

1 courtesies to the gallery to Cheryl Key, Allison
2 Duncan, and their students who are here with us
3 from the Redeemer School. Would y'all please
4 stand so we can recognize you and welcome you.
5 Thanks for being with us today.

6 Also on motion of Representative Meyer
7 of Orange county, the chair is happy to extend
8 the courtesy of the gallery to Mebane city
9 council member Sean Ewing. Sean, would you
10 please stand. Thanks for being with us here
11 today, sir.

12 The gentleman from Caldwell,
13 Representative Hall, has the floor to debate the
14 bill.

15 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Thank you,
16 Mr. Speaker.

17 Members, I've said this before in this
18 process, and I'm going to say it again because I
19 think it's important and it bears repeating, and
20 that is that the 2021 redistricting process that
21 has been undertaken by this body is a historic
22 process. We have an unprecedented amount of
23 transparency in this process with every single
24 district that was drawn done so in full public
25 view with live audio and live video in the

1 committee room.

2 We also made the unprecedented and
3 historic decision to voluntarily not use
4 election data in the drawing of these maps.
5 Maps have been being drawn by this state by this
6 body for literally hundreds of years, and that
7 has never happened voluntarily until now. When
8 our committees adopted criteria to say we're not
9 going to use election data, we're going to focus
10 on traditional redistricting criteria. We're
11 going to look at things like keeping counties
12 whole, keeping municipalities whole, not
13 splitting precincts or VTDs. And the result
14 that you see of that is the maps that we've had
15 before this body and the congressional map that
16 you have before you now.

17 I will say that I have been
18 disappointed about the lack of involvement of
19 the Democrats in drawing congressional maps in
20 our committee room. Senate Democrats submitted
21 proposed congressional maps, they spent time in
22 the committee room drawing, and as far as I
23 know, none of our members, unfortunately,
24 participated in that process, although I have
25 learned that there's apparently an amendment

1 this morning that I just learned about, but I
2 think that it's essentially an amendment that
3 was drafted by Senate Democrats.

4 Members, after the map itself that's
5 before you today, I'll mention that the House
6 and Senate have filed the same map. I filed the
7 same map that you see before you today in the
8 Senate, but for procedural purposes, we're using
9 the map that was passed over by the Senate.

10 The map before you, and the one that I
11 filed, were both drafted in the Senate committee
12 room, and I drew a separate map that was posted
13 for the public to view before our public
14 comment, but I ultimately decided that the map
15 drawn in the Senate committee was a better map
16 because, among other reasons, it splits fewer
17 municipalities.

18 Also, we heard from public comment that
19 it was important to keep the finger counties, as
20 they're called, in the northeast together, so I
21 advocated with the Senate chairs that change be
22 made, and it was, and therefore I felt that the
23 map drawn in the Senate committee was ultimately
24 the best member-submitted map that I saw.

25 As I did with our State House map, I am

1 going to briefly go through the criteria the
2 committee adopted and how it corresponds with
3 the proposed map that's before you today.

4 The first thing we tried to do was keep
5 counties whole. Within the map, where counties
6 could be kept whole, they are. In total, there
7 are only 11 counties split, and that's done for
8 equalizing population across the map, which, of
9 course, is tougher to do because for congress
10 you have to have zero deviation. You don't have
11 that plus or minus 5 percent that you do on the
12 State House and State Senate maps.

13 One of our criteria was to not split
14 VTDs. And again, this is important. It's
15 important to understand context. In 2011, there
16 were many, many VTD splits across the map. In
17 this map, there are only 24 total VTD splits for
18 a statewide for a congressional map, 24 VTD
19 splits, that's it, across the entire map.

20 This map honors municipal boundaries.
21 Again, another very important note about this
22 map is that there are only two total municipal
23 splits in the entire congressional map. If you
24 spent any time at all over in that committee
25 room drafting, you know how hard that is to do.

1 There are only two municipalities split in the
2 entire congressional map, and that's Charlotte
3 and that's Greensboro. Charlotte has to be
4 split, it's got too much population, so we
5 already have to have one in the map no matter
6 what we do. And there's only one more across
7 the entire map, and that's Greensboro, and still
8 yet over 90 percent of the city of Greensboro
9 remains in one district. That is an incredible
10 feat for a congressional map.

11 Of course, we -- every district in this
12 map is contiguous. We looked at compactness.
13 And again, despite not having an algorithm to
14 use or somebody else using an algorithm, the map
15 contains compact districts. And of course, we
16 did not consider racial data. And as I said
17 earlier, for the first time in the history of
18 this state, we did not use election data.

19 Members, the process that we've gone
20 through has been a transparent one. Election
21 data has not been used. Only tried traditional
22 redistricting criteria has been used. And as I
23 told you, the map before you only splits one
24 more municipality that you absolutely have to
25 anyway under this map. There are two total

1 municipality splits, very few VTD splits.
2 However you measure this thing under our
3 criteria, this is a great map that meets our
4 criteria that the committee adopted. I hope
5 you'll support this map.

6 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Reives
7 is recognized to send forth amendment AST-73.
8 The clerk will read.

9 THE CLERK: Representative Reives moves
10 to amend the bill.

11 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman from
12 Chatham, Representative Reives, is recognized to
13 debate the amendment.

14 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you,
15 Mr. Speaker.

16 And again, I will have to repeat, I
17 don't think the lack of submissions on
18 Democrats' part would indicate a lack of desire
19 to be a part of the process. I would bet
20 there's some Democrats that would have loved to
21 have had more opportunity in the process, and I
22 don't think that that opportunity comes from
23 sitting and drawing maps that may not be
24 considered. That is my opinion.

25 With that being said, the amendment

1 that we are offering today was offered in the
2 senate, so it has been in public view for a
3 couple of weeks now. People have had a chance
4 to look at it, they've had a chance to talk
5 about it, to analyze it.

6 So because none of us are using
7 partisan data or anything of that sort, we have
8 to depend on what outside groups have looked at.
9 One of those groups is the Princeton
10 Gerrymandering Project. And the congressional
11 map that we're being asked to vote on today
12 rated an F with that particular process.
13 Specifically, they cite that there's a
14 21.4 percent Republican partisan bias which
15 measures how much Republicans would overperform
16 on this map in a 50/50 race statewide. That
17 clearly would indicate that there is a partisan
18 bias to this congressional map.

19 The map -- the amendment that I'm
20 presenting would get a fairness grade of A.
21 Benefits neither party; it is completely fair.

22 An analysis from the website
23 FiveThirtyEight indicates that the congressional
24 map that is being submitted by the senate
25 results in ten seats leaning wards Republican,

1 one very competitive seat, and three seats that
2 lean towards Democrats. That generates an
3 efficiency gap of 20.1 percent favoring
4 Republicans which is the difference -- an
5 efficiency gap is the difference between each
6 party's wasted votes. 8 percent is considered a
7 bad sign.

8 On the other hand, this amendment would
9 result in six Republican-leaning seats, four
10 Democratic-leaning seats, and four highly
11 competitive seats, more reflecting of what
12 North Carolina looks like today. And this map
13 would only have a 5.8 percent efficiency gap.

14 So in the sense of what we're trying to
15 do and what we're trying to present -- and I
16 think you can feel good about voting for this
17 amendment because this is a congressional map
18 that came from the Senate, so it's not a
19 situation where the House has been involved.
20 And I know that guys like to vote against the
21 Senate, so this would be a great opportunity to
22 show the Senate that they did the wrong thing
23 here, and I would ask that you support the
24 amendment.

25 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does

1 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative
2 Quick, rise?

3 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To debate the
4 amendment.

5 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
6 floor.

7 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: I stand in
8 support of the amendment. As a representative
9 from Guilford county, I sat here and heard some
10 very curious congratulatory remarks about
11 keeping counties whole when the third largest
12 county in North Carolina was split into three
13 districts on the original bill.

14 Guilford county has enough citizens to
15 be two-thirds of a congressional district by
16 itself and deserves to have representation that
17 focuses on the issues of the third largest
18 county in this state.

19 This amendment would keep Guilford
20 county whole, and I ask you to support the
21 amendment on behalf of the citizens of the third
22 largest county in the state of North Carolina.

23 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
24 the gentleman from Caldwell,
25 Representative Hall, rise?

1 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: To debate the
2 amendment.

3 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
4 floor.

5 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Members, as I
6 previously said about the amendment, I didn't
7 see it until just a few minutes ago when I came
8 in and sat down, so, of course, I haven't had
9 time to sit down and analyze the map, but in the
10 limited time that I have had, I already notice,
11 right off the bat, that this map would split the
12 finger counties in the northeast that we heard
13 so much about from public comment wanting to
14 keep those together. It splits more
15 municipalities. Again, the map that I have
16 before you splits only two municipalities across
17 the state. And this amendment would split more
18 counties.

19 So again, in a very limited amount of
20 time, we can clearly see that this map, the
21 amendment, that is, does not comply as well with
22 our criteria as our base map does, and I would
23 ask you to vote down the amendment.

24 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,
25 further debate. If not, the question before the

1 House is the adoption of Amendment A1 sent
2 forward by Representative Reives. Those in
3 favor of the amendment will vote aye. Those
4 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the
5 vote.

6 The clerk will lock the machine and
7 record the vote.

8 47 having voted in the affirmative and
9 67 in the negative, the amendment is not
10 adopted.

11 For what purpose does the lady from
12 Guilford, Representative Harrison, rise?

13 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: To debate the
14 bill.

15 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady has the floor
16 to debate the bill.

17 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: Thank you,
18 Mr. Speaker.

19 I don't want to repeat too much of what
20 I said on Tuesday about the public process, but
21 I know we keep bragging about the great public
22 process and transparency that went on with
23 redistricting, but I think the public did not
24 feel like it was a very friendly public process,
25 nor did they feel it was very accessible, nor

1 did they feel that it was very transparent.

2 The public hearings, we heard some
3 strong -- first of all, we didn't have a public
4 hearing in Guilford county, the third largest
5 county in the state. Those individuals felt
6 strongly about how the Guilford county map
7 should look went to Forsyth and Alamance and
8 other places and online to make their comments
9 heard. And what we heard resoundingly was keep
10 Guilford county whole, keep the Piedmont Triad
11 whole. It's the Piedmont Triad. It's
12 High Point. It's Greensboro. It's
13 Winston-Salem.

14 I heard Senator Daniel say yesterday,
15 when he was talking about the fifth district in
16 Wake county, this is where the constituents
17 there worship, play, commute and work together.
18 Well, that's the same thing that you would say
19 about the Piedmont Triad, that there's no real
20 justification for splitting up that county.

21 It's crazy how one part of it runs from
22 downtown Greensboro to the Tennessee border,
23 picks up Virginia Fox's precinct Blowing Rock.

24 And I curiously notice the only thing
25 that that district has in common is my great

1 grandfather Julian Price, the Jefferson Standard
2 building, he hired the architect for that,
3 that's in downtown Greensboro. The district
4 runs by his house in Fisher Park and then it
5 goes out to Price Park in Blowing Rock which
6 used to be his land, but it's now part of the
7 national park service, but there is very little
8 in common about this proposed Congressional
9 District 11.

10 And you have this other part that goes
11 from eastern Greensboro, and some of the smaller
12 municipalities in the county, down to Harnett
13 and Lee, and then the other part goes down
14 through Davie and Cabarrus, and there's just
15 very little in common with these areas.

16 And I think -- I think this particular
17 congressional grouping is the worst example of
18 not keeping communities of interest together or
19 keeping municipalities together.

20 And furthermore, it's worth noting, I
21 know we had some dispute about the necessity of
22 compliance with the Voting Rights Act and the
23 ruling in Covington, but I think that the
24 splitting up of the African American populations
25 in Guilford county into three different

1 congressional districts is really problematical,
2 and we were warned of that by the lawyers early
3 on in August, at the very first public hearing,
4 that we needed to take into account these
5 populations when we were drawing these maps. We
6 neither did a racial voting polarization study,
7 nor did we draw these VRA districts first, and I
8 think that's going to be a problem for us.

9 There's some statistics -- I can't
10 verify that only -- that 90 percent of
11 Greensboro feels whole. I don't feel like it
12 feels very whole, but I will say the county
13 doesn't feel very whole. We've got 60 percent
14 of it in one district, 26 percent in another
15 district, and then 14 percent in another
16 district. And I think the cracking of the
17 African American vote is a real problem.

18 I know that there are other urban
19 counties that were split up and the same thing
20 happened with African American population in
21 those counties, and those were more necessary
22 because of their populations, but we did not
23 need to split up Guilford county.

24 So we heard very strong public
25 commentary not to split it up before we drew the

1 maps and then after the maps were drawn, people
2 came and told us to please keep the Piedmont
3 Triad whole and then we seemed to have ignored
4 that public comment. I feel like this was very
5 arbitrary about how the public comment was
6 important in drawing some congressional
7 districts but not in others, but, boy, they did
8 not listen to the public comment when they were
9 drawing the Guilford county districts.

10 I made the point which I thought was
11 interesting when I was reviewing the comments
12 that we had -- that had been made on the days
13 that we heard about the congressional district
14 hearing which I think was Monday, a week ago,
15 which I think are very telling. And I will note
16 that these were bipartisan comments. We heard
17 from Republicans and Democrats. We heard from
18 retirees. I remember there was a farmer in
19 Alamance county who spoke, a retired sheriff.

20 These were some of the comments that
21 they made about the congressional map:
22 Ludicrous, racially unfair, grossly partisan,
23 disconnected, scary, undemocratic, dishonest,
24 confusing. That is something that I am not
25 proud of, and I can't believe any of us would be

1 proud of in voting for this map today.

2 This is a gross gerrymander. It
3 appears to be a very gross partisan gerrymander.
4 It looks like we have violated the Voting Rights
5 Act in drawing these districts. This is wrong.
6 We can do better. I urge you to vote no. Thank
7 you.

8 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
9 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative
10 Quick, rise?

11 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To debate the
12 bill.

13 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
14 floor.

15 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: Joining in with
16 my colleague from Guilford county and agreeing
17 with everything that she just said, I also would
18 like to keep this body reminded of an earlier
19 court's warning and chastising of us about
20 targeting African Americans with surgical
21 precision.

22 I think a reasonable argument can be
23 made in Greensboro and Guilford county that the
24 African American population there again feels
25 targeted with surgical precision, and I would

1 ask that you vote no.

2 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
3 the gentleman from Durham, Representative
4 Hawkins, rise?

5 REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: To debate the
6 bill.

7 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
8 floor.

9 REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: I want to
10 thank all my colleagues for their remarks. And
11 I just want to add on three specifics pieces
12 specifically for the Watauga to Guilford county
13 congressional draw.

14 What is going to stick out to people
15 for this, and this is, again, reasons that I
16 join my colleagues in asking you to vote no and
17 reconsider, is that it seems deliberate that
18 those places were -- especially Greensboro was
19 chose to be split and there was a deliberate
20 choice on who to double-bunk.

21 And so if you look at the
22 [unintelligible] from Caldwell and, you know,
23 maneuvering into Watauga county to go get
24 Appalachian State and Blowing Rock, that was a
25 deliberate draw so that on the other side of it,

1 in Guilford county, that particular
2 congressional member was double-bunked with
3 someone else. And so those intentional
4 decisions, those surgical precisions are going
5 to stick out to voters. And again, I hope that
6 we are not having to redraw multiple times this
7 decade, but decisions like that are going to
8 lead us down that path.

9 Secondly, the largest county in the
10 state that borders Durham county, Wake county
11 was split multiple times. Wake county, I think
12 we all know, has the ability to hold at least
13 one congressional district on its own and then
14 the remainder of it can be placed alongside
15 other counties that are less populated. In
16 this, it seems like there was -- the way that
17 this was drawn allows for the illusion of the
18 impact of that county and one would only have to
19 draw the direct correlation that is done for
20 partisan reasons. And again, just sharing
21 reasons why we should vote no and reconsider
22 because, again, we don't want to have do this
23 multiple times.

24 And lastly, and this was in some of the
25 questioning in committee with the senator that

1 was presenting, that with the use of criteria,
2 it seemed that Wake was placed inconsistently,
3 but sometimes it seemed like it was strategic
4 depending on what district was -- district was
5 being drawn.

6 And so as a legislator, I want to be
7 able to walk my constituents through this map
8 and tell them sort of how decisions were made,
9 and when I can't have a consistent answer on how
10 the criteria were weighed district by district
11 or do we use the same sort of weight and system
12 in ranking as we went across the state, if I
13 can't have that conversation with them and you
14 can't walk your constituent through that in how
15 that criteria was used, then this map is not
16 worth the paper it was printed on.

17 And so I want to make sure that, again,
18 the goal is is that as a member of the
19 redistricting committee, we want to do this
20 once, and we will revisit it in 2030, but when
21 those -- the things that I've just outlined are
22 just crystal clear to the majority of us, we
23 need to make sure that we think about this, take
24 our time, slow down, and make better maps.

25 And so I ask you to join with my

1 colleagues in voting no, but as always, to
2 chairmen, thank you for your hard work.

3 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
4 the gentleman from Chatham, Representative
5 Reives, rise?

6 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you,
7 Mr. Speaker. To debate the bill.

8 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
9 floor.

10 REPRESENTATIVE REIVES: Thank you.

11 I think all of us agree on one thing,
12 that the most important result of this vote is
13 that folks have faith in this process, that
14 voters walk out of here and feel like they were
15 represented, that they had their views heard,
16 had concerns made clear, and that they feel like
17 that they're in a situation where they have fair
18 maps.

19 I think that we can look at outside
20 groups that look to these maps and say that
21 there are probably going to be a lot of voters
22 who feel like that's not what happened.

23 I think to look at the congressional
24 map and see what results, according to experts
25 that have looked at this map, a map that gives

1 us ten Republican seats, three Democratic seats,
2 one very competitive seat to me is fairly
3 unbelievable if you say that that represents
4 North Carolina. A map that splits up Wake,
5 Meck, Guilford in the ways that it does I think,
6 again, is fairly unbelievable that people are
7 going to think that that's a fair map.

8 We had a group from Duke that looked at
9 this map, and they ran tens of thousands of
10 computer simulations. And according to their
11 simulations, they found that this congressional
12 map was a statistical anomaly. They made tens
13 of thousands of maps just following our
14 criteria, not using racial data, not using
15 partisan data, and after running tens of
16 thousands of simulations, all of those maps that
17 they were running generally elected fewer
18 Republicans than the version that's presented to
19 us today.

20 That means something, and that should
21 mean something beyond worrying about who gets
22 what advantage or anything of that sort, but it
23 should mean something in the sense of whatever
24 process we had, whatever intent there was, that
25 we shouldn't want a map that has those type of

1 problems and has that type of reflection.

2 The amendment I offered before actually
3 split fewer voter districts. Instead of 24, it
4 split 14; made the districts more compact, with
5 Reock scores of 45 compared to 42; Polsby-Popper
6 of 36 compared to 30; kept communities of
7 interest together; created a Sandhills
8 congressional district for those of us that are
9 originally from down that way understand how
10 important that is. Again, gave Guilford what it
11 would feel would be true representation.

12 So ultimately what I would say is we've
13 got an opportunity just to do things better.
14 House maps are done. Senate maps are done. The
15 congressional map's a whole different ball game.
16 And I would say out of the three maps, what you
17 have seen from outside analysis is the
18 congressional map seems to be the worse at doing
19 the things that people are concerned about. And
20 that has nothing to do with process, that has
21 nothing to do with intent. Ultimately, it's
22 about final result. And because of that final
23 result, this is something we need to go back and
24 revisit.

25 All of us are tired of looking at maps.

1 All of us are tired of going through this. I
2 understand that, but I think it would be good as
3 one of the accomplishments that we have coming
4 out of this biennium is to serve notice to the
5 rest of the country that this can get done in
6 the right way. We have led on other issues.
7 This would be an outstanding issue for us to
8 lead on, and I think we're missing that
9 opportunity. And I don't know why we're missing
10 that opportunity. I don't know why we're not
11 taking it, but we're not, but I really, really,
12 really personally, I know, would love to see us
13 move in a different direction, change the way
14 that we do things and try to be better.

15 Again, going back to the amendment that
16 was offered, that amendment still allowed for a
17 Republican advantage. You can still draw maps
18 that have a Republican advantage without
19 presenting this type of advantage which is going
20 to make the most considerate of us raise an
21 eyebrow in concern, so please consider voting
22 no.

23 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
24 the gentleman from Caldwell,
25 Representative Hall, rise?

1 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Debate the bill a
2 second time.

3 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
4 floor.

5 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: Members, I'm a
6 bit -- I'm taken aback when I hear folks say
7 that the Democrats wish that they had more
8 involvement in this process.

9 I've been here when the maps were drawn
10 outside of this building and they were brought
11 in and you were essentially shown what the map
12 was going to look like and we just voted on it.
13 And that's the way things were done for probably
14 150 years or so under mostly Democrats, but
15 then, of course, Republicans for the first
16 part -- or the last decade. You didn't have
17 much input. You certainly didn't have the
18 ability to sit down in public and draw maps with
19 members of both parties.

20 That didn't happen this time around.
21 As we've said, and as everyone knows, we
22 voluntarily chose to do it out in public and not
23 use election data even though the law doesn't
24 require us to do that. We chose to do that
25 because that's the right thing to do. We did

1 that. This body did that. None of the -- none
2 of the previous bodies in the last 150 or
3 200 years. This general assembly chose to do
4 that.

5 And that committee room has been open
6 since October 6th. I've been in there most of
7 the time since October 6th, and so I know who
8 was there, and I didn't see a whole lot of my
9 friends on the Democratic side, and that's
10 unfortunate because in 2019 I did. When we drew
11 those maps in 2019, you saw a lot of computer
12 terminals where Democrats and Republicans were
13 sitting there together. In fact, I got to know
14 some of you that I didn't know very well through
15 that process. That was available to everybody
16 this time around. And I don't know why some
17 didn't -- some chose not to do that. I've got
18 some suspicions, but again, I don't question
19 people's intent.

20 We don't have a proposed alternative
21 congressional map from House Democrats, and so
22 ultimately it's a process argument that's being
23 made. And we've heard a whole lot also about
24 outcomes and these outside groups in the way
25 that they rated these maps. I've intentionally

1 not looked at any of that stuff. I'm not
2 considering political data, electoral data in
3 the drafting of these maps, so I have no idea
4 what their outcome is going to be.

5 But ultimately, if you have a process
6 where you don't consider election data, a
7 process that's done out in the open, in video
8 with full audio for the world to see and you
9 only consider traditional criteria, like keeping
10 cities and counties whole, and if you still
11 don't like the outcome of what comes out of
12 that, perhaps the problem is not the process or
13 these maps. Perhaps the problem is your ideas.

14 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,
15 further debate.

16 For what purpose does the lady from
17 Pitt, Representative Smith, rise?

18 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: I would rise to
19 ask a question.

20 SPEAKER MOORE: Of --

21 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Of the bill
22 sponsor.

23 SPEAKER MOORE: Representative Hall,
24 does the gentleman yield?

25 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I yield.

1 SPEAKER MOORE: He yields.

2 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: My question is
3 can you clarify that last statement because I'm
4 confused now. The very last statement that you
5 made about the ideas, so can you just clarify
6 that for me.

7 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: I will do my best
8 to clarify.

9 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: I appreciate it.

10 REPRESENTATIVE HALL: And what I said
11 was this is the most transparent process in the
12 history of this state. We voluntarily did not
13 use election data. I do not know the outcome of
14 these maps, but if you don't like that outcome,
15 again, perhaps the problem is not the process of
16 this, perhaps it's not the maps themselves, but
17 perhaps it's the ideas that you're putting forth
18 to the public.

19 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Okay. Can I
20 please debate the bill, Mr. Speaker.

21 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady is recognized
22 to debate the bill.

23 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Okay. So I'm
24 breathing because that's important. I just want
25 to make sure that we're clear. There's been so

1 many options of things being put forth to this
2 body throughout this entire session and they
3 have been ignored, and so to hear someone get up
4 and praise themselves for the work they've done
5 independently versus working collectively is
6 already a red flag.

7 It appears that there's an attack on
8 the African American vote, but there's no
9 concern for that. It's important to know that
10 people are supposed to elect us and not the
11 other way around, but we see where we're headed.

12 When I look at these congressional
13 maps, when I look at the house maps, all of
14 them -- all of them reek of just -- they stink
15 because there's something wrong with them. I've
16 been hearing so much about transparency. If we
17 truly had transparency when we had those
18 meetings ahead of time, with no maps that we
19 wasted the people's time, we would have had
20 those meetings after these maps, but we know
21 what we would have heard. People don't want
22 gerrymandering; that's what we have. People
23 don't want us packing; that's what we're doing.
24 People don't want to separate individuals of the
25 same interest; that's what we're doing. But we

1 have so many individuals who feel like they're
2 the only ones that's right.

3 So to go into a room and to draw a map
4 that you're going to vote down and to stand on
5 the floor and begin to say everything that I
6 receive was at the last minute. Well, that's
7 really what's happened this entire session.
8 From the budget on down, everything was a last
9 minute, and now we're going to say I am so
10 disappointed in Democrats because of the lack of
11 participation at the last minute. That's what
12 we've been experiencing. That's unfortunate,
13 and to go back and say we're working across
14 aisles, that is untrue.

15 So if we're going to really listen to
16 the people, we should be listening to the
17 people. Transparency of having a camera in a
18 room, that you're not doing the work in that
19 room and you're doing that work in another room
20 and then you come into this room and say, oh,
21 here it is, that's not good.

22 So I urge everyone to please make sure
23 that we vote these down, and then we need to
24 make sure the people do what they need to do to
25 vote on individuals who want to be a voice and

1 represent them and listen to them and make sure
2 that we're representing the people. It is not
3 about us. It's about the people. Thank you.
4 Please vote no.

5 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
6 the gentleman from Guilford, Representative
7 Quick, rise?

8 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: To speak to the
9 bill a second time.

10 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman has the
11 floor.

12 REPRESENTATIVE QUICK: With all due
13 respect to my friend, Mr. Chairman, in a state
14 with 36 percent of registered voters are
15 Democrats approximately, 33 percent of
16 registered voters are unaffiliated
17 approximately, and 30 percent are registered
18 Republican approximately, and yet a
19 congressional map has the probability of
20 electing ten Republicans and three Democrats, I
21 don't think it's an idea problem. I think it's
22 a map-drawing problem. And I wonder how many
23 Republicans -- you criticize Democrats for not
24 drawing maps. How many Republicans actually
25 drew maps? Please vote no for this map.

1 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,
2 further debate. If not, the question before the
3 House is the passage of Senate Bill 740 on
4 second reading. Those in favor will vote aye.
5 Those opposed will vote no. The clerk will open
6 the vote.

7 The clerk will lock the machine and
8 record the vote.

9 65 having voted in the affirmative and
10 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 740 passes its
11 second reading and will be read a third time.

12 THE CLERK: General Assembly of
13 North Carolina enacts.

14 SPEAKER MOORE: Further discussion,
15 further debate. If not, the question before the
16 House is the passage of Senate Bill 740 on third
17 reading. Those in favor will vote aye. Those
18 opposed will vote no. The clerk will open the
19 vote.

20 The clerk will lock the machine and
21 record the vote.

22 65 having voted in the affirmative and
23 49 in the negative, Senate Bill 740 passes its
24 third reading and the bill is ordered enrolled.

25 (Transcription from audio recording

1 stopped at 44:51 and continued again at 46:37.)

2 SPEAKER MOORE: For what purpose does
3 the lady from Guilford, Representative Harrison,
4 rise?

5 REPRESENTATIVE HARRISON: I would like
6 to be recorded as an aye on the Reives amendment
7 on Senate Bill 740, please.

8 SPEAKER MOORE: The lady will be
9 recorded as having voted aye on the Reives
10 amendment.

11 For what purpose does the gentleman
12 from Mecklenburg, Representative Autry, rise?

13 REPRESENTATIVE AUTRY: Thank you,
14 Mr. Speaker. I would like to be recorded as
15 voting aye on Amendment A1 for Senate Bill 740,
16 please.

17 SPEAKER MOORE: The gentleman will also
18 be recorded as having voted aye on Amendment A1.

19 For what purpose does the lady from
20 Wake, Representative Dahle, rise?

21 REPRESENTATIVE DAHLE: I would like to
22 object to the last bill being added to the
23 calendar...

24 (Transcription from audio recording
25 stopped at 47:14.)

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