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1	Clerk Hollman: "House Perfunctory Session will come to order.
2	Introduction of Resolutions. House Resolution 357, offered by
3	Representative Bourne, and House Resolution 359, offered by
4	Representative Lisa Hernandez, are referred to the Rules
5	Committee."
6	Speaker Evans: "The House shall be in order. Members in their
7	chairs. We shall be led in prayer today by Wayne Padget, the
8	Assistant Doorkeeper. Members and guests are asked to refrain
9	from starting their laptops, turn off all cell phones, and
10	rise for the invocation and the Pledge of Allegiance."
11	Wayne Padget: "Let us pray. Dear heavenly Father, we come now
12	praising your mighty power and endless authority. We lift up
13	to you our State Representatives who have the God given duty
14	to enact justice, defend the rights of the poor and needy,
15	and give the land the rest that it so desperately needs. Lord,
16	strengthen them with integrity and character, to act
17	righteously and not out of selfish ambition. Protect them
18	from all evil powers that maneuver to coerce them and grant
19	them abundant wisdom so that they may know your ways to labor
20	for the good of creation and all of us who daily depend on it
21	for life and health. Amen."
22	Speaker Evans: "We will be led in the Pledge of Allegiance today
23	by Representative Walker."
24	Walker - et al: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United
25	States of America and to the republic for which it stands,
26	one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice
27	for all."

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Speaker Evans: "Roll Call for Attendance. Leader Harris is 1 2 recognized to report any excused absence on the Democratic 3 side of the aisle." "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Let the record reflect that Harris: 4 Representative Carroll is excused today." 5 6 Speaker Evans: "Leader Welter is recognized to report any excused 7 absence on the Republican side of the aisle." Welter: "Mr. Speaker, let the record reflect that all Republicans 8 9 are present and ready to work for the day." Speaker Evans: "Have all recorded themselves who wish? Have all 10 recorded themselves who wish? Have all recorded themselves 11 12 who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. There being 117 Members answering the roll call, a quorum is present. Mr. 13 Clerk, Committee Reports." 14 15 Clerk Hollman: "Committee Reports. Representative Harris, 16 Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action on May 28, 2021: recommends be adopted, 17 referred to the floor is Floor Amendment(s) 2 to Senate Bill 18 19 2182, Floor Amendment(s) 1 to Senate Bill 2162, Floor Amendment(s) 2 to House Resolution 266. Representative Harris 20 also reported on May 28, 2021: approved for consideration, 21 22 referred to the Order of Resolutions is House Resolution 359. Representative Mussman, Chairperson from the Committee on 23 Elementary & Secondary Education: School Curriculum & 24 Policies reports the following committee action on May 28, 25 26 2021: recommends be adopted is the Motion to Concur with 27 Senate Amendment 2 to House Bill 219, and the Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment 2 to House Bill 2748. Representative 28 29 Evans, Chairperson from the Committee on Labor & Commerce

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1	reports the following committee action on May 28, 2021:
2	recommends be adopted is the Motion to Concur with Senate
3	Amendment 1 to House Bill 816. Representative Kifowit,
4	Chairperson from the Committee on State Government
5	Administration reports the following committee action on May
6	28, 2021: recommends be adopted is the Motion to Concur with
7	Senate Amendment 2 to House Bill 832, Motion to Concur with
8	Senate Amendment 1 to House Bill 1726. Representative
9	Hernandez Lisa Hernandez, Chairperson from the Committee on
10	Redistricting reports the following committee action on May
11	28, 2021: recommends be adopted is Floor Amendment(s) 1 to
12	House Bill 1980, Floor Amendment(s) 2 to Senate Bill 642,
13	Floor Amendment(s) 1 to Senate Bill 2661."
14	Speaker Evans: "Leader Welter is recognized for an announcement."
15	Welter: "The Republicans request an immediate caucus in Room 114."
16	Speaker Evans: "Leader Welter, could you give me a time or give
17	me a parameter, please?"
18	Welter: "It will be a fair amount of time."
19	Speaker Evans: "Could you give me something more specific? I mean,
20	we got business to do today. One hour?"
21	Welter: "We're waiting on the census data. I don't know how long
22	that'll take."
23	Speaker Evans: "Could we say could you commit to one hour?"
24	Welter: "We will do our best, Mr. Speaker. One hour, we will try
25	for."
26	Speaker Evans: "The House will be we heard one hour, so the House
27	will be at recess for one hour. Thank you."
28	Speaker Hoffman: "The House will come to order. Members, an

announcement. This is a reminder of House Rule 51.5. Please

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1	remember to wear a face covering that covers the nose and
2	mouth, except for when necessary for eating and drinking.
3	This includes when speaking on a microphone at your desk and
4	prior to the start of Session. Again, please remember to wear
5	a face covering, including while speaking on the microphone,
6	pursuant to House Rule 51.5. Leader Brady is recognized."
7	Brady: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Point of personal
8	privilege."
9	Speaker Hoffman: "Please state your point."
10	Brady: "Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, it was 20 years ago
11	today that our son, Tom Brady, was born. And I wanted like
12	to ask all of you in joining me, my wife Teri, and daughter
13	Danielle, a happy birthday salute to our son, Tom Brady, who
14	will be going to Columbia College to study film. Happy
15	birthday, Tom Brady."
16	Speaker Hoffman: "Happy birthday, Tom. On page 7 of the Calendar,
17	Order of Second Reading, appears Senate Bill 2661. Mr. Clerk,
18	read the Bill."
19	Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 2661, a Bill for an Act concerning
20	government. This Bill was read a second time, previously. No
21	Committee Amendments. Floor Amendment #1, offered by
22	Representative Lisa Hernandez, has been approved for
23	consideration."
24	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Hernandez on Floor Amendment
25	#1."
26	Hernandez, L.: "Thank you, Speaker. I seek adoption of Amendment
27	#1, Floor Amendment #1."
28	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Hernandez moves for the adoption
29	of Floor Amendment #1. All those in favor say 'aye'; all

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opposed 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have 1 2 it. The Amendment is adopted. Third Reading. Read the Bill, 3 Mr. Clerk." Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 2661, a Bill for an Act concerning 4 government. Third Reading of this Senate Bill." 5 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler, I apologizes. I saw that you 6 7 wanted to speak. Is it okay if we just do it on Third Reading? 8 Thank you. Leader Hernandez." 9 Hernandez, L.: "Thank you, Speaker. This Bill, as amended, fulfills our statutory obligation to redraw the Cook County 10 11 Board of Review districts. The Board of Review is a government 12 office. It provides the taxpayers of Cook County and... an 13 opportunity to appeal the overvaluation of assessments. The board is comprised of 3 elected Members. By 14 15 law, the Illinois General Assembly must redraw the district... the district of the board every 10 years. The districts before 16 us today are substantially equal in population, and this 17 18 proposal is more compact than the existing districts. I ask 19 for an 'aye' vote." Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler on Senate Bill 2661." 20 21 Butler: "Thank you, Speaker Hoffman. Leader Hernandez, could you 22 go a little more in depth? I know we're kind of rushing. We just had a committee hearing on this. We've been in caucus. 23 We assume there's going to be more coming down the pipe today, 24 but could you explain for the Members just a little bit what 25 exactly the board of review does? Why do we need to 26 redistrict? I'm sure we'll have some other questions. But for 27 those of us not from Cook County, maybe explain why we need 28 29 to redistrict the... the Cook County Board of Review?"

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- Hernandez, L.: "Sure. The... as mentioned before, the Board 1 2 basically gives an opportunity for taxpayers to appeal their 3 property. And it is required to do this every 10 years." Butler: "And can you talk to us about how the decision was made 4 5 to redistrict, as is in the legislation before us? What was... 6 what's behind this? What data has been used? Things like 7 that." Hernandez, L.: "Sure. ACS data is used." 8 Butler: "Is... was ACS data the sole data that was used?" 9 Hernandez, L.: "Sole population data, yes." 10 Butler: "Was there other data that was used to draw these maps?" 11 12 Hernandez, L.: "Supplementary data like the election... from the election board." 13 Butler: "And why would election board data be used to draw the 14 15 Cook County Board of Review maps?" Hernandez, L.: "It's not... it's not unusual. This is... data that's 16 been used in the past." 17 18 Butler: "So, can you... how many Cook County Board of Review members 19 are there? Are there... are these divided into districts? I'm 20 sorry, I'm... being from Sangamon County, I'm not overly 21 familiar with the Cook County Board of Review." 22 Hernandez, L.: "It's three districts." Butler: "Three districts, divided equally by population?" 23 Hernandez, L.: "One point seven million each." 24
- 25 Butler: "So, by... divided by population based on ACS data and... and 26 election data. You know, I think we have some few other 27 questions. And like I said, I think we're going to get in 28 some other events, maybe today. Speaker Hoffman, I reserve my

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right to maybe get yielded time by others. But for now, that's 1 2 all I have to say on this topic." 3 Speaker Hoffman: "Thank you, Leader. Leader Spain." "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Question for the Sponsor." 4 Speaker Hoffman: "Sponsor yields." 5 6 "Leader Hernandez, thank you for bringing this Bill 7 forward. I was curious because I'm learning a lot about the Cook County Board of Review, beginning this morning. It's not 8 9 an organization... an agency that I have great familiarity with, living down in Peoria. But you mentioned that there is a 10 11 requirement to redistrict this board of review every 10 years. 12 Can you tell me a little more about that?" Hernandez, L.: "It's a statutory requirement in State Law." 13 Spain: "Okay. So it's a requirement in statute. It's not part of 14 15 some constitutional provision that creates this redistricting process, correct?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "Correct." 17 18 Spain: "But, is it fair to say that... when was the last time... I 19 know this sounds like a silly question, but when was the last time the board of review was redistricted?" 20 Hernandez, L.: "That... I believe that's 2011." 21 22 Spain: "Okay. So, 10 years ago. So, we're... we've arrived at that 23 moment. If we knew that redistricting of the Cook County Board of Review was a process that we would undertake every 10 24 years, and if we have convened a Redistricting Committee 25 through which this legislation was adopted this morning, that 26 hearing... that committee, as you know, has met 30 times, 27

perhaps, 40 times. Why was this morning the first time we

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- heard of this matter and not in one of the 40 other hearings 1 2 related to redistricting?" 3 Hernandez, L.: "So, I believe it was about 50 hearings, actually, all together. And I would just say there was just ample 4 opportunity for discussion on this from the public." 5 6 "Did we receive any ample input, or any input at all, in 7 the 50 hearings from the public regarding the Cook County 8 Board of Review?" Hernandez, L.: "No." 9 "Thank you. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill." 10 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill." 11 Spain: "This is the beginning of a theme that we're going to hear 12 a lot about today. A process, a new day, that was delivered 13 here for the Illinois House of Representatives, and it looks 14 15 pretty similar to the old days of the Illinois House of Representatives. Transparency is important in our government 16 and we have had ample time to alert the public about a variety 17 18 of measures that will be undertaken today. And we have chosen in every step of the process to obfuscate the intentions, to 19 operate in secrecy, and deprive the people of the State of 20 21 Illinois, or in this case, the people... the great people of 22 Cook County, the opportunity to weigh in onto this subject and many more. I urge a 'no' vote." 23
- 24 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Bourne."
- 25 Bourne: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 26 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 27 Bourne: "Thank you. Leader Hernandez, just to speed things up,
- I'm looking at page 53 of your Bill. If you want to flip to
- it. And a change reads... well, I'll read what's currently in

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data

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statute. 'In the year following each federal Decennial 1 2 Census, the General Assembly shall reapportion the election 3 districts to reflect the results of the census.' Is there any 4 deadline to do this?" Hernandez, L.: "So, it's to occur in this year." 5 6 Bourne: "So, December 31 at midnight would be the deadline?" Hernandez, L.: "I would just say it should occur this... this year." 7 Bourne: "Is there a reason that we're rushing this through?" 8 9 Hernandez, L.: "I wouldn't say it's rushing. I think... it is an opportunity to do it now." 10 11 Bourne: "I would beg to differ. As I think previous speakers have 12 said, we first learned about this this morning. It's already been through committee. It's not even 2:30 and it's up for a 13 vote on the House. That's pretty fast, even in this chamber. 14 15 So, it seems like a rush to me. Representative, is there anything currently in statute that mentions that the American 16 Community Survey should be made... or should be an acceptable 17 18 form of data to reapportion anything? Is that currently in statute before this Bill passes?" 19 Hernandez, L.: "I would just say it's just a source of data." 20 21 Bourne: "No, I understand that. But do we have anything in our laws of the state that say American Community Survey data may 22 be used to reapportion?" 23 Hernandez, L.: "No." 24 Bourne: "Will we after this passes?" 25 Hernandez, L.: "Yes." 26 27 Bourne: "Yeah, I have some concerns with that. Particularly, since

even the Census Bureau says that American Community Survey

is not appropriate for reapportion... or

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redistricting. So, what you're adding to the statute says, 1 2 'If any year following the federal Decennial Census in which 3 the results of the census are not available by March 31, the General Assembly may use other population data, included, but 4 not limited to, the most recent American Community Survey 5 6 data.' Do you think that it is allowed in statute now to do 7 this without American Community Survey data?" Hernandez, L.: "So, statute does ask for a census data, but since 8 data... census data is not available, this is the next 9 alternative." 10 11 "Yeah, I have some concerns with that. So, you are 12 changing the statute to say that it's allowed, but you're moving forward with redistricting it without the Decennial 13 Census data, which you just said was required. So, I think 14 15 this gets to the core of the argument. To the Bill, Mr. Speaker. I think this gets to the core..." 16 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill." 17 18 Bourne: "...of the argument that we have been making for many months about the appropriateness of using American Community Survey 19 data to redistrict, and our position is just the same as the 20 Census Bureau. It shouldn't be controversial but we are 21 22 enshrining in our State Law now that it would be appropriate, even though the Sponsor has just indicated that the statute 23 currently calls for census data and there is no rush for this. 24 The deadline would be December 31 of 2021. I think this is 25 26 inappropriate. Please vote 'no'." 27 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Hernandez to close." Hernandez, L.: "I ask for your 'aye' vote." 28

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1	Speaker Hoffman: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 2661 pass?'
2	All in favor vote 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. The voting is
3	open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have
4	all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On
5	this question, there are 72 voting 'yes', 45 voting 'no', 0
6	voting 'present'. And this Bill, having received a
7	Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. On page
8	5 of the Calendar, on the Order of Second Reading, appears
9	Senate Bill 642. Mr. Clerk, please read the Bill."
10	Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 642, a Bill for an Act concerning
11	courts. This Bill was read for a second time, previously.
12	Amendment 1 was adopted in committee. Floor Amendment #2,
13	offered by Representative Tarver, has been approved for
14	consideration."
15	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Tarver on Floor Amendment #2."
16	Tarver: "Mr. Speaker, Floor Amendment #2 becomes the Bill. The
17	do you need me to describe the Amendment? Okay."
18	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler, would it be would it be okay to
19	debate this on Third Reading?"
20	Butler: "I'd like you know, this is something we haven't done in
21	over 60 years, so why don't we explain the Amendment a little
22	bit, Representative."
23	Tarver: "Sure. This Bill would, as the Illinois Constitution
24	requires, ensure that the four Supreme Court Districts
25	outside of Cook County have substantial substantially equal
26	population."
0.7	
27	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler."

Amendment, please."

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1	Speaker Hoffman: "Members, a roll call has been asked for the
2	adoption of the Amendment. Any further discussion on the
3	Amendment? The question is, 'Shall Senate Senate Floor
4	Amendment #2 to Senate Bill 642 be adopted?' All in favor
5	vote 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all
6	voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who
7	wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question,
8	there's 72 voting 'yes', 45 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'.
9	And the Amendment is adopted. Any further Amendments, Mr.
10	Clerk?"
11	Clerk Hollman: "No further Amendments. No Motions are filed."
12	Speaker Hoffman: "Third Reading. Read the Bill, Mr. Clerk."
13	Clerk Hollman: "Senate Bill 642, a Bill for an Act concerning
14	courts. Third Reading of this Senate Bill."
15	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Tarver on Senate Bill 642."
16	Tarver: "This is a Bill, as required by the Illinois Constitution,
17	that would ensure that the four Supreme Court Districts
18	outside county of Cook are substantially equal in
19	population."
20	Speaker Hoffman: "On this question, Leader Butler."
21	Butler: "Thank you, Speaker Hoffman. A few questions of the
22	Sponsor."
23	Speaker Hoffman: "Sponsor yields."
24	Butler: "Representative Tarver"
25	Tarver: "Sir."
26	Butler: "could the four districts outside of Cook be drawn in a

different way that's substantially equal in population?"

Tarver: "I presume you have an answer in mind."

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- 1 Butler: "No, I'm asking you. You're the Sponsor of this Bill.
- 2 You've been involved in crafting this legislation and drawing
- 3 the maps."
- 4 Tarver: "Did you say drafting or crafting?"
- 5 Butler: "Both. Crafting, drafting, whichever one you'd like to
- 6 do."
- 7 Tarver: "I didn't draft the legislation. I didn't craft the
- 8 legislation."
- 9 Butler: "So, who drafted the legislation?"
- 10 Tarver: "I think we discussed this in committee. It wasn't me."
- 11 Butler: "But it was not in front of the entire House or on the
- 12 floor of the House of Representatives, Representative."
- 13 Tarver: "Okay."
- 14 Butler: "Who crafted the legislation?"
- 15 Tarver: "It was not me."
- 16 Butler: "But you're the Sponsor of the Bill."
- 17 Tarver: "I understand that."
- 18 Butler: "So, could you please tell me who in your best estimate..."
- 19 Tarver: "My best estimate is a licensed Illinois attorney."
- 20 Butler: "Okay. So in committee, we talked about staff and
- consultants and so on that helped craft this legislation. So,
- 22 back to my point... well, let me ask another. What data was
- used to craft these new Supreme Court Districts?"
- 24 Tarver: "These Supreme Court Districts, the information that was
- used, my understanding, is ACS, which we've discussed a lot
- in committee and I'm sure on the floor as well, as well as
- 27 election information."
- 28 Butler: "What kind of election information?"

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1	Tarver: "As I've told you before and for the benefit of all of my
2	colleagues, I did not use the election information. I did not
3	use the ACS because I did not draft the maps. So, if you want
4	me to speculate, I'm going to decline that opportunity because
5	<pre>I'm not in somebody else's head."</pre>
6	Butler: "I do find it amazing as Sponsor of the legislation, that
7	you decline ownership of the legislation."
8	Tarver: "Well, I I think you're putting words in my mouth. I
9	find it amazing that districts that have 60 percent less
10	population than others are now wanting a floor debate when
11	the Illinois Supreme Court excuse me, the Constitution is
12	clear, substantially equal in population. I just I find it
13	amazing that anyone would think that one county having 3.2
14	million people and another having 1.3 million people is
15	substantially equal in population."
16	Butler: "Are the Cook County Supreme Court Justices, are they
17	elected by district in just Cook County or are they elected
18	at large?"
19	Tarver: "At large."
20	Butler: "Okay. So, back to the data. So, my original question.
21	These four districts outside of Cook, since you used election
22	data, as you admitted"
23	Tarver: "I didn't use election data. When we we want to have a
24	clear transcript. So, when you say 'you', let's be clear
25	you're not talking about me individually."
26	Butler: "The legislation that you are sponsoring uses election
27	data to craft the four districts of the Supreme Court,
28	correct?"

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1	Tarver: "It was a consideration. I don't know if election data
2	was used to draft. I know it was a consideration, along with
3	the ACS data."
4	Butler: "Election data was part of what was used to craft the
5	four districts that is in your legislation, that you are
6	sponsoring. So, to my point, if you're using American
7	Community Survey data and election data that the consultants
8	and the staff have put this together, is there another way to
9	draw these districts other than exactly was drawn in your
10	legislation?"
11	Tarver: "I apologize, Leader Butler. Was that a statement or a
12	question? I missed the tail end of it."
13	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler, could you please restate your
14	question?"
15	Butler: "He wants me to restate the question?"
16	Speaker Hoffman: "Yeah, he didn't hear it."
17	Butler: "So"
18	Tarver: "Yes, please."
19	Butler: "Okay. So, you have admitted that someone may have used,
20	on your legislation, potentially, election data along with
21	ACS data to help draw these boundaries. With the data that is
22	used in your legislation, could you draw the boundaries of
23	these four districts in a different way?"
24	Tarver: "As long as those four districts were of substantially
25	equal population, which is compact and composed of contiguous
26	counties, yes, you could draw it a different way. And as long
27	as it fulfilled excuse me, the requirements of the
28	constitution. But I want to say and I read this through in
29	committee as well, the Bill is very clear on what its intent

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1	was, and it was not to disrupt several other courts. I mean,
2	this was drawn in a way not only to comply what the
3	Constitution requires, but also to minimize any
4	administrative issues so that courts can continue to
5	function. Because we don't need an interruption in court
6	functions, we just had a COVID year."
7	Butler: "Okay. So these maps are being redrawn because of COVID?"
8	Tarver: "That's not what I said, Sir."
9	Butler: "So, why were these drawn in this way using in this
10	specific way in your legislation, why did why are these drawn
11	in this specific way with the ACS data and election data and
12	whatever else was put into it?"
13	Tarver: "I just want to reiterate. Your question will require me
14	to know what was in someone else's head at the time that they
15	presumably drafted the maps. That is speculation. This is a
16	record for legislative intent and potentially other matters,
17	and I'm going to decline the opportunity to speculate what
18	was in someone else's head."
19	Butler: "To the Bill, Mr. Speaker."
20	Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
21	Butler: "If we would like someone else to draw the maps, as the
22	Sponsor just admitted, we've got great ideas over here. You
23	guys have great ideas. A bunch of you have voted, a bunch of
24	you have voted for a commission to help draw maps. So, the
25	Sponsor just admitted he didn't draw the maps even though
26	this is his legislation. So, we're leaving it up to someone
27	else that the public does not know about, who is not
28	responsive to the public, but they have the authority to draw

the maps of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. So,

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- if we want to give over the drawing of these maps to someone 1 2 else, let's support all of us who have supported going to a 3 commission. Let's support the advocacy groups that have wanted us to go to a commission. Let's support the 580 4 5 thousand Illinoisans that signed petitions to go to the fair 6 maps process. We can do that for the legislative maps. We can 7 do that for the judicial maps. We can do that for Cook County Board of Review maps. I find it... I find it absolutely 8 9 astounding, I really do, that a Sponsor of the legislation of this magnitude would have no idea what's in the Bill, or no 10 11 idea who drafted it, or have no input on what it's drafted. 12 There's people meeting probably right across the street right now negotiating an energy Bill. A lot of you might know what's 13 in that potential energy Bill, including whoever the Sponsor 14 15 of the legislation's going to be. Yet, the Sponsors of these pieces of legislation, which have a tremendous amount of 16 impact over the people of Illinois, have no idea who's crafted 17 18 it, no idea what's in it other than their names on the Bill, 19 and we're going to pass it. We need a new way, people. We 20 need a new way."
- 21 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Windhorst."
- 22 Windhorst: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 23 Speaker Hoffman: "He indicates he'll yield."
- 24 Windhorst: "Thank you. Representative Tarver..."
- 25 Tarver: "Yes, Sir."
- 26 Windhorst: "...these maps will apply to both the Supreme and
- 27 Appellate Courts. Is that correct?"
- 28 Tarver: "Yes, the Appellate Courts that are within the Supreme
- 29 Court Districts. Yes, Sir."

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- 1 Windhorst: "I have a question regarding Section 35, which is
- 2 entitled 'Current Members of the Judiciary'."
- 3 Tarver: "Section 35?"
- 4 Windhorst: "Yes."
- 5 Tarver: "What page of the Bill, if you don't mind?"
- 6 Windhorst: "It appears to be on page 6."
- 7 Tarver: "Okay, I'm on page 6."
- 8 Windhorst: "The bottom of page 6, onto page 7, it appears."
- 9 Tarver: "Okay. I'm here with you."
- 10 Windhorst: "So, under the language of the Bill, the current
- 11 Members of both the Supreme Court and the Appellate Court who
- are not up for retention will maintain their positions. Is
- that correct?"
- 14 Tarver: "When you say maintain their positions, remain in their
- 15 seats?"
- 16 Windhorst: "Yes."
- 17 Tarver: "Yes, that's correct."
- 18 Windhorst: "If an individual is up for retention, a judge is up
- for retention, and their district boundaries have moved, they
- will have a choice on which district to run for retention. Is
- 21 that accurate?"
- 22 Tarver: "I... I know that that's accurate, but give me one second
- 23 because I want to make sure that I cite it for the record,
- 24 okay?"
- 25 Windhorst: "Sure."
- 26 Tarver: "Rep Windhorst, I'm going to go to page 4..."
- 27 Windhorst: "Okay."
- 28 Tarver: "...and I'm going to start at line 4 to 14. I think it
- answers your question, but it's probably important for

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district?"

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edification of everyone in the room. 'To ensure the continuity 1 2 of service in compliance with the Illinois Constitution of 3 1970, nothing in this Act is intended to affect the tenure of any Appellate or Supreme Court Judge elected or appointed 4 prior to the effective date of this Act. In accordance with 5 6 the Constitution, no change in the boundaries will affect an 7 incumbent's qualification for office or right to run for retention.' And I think this comes to your point. 'Incumbent 8 9 judges have the right to run for retention in the counties comprising the district that elected the judge, or in the 10 11 counties comprising the new district where the judge resides, as the judge may elect.'" 12 Windhorst: "That's how I read it as well. And so, I want to ask 13 you about this scenario. And... a judge is elected in the Fourth 14 15 District, with this Bill becoming law, that judge now resides in what would be the Fifth District. The judge is up for 16 retention. The judge decides to run for retention in the Fifth 17 18 District. The judge is successful in retention. Is the judge now sitting on the Fifth District or the Fourth District Court 19 20 of Appeals?" 21 Tarver: "I'm trying to make sure I follow. So, they were a Supreme 22 Court Justice in the Fourth District?" Windhorst: "Appellate Court Justice." 23 24 "Appellate Court, excuse me. They were in the Fourth District. And then based on the map, they now, you said, 25 reside in the ... " 26 Windhorst: "In the Fifth District." 27 28 "Fifth District. And they run for retention in which

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- 1 Windhorst: "They choose the Fifth District to run for retention."
- 2 Tarver: "Okay. And... and they would be... they would be the Fifth
- 3 District Appellate Court Judge."
- 4 Windhorst: "Now, there are other portions of the law in Illinois
- 5 which set the number of Justices in the Appellate Court. Does
- 6 this Bill change the number of Appellate Court Justices on...
- 7 in any of those districts?"
- 8 Tarver: "No, not to my knowledge."
- 9 Windhorst: "Then doesn't this create a conflict of laws in our
- 10 state? It's not addressed."
- 11 Tarver: "Well, I would never say, yes, it can... creates a conflict
- of laws. I don't believe so."
- 13 Windhorst: "Well, you see where that could become a concern. So,
- let's go through that scenario again. Person in the same
- 15 Fourth and Fifth District, and the person wins in the Fifth
- 16 District, and you believe the Bill says they now are a Justice
- on the Fifth District Court of Appeals, even though the Fifth
- 18 District never elected them, correct?"
- 19 Tarver: "I thought you said he ran for retention in
- 20 redistricting."
- 21 Windhorst: "He did for retention, but he was not elected. He was
- just retained. He or she."
- 23 Tarver: "I'm... I'm not trying to be deceptive. I'm really trying
- 24 to follow the narrative. So, they were in the Fourth
- 25 District..."
- 26 Windhorst: "And elected."
- 27 Tarver: "...and elected. And when they determined they wanted to
- 28 run for retention, they now live in the..."
- 29 Windhorst: "Fifth District."

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Tarver: "...they elect to run in the Fifth District?" 1 2 Windhorst: "Correct." 3 Tarver: "And the question is... what is it? Is... would they be a Fifth District Appellate Court Judge or Justice? With that 4 5 said, yes, I believe so. And then, the issue is that ... is it ... 6 are you saying, I don't want to put words in your mouth, that 7 there will be too many Justices on the Supreme Court or ... " "That's issue number one. There would be too many Windhorst: 8 9 Justices on that Appellate Court District. That's issue one, which I believe creates a conflict of laws. It's not addressed 10 11 in this Bill. Number two, the issue is that Justice was... of 12 the Appellate Court was never elected by the Fifth District, they were only retained. So, they never had a competitive 13 election, which is different than a retention election. 14 That's the second concern." 15 Tarver: "Let me ask you this. I'm thinking this... the Supreme Court 16 could reassign the judge. So, you're saying someone who was 17 in the Fourth District now runs in the Fifth?" 18 19 Windhorst: "Runs for retention in the Fifth, according to this Bill." 20 Tarver: "Okay. Which creates a vacancy in the Fourth?" 21 Windhorst: "Well, that's my next question. If that occurs, will 22 23 it create a vacancy in the Fourth District?" Tarver: "Okay." 24 Windhorst: "And so, you will have a situation where there would 25 be then seven Justices in the Fifth District Court of Appeals, 26 27 only five Justices in the Fourth District Court of Appeals." Tarver: "Yeah, I follow what you're saying but I don't ... even 28 29 beyond legislative intent, I can't think of a scenario in

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which the Illinois Supreme Court would leave a vacancy in the 1 2 Fourth District where they could appoint and then have extra 3 Appellate Court Justices in the Fifth District. I understand what you're saying. I don't ... " 4 "Well, I think, beyond trying to decide what the 5 Windhorst: Supreme Court's going to say, don't we have to craft that 6 7 into this legislation to make sure it's clear what we intend when those vacancies were to occur?" 8 9 "No, and I certainly appreciate the opportunity to ... to further clarify. The intent is certainly not to have the 10 situation that you just outlined. The intent is to ensure 11 that the four Judicial Districts outside of county of Cook 12 are substantially equal in population with each being compact 13 and composed of contiguous counties. That would be ... that's 14 15 the legislative intent of Senate Bill 642." "Well, and I also want to be clear. This scenario, 16 Windhorst: because the district lines have changed so much, is likely to 17 18 play out with retention for the next, obviously, the next 10 years, 20 years, 30 years. Because so long as those Justices 19 20 are sitting, they will have the opportunity to make a selection on how they're going to run for retention according 21 22 to this Bill." Tarver: "So, is the suggestion that... this is interesting. So, is 23 the suggestion they should not have the opportunity to make 24 that choice and then, essentially, be forced into a new 25 district? Because I thought I heard push back about that as 26 27 well." Windhorst: "My solution is the Bill needs to be clearer on that 28

issue because I think it's an issue that will play out. To

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1	the Bill. Because of this conflict of laws, putting aside
2	which I think are major concerns with the way the districts
3	are drawn and the data used to draw those districts, this
4	provision in the law is going to create a conflict of laws
5	which could result in the this section being thrown out and
6	could create further confusion on how Justices will be
7	retained going forward. So, I'd encourage a 'no' vote."
8	Speaker Hoffman: "Members, we're going to institute a five-minute
9	time limit timer. Representative Mazzochi."
10	Mazzochi: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
11	Tarver: "Absolutely."
12	Mazzochi: "On page 2, line 18, it says in this Bill it says,
13	'Under this redistricting plan, the population, according to
14	the American Community Survey, of the Second District will be
15	1,770,983; Third District will be 1,950,349; Fourth District
16	will be $2,011,316$; and the Fifth District will be $1,839,679$.
17	A similar substantially equitable result occurs using the
18	2010 U.S. Census data.' So, if in fact this is the same
19	similar census data that we had in population metrics we had
20	back in around 2010, why was this not done 10 years ago?"
21	Tarver: "I mean, I could ask why in '97 and '98 your party tried
22	to divide Cook County up with which, unconstitutionally,
23	tossed out of court. I wasn't here in 2010. So"
24	Mazzochi: "All right. Well, did you even bother to find out before
25	you put this in your Resolution?"
26	Tarver: "Did you bother to find out why your party tried to split
27	the courts in Cook County and it was deemed unconstitutional?"

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Mazzochi: "I can absolutely... it's not unconstitutional. I could tell you the reason why and, actually, I'll do that. I'll go

3 to the Bill."

4 Tarver: "Great."

5 "The reason why the people in our party are actually Mazzochi: 6 very concerned about the Democratic Party's efforts to 7 manipulate the Illinois Supreme Court, as they've done in every other branch of government, is this. The Illinois 8 9 Supreme Court wasn't redistricted ten years ago, and it's only being redistricted now for a critical reason. Because 10 11 hundreds of thousands of people worked really hard to try to 12 get a fair maps Amendment on the ballot in Illinois. And make no mistake about it, that ballot initiative was a struggle 13 14 for power. The people wanted the power back from the political 15 insiders who refused to pass a fair maps Amendment, who refused to put it on the ballot through this Legislature. So 16 they went outside this Legislature to try to do something 17 18 that was going to bring reform to Illinois and our elections 19 Now, one of Mike Madigan's favorite lawyers process. challenged that ballot provision, and the fair maps went all 20 21 the way up to the Illinois Supreme Court. What happened? The 22 people of Illinois were denied their right to take their power back in a ballot initiative because of four votes on the 23 24 Supreme Court. Three of them were votes from Cook County Justices who voted to strike it down. One of whose husbands 25 is currently under indictment for racketeering and extortion. 26 The other Justice, the one Justice who wasn't from Cook 27 County, was Justice Thomas Kilbride. And unlike the people in 28 29 Cook County, the people in Justice Kilbride's jurisdiction

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- didn't like the fact that a judge, a Supreme Court Justice, 1 2 was putting his thumb on the scale for partisan Democratic 3 Party power broker interests instead of the interests of we the people. And for the first time in recent memory, a Supreme 4 Court Justice lost his election for retention. What is the 5 6 Democratic Party doing in response? Did they think maybe we 7 should support more honest judges? Did they say, maybe we should ensure that the Supreme Court Justices aren't behaving 8 9 like political partisans and aren't tied to the interests of political power brokers? No. For the first time in decades, 10 11 you are now drawing a new Supreme Court map. With this Bill, 12 the Democratic Party is telling the people of Illinois, once again, heads they win, tails you lose. I urge a 'no' vote." 13 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Batinick." 14 15 Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?" Tarver: "Of course." 16 "Thanks, Representative. I did not intend to speak on 17 Batinick: this Bill, but one of the earlier speakers brought up a point
- 18 that seemed very confusing to me and, apparently, confusing... 19 20 confusing to you. So, if this legislation were to pass, we 21 were talking about Appellate Courts, how there could be a 22 unbalance of judges running for retention. And if you draw judges in the certain way, you could have seven Appellate 23 Court Justices in a district that's meant to have six, I 24 believe. So, okay. I see a nod of the head. Go ahead and 25 explain it." 26
- 27 Tarver: "It's not true. I think..."
- 28 Batinick: "Okay. Could you explain it further, please?"

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- Tarver: "We're not expanding the number of judges. I mean... I don't 1 2 know another way beside saying in these nine pages or so, it 3 clearly spells out the intent, and we're not affecting anyone's tenure. We're not adding additional Justices and 4 5 changing the number of the Justices or Appellate Court judges 6 throughout the state." 7 "Okay. To the Bill. I'm going to let the previous Batinick: 8 speakers... one of my previous Representatives, to my right 9 here, his words kind of carry the day. It's clear that you're not writing this legislation, involved in this legislation. 10 11 I'm not sure how much you know about this legislation. I urge 12 a 'no' vote." Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Ugaste." 13 Ugaste: "Thank you, Mr. Chair. Will the Sponsor yield?" 14 15 Speaker Hoffman: "Indicates he'll yield." Ugaste: "Good afternoon, Representative Tarver." 16 Tarver: "Good afternoon, Sir." 17 "Quick question. Would you agree with me that the 18 Ugaste: 19 judiciary is supposed to be independent of the other two branches of government?" 20 21 Tarver: "Do I agree that the judicial branch is a coequal branch 22 of government?" "No, that they're... to be an independent branch of 23 Ugaste: government from the other two?" 24
- 27 Ugaste: "Well, is the word..."

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28 Tarver: "...define independent?"

understand the question. Maybe you want to..."

"I think it's a coequal branch. And... I'm not sure I

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- Ugaste: "...independent, is that ... is that the term that we'd like 1 2 to get around, or..." 3 Tarver: "No, I just... I'd... if you'd define what you mean by independent, I'd appreciate it. I... I've always known it to be 4 a coequal branch of government. That's what I was taught when 5 6 I was in grammar school, law school, and otherwise. I don't ... 7 I'm not trying to avoid the word independent, although I think independent is loaded." 8 9 Ugaste: "All right. Well, I... I look at it as one that's exercising its own authority, acting under its own power, and deciding 10 things for itself. They make their own rules, correct?" 11 12 Tarver: "They make their own rules based on we allow them to make rules, is that what you mean?" 13 "Well, they... they exist in the Constitution because a 14 Ugaste: 15 Constitutional Convention was called, so they decided that. I don't think we decide that for them. Is that correct?" 16 Tarver: "I... we're going to get way off field, but are you 17 18 suggesting to me the Judicial Branch drafted the 19 Constitution?" Ugaste: "Would you agree with me that they are to decide cases 20 21 and questions before them fairly and equally amongst all 22 people?" Tarver: "Do I agree that that's what they should do?" 23 24 Ugaste: "Yes, absolutely."
- 27 Ugaste: "Okay."

Tarver:

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- 28 Tarver: "Based on the merits, the facts, and the evidence before
- them. I do agree with that statement, Sir."

"Do I agree that the court should decide cases fairly?

Yes. I believe that... the court should decide cases fairly."

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"And independent of any influence from the outside, 1 2 correct?" 3 Tarver: "Again, I need to understand what you mean when you say independent. I mean, there's evidence and things like that. 4 5 The evidence doesn't ... doesn't grow within the court. It comes 6 from somewhere. People come in and testify, right, in these 7 courts. And I don't even know what level of court you're talking about. But in every instance, none of it is homegrown 8 9 within the court itself. It all comes from somewhere. So, when you say independent or outside influence, I just don't 10 11 know how you define independent of outside influence." 12 "Well, we ... we can get around this and hash it out for a long time and I could keep asking questions. Let me ask you 13 this, you went through quite a bit of questioning about who 14 15 did draw the map and it seemed pretty clear you weren't certain exactly who. Can you tell me did an independent 16 commission draw the map you're proposing today?" 17 18 Tarver: "I can tell you a couple of things, and thanks for asking. 19 One, I've never heard anybody in this chamber call someone from LRB down and ask them about having drafted a Bill. So, 20 21 in the same vein, not everyone, 118 people in here, draft 22 every single Bill on their own. So, I didn't draft this legislation. I did not draw the map. That is all... that's 23 24 correct." "I..." 25 Ugaste: 26 "As far as the commission... sorry, to answer your Tarver: 27 question..."

Ugaste: "Okay, I'm sorry. I thought you were done. I apologize."

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- "No, no problem. But as far as the commission, my 1 Tarver: 2 understanding is that there, as we've said throughout all 3 these hearings, were staff and a team that prepared these documents, as well as the map. How you define an independent 4 5 commission, I'm unsure. Are you talking about the independent 6 commission that is noted in the Illinois Constitution if we're 7 derelict in our duty and don't pass a map? Is that the 8 commission you're talking about?"
- 9 Ugaste: "No, it's not. To the Bill."
- 10 Tarver: "Because we didn't get there."
- 11 Ugaste: "To the Bill."
- 12 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- "I... I find it extremely difficult to believe that a 13 14 Representative as smart and intelligent, as I 15 Representative Tarver is, doesn't understand what I mean when I ask about independent. I feel like I probably should have 16 brought a dictionary today, but I didn't. This map is supposed 17 18 to be about a separate branch of government, the highest level of the separate branch of government, that is to decide issues 19 independent of outside influence. And, unfortunately, this 20 outside third branch of government that's supposed to be 21 should be 22 completely independent, that nonpartisan is, unfortunately, not being drafted by an 23 completely, independent commission, and I believe we all know that here 24 on this floor. I urge a 'no' vote." 25
- 26 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Brady."
- 27 Brady: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 28 Speaker Hoffman: "He indicates he'll yield."

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1	Brady: "Representative, many years ago my father ran for Fourth
2	District Appellate Court. And at that time, as I remember the
3	makeup of the Fourth District, there was 30 counties, if I'm
4	not mistaken, that were part of that Fourth District. Under
5	this new proposed map, do you know how many counties are there
6	now and, secondly, if you do, how the formula was based on
7	for those changes?"
8	Tarver: "Well, one, the counties are listed. I've got to find
9	which page here. So if you want, I can go through and count
10	each one of them or we can take it as read. Let's see. My
11	math is not great, but I count 41. That sound about right?
12	Well, let me do this for the record. I'm on page 6, starting
13	at line 1."
14	Brady: "We can say approximately 41 counties, if that's what you
15	come up with. So, how does it how does it go from 30 to 41?
16	In other words, the formula, I guess, is what I'm asking."
17	Tarver: "So, that's that's great. I'm not great at math, but
18	when you ask about the formula, I think the formula, getting
19	back to the intent, is to have substantial equal population.
20	So, the Fourth District had 1.3 million people. The Second
21	District had close to 3.2 million. The reason for the increase
22	in counties is the shifting population and the where people
23	move. Which I'm assuming there's been some movement since
24	1963."
25	Brady: "So, that's that's the math that was followed to change
26	the districts then, correct?"
27	Tarver: "The map breaks out like this, and this is my rudimentary
28	math. District one, 5.194675. You divide that by 3, it's about
29	1.7 million people. Districts Four and Five have 1.3 or so

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million people. District Two is 3.2. District Three is 1.8. 1 2 So, I... again, it's rudimentary math for me, but I don't know 3 a situation in which 3.2 and 1.3 are in any way substantially equal in population. We're talking about close to 2 million 4 5 people." 6 Brady: "So, without the census data available, then this is based 7 off county populations and increase from the counties?" Tarver: "I'm sorry, is that a statement or a question?" 8 Brady: "That was a question." 9 Tarver: "And would you repeat it for me?" 10 11 Brady: "Sure. Since the census data was not available, the formula in which was used would be numbers based off county 12 population?" 13 Tarver: "Just because I love to have a clean record, I'm not going 14 15 to agree with this whole formula thing. I'm just going to go with the rudimentary math, which is there were 3.2 million 16 people somewhere, and 1.3 in 2 other places. So, 2 districts 17 18 had less than 1 district by 600 thousand people." 19 Brady: "Okay. Thank you... thank you very much. To the Bill, Ladies and Gentlemen." 20 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill." 21 22 Brady: "Obviously, I think it's crystal clear that the formula, 23 or question thereof of what formula, is in doubt here. And I certainly intend to vote 'no'. Thank you." 24 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Tarver to close." 25 "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. You know, just a couple of 26 Tarver: 27 things. One, while I appreciated being pat on the back for being smart and all those kind of things, let's be realistic. 28

Representative Ugaste, you graduated high school in 1981.

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That's the year that I was born. If my math is somewhat reasonable, you were born on or around 1963. That would have been the last time that the map had been remapped. Your fearless Leader was born in '61. He was 2 years old the last time this map was remapped. Now, I'm not going to go through a poll through everybody. I think Brady was born before '63. I have a list of individuals, but you get the point. Unless all of you are going to tell me that you remain in your childhood home, you moved. You were part of populations that shifted since 1963. How is this difficult? Your fearless Leader, he left home. Went to Illinois State, went to John Marshall for law school. He's now in Westchester. This is not difficult. People move. When people move, you do this thing like you count them. That's what you do because that's important. And to have districts that have 60 percent less than other districts, are not substantially equal in population. Not a very difficult thing to understand, unless you don't want to understand it. I get your point. You want to bring up a Justice loss, all these different things. This is about the Illinois Constitution. That's it. It requires substantially equal population. And if anybody wants to suggest that when two districts combine, I don't care how many counties, have less than 600 thousand less than 1 district, that's substantially equal... I don't know, the word of the day has been astounding. I guess I've just find that asinine. It's been nearly 60 years. People have moved. No one's in their childhood home. They've contributed to the moving. You moved to these counties. They now need to be remapped so that everybody has an opportunity to elect Supreme

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Court Justices where they live in a fair manner. Because what 1 2 I do agree with is that there's 3 branches of government and 3 2 of them... all 3, we can elect people. Everyone should have that ability to do so. So, I appreciate the banter. I 4 appreciate the back and forth. I appreciate the pat on the 5 6 back for being smart, I guess. I urge a 'yes' vote because 7 this is just simply trying to make sure that everyone has the ability to participate in the judicial system as, apparently, 8 9 contemplated by part of the Judicial Branch at the Constitutional Convention. Not difficult. I urge a 'yes' 10 11 vote." Speaker Hoffman: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 642 pass?' 12 All in favor vote 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. The voting is 13 open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have 14 all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On 15

this question, there's 72 voting 'yes', 45 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'. And this Bill, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. Under

Supplemental Calendar #1, appears House Resolution 359. Rep...

20 Leader Hernandez."

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Hernandez, L.: "Thank you, Speaker. House Resolution 359. This is a descriptive Resolution outline criteria used to craft Illinois' House Districts for the next 10 years. This was a request... this was a request brought up at our 50 public hearings. Individuals and groups asked for a public report detailing why districts were created in certain ways and discussing how those districts comply with State and Federal Laws. This Resolution fulfills those requests. I ask for your 'aye' vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "On the Resolution, Leader Butler."

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2 Butler: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. First, I just want to... I'd just 3 like to point out to the Sponsor of the previous legislation that he... he said something very smart. I didn't mean that 4 5 funny. But he said the way you measure a population is you 6 count them. That's exactly what he said. You count them. It's 7 exactly what he said. The data that we have here today for the Cook County Board of Review, and the Supreme Court, and 8 9 this Resolution, does not count them. It's a survey. It's estimated data. So, thank you to the previous Sponsor for 10 11 saying what we all agree that we need to count everyone to be 12 able to do this. A few questions of the Sponsor, please, Mr. Speaker." 13 Speaker Hoffman: "Sponsor yields." 14 Butler: "Thank you. Leader Hernandez, I just... since many of us 15 weren't here 10 years, I know you were here 10 years ago to 16 vote on the maps, can you explain what we have before us 17 18 versus what may come before us later? This Resolution versus the substantive Bill. So, our colleagues... our colleagues can 19 kind of understand what... what's going on here." 20 21 Hernandez, L.: "Yes. So, the Resolution really just basically 22 spells out details of the map. So, based on the requests through the hearings, we put the Resolution together... 23 24 together to appease the requests from the hearings." Butler: "So, what... but what does the Resolution contain? I mean, 25 26 how does it... how does it explain the districts?" Hernandez, L.: "So, it details the districts where... the detail of 27 28 the districts... where it was created in certain ways and how

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1	those districts comply with the State and Federal Laws. So,
2	it's all the details."
3	Butler: "Okay. So, can you go through what some of the details
4	are? What is used to detail this that the public has asked
5	for?"
6	Hernandez, L.: "Sure. So, number one, I would say the community
7	input from hearings, demographic information, population
8	information, and so forth."
9	Butler: "Was again, was voting data used? Was election data used?
10	Voter registration? What kind of data was used for that?"
11	Hernandez, L.: "I know we did supplement with some of the election
12	data."
13	Butler: "So, what was election data used for?"
14	Hernandez, L.: "To determine the partisan makeup of the district."
15	Butler: "And why would the partisan makeup be needed to be known?"
16	Hernandez, L.: "It's just another form of information."
17	Butler: "Okay. So, does this have does this Resolution have
18	descriptive terms of each district? Is that what it is? Like,
19	actually describes boundaries or things in the district,
20	things like that?"
21	Hernandez, L.: "Yes, it does."
22	Butler: "Okay. So, I want I want to go here to Representative
23	District 96, okay? Do you know which one 96 is?"
24	Hernandez, L.: "I believe that's Springfield-Decatur."
25	Butler: "You're standing in it right here. So, Representative 96
26	lost nearly 6 thousand people over the last decade based off
27	of ACS data. The district, as proposed, contains the vast
28	majority of urban Decatur and all the towns in Mt. Auburn,

Roby, Buckhart, a significant portion of the City of

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Springfield, and portions of autonomous municipalities. 1 2 Purposed 96 expands to include more of the City of Springfield 3 and consolidate the city's central core into two House Districts and one Senate district. And it reflects the 4 socioeconomic links between Decatur and Springfield. 5 6 trying to get to a point here... and I know this was dropped in 7 the middle of the night but I read something early this 8 morning that I want to point out here. If you just give me a 9 moment, please. So, here we go. The health care industry is a major employer in both Springfield and Decatur. The proposed 10 11 district places the Springfield medical district in one 12 district, while linking this area with central Illinois hospitals with similar needs. Are you familiar with the 13 Springfield medical districts? Actually, the Mid-Illinois... 14 15 excuse me, Central Illinois Medical District. Are you familiar with that?" 16

17 Hernandez, L.: "I wouldn't say I'm familiar with it, but I've heard of it."

Butler: "So, your Resolution here, which is descriptive, which is a legal document that we are passing in this Body that describing these districts, that is factually incorrect. That is factually incorrect. The Central Illinois... the Springfield medical district in one district. No. When you look at the Google map, the medical district is actually in two Statehouse Districts. So, why are we debating and putting something on the record so important, so important, about the districts of Illinois that we don't even have it correct in here? Why? Why don't we take a little time to get this right? That's a question."

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Hernandez, L.: "So, Leader Butler, I would say there was 1 2 opportunity for you to raise that before. You did see your 3 map." Butler: "No, no, no. That's not my question. My question is why... 4 why is your Resolution factually incorrect? I'm not raising 5 6 an issue with the districts. I'm raising the fact that your 7 Resolution is factually incorrect about what is contained in 8 these districts." 9 Hernandez, L.: "I would just... with all respect, the map did come up last Friday. I... there was opportunity to speak about this." 10 "The Resolution... the Resolution was filed at 3:00 this 11 12 morning. I had ... I woke up to this this morning of how many ever pages this is to try to go through it. I didn't know 13 your description was going to include a factually incorrect 14 15 description of the Springfield medical district. So, to the Bill." 16 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill." 17 18 Butler: "Thank you. Look, we're going to... this Resolution is an important part of the descriptive nature of what we're going 19 to debate later on when it comes to the substantive 20 legislation on the districts. And I will just say, once again, 21 22 that the way that the majority has handled this is not reflective of the best wishes of the people of Illinois. We've 23 24 had dozens of hearings, and time and time, and time and time and time again, including just within the last, I don't know, 25 48 hours, I'm losing track about when we had the hearings and 26 27 when not, many advocates testified that we need to delay this. As I said, the Sponsor of the previous legislation said you 28

count them. That's how you measure population, you count them.

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That's called the Decennial Census. The Decennial Census data 1 2 will not come out until mid-August. It won't come out until 3 mid-August. So, we're making our best guess off of data that doesn't really accurately reflect the communities of this 4 state. And obviously, when we put together Resolutions that 5 6 are factually incorrect, things like that happen when you use 7 data that is not complete. This is a process, again, that we need to change, that we have the ability to change. We have 8 9 the duty to change this process because it is flawed. And honestly... and I don't use this word lightly. I try to... usually 10 11 I try to watch what I say. Sometimes, I might throw a Calendar 12 or 2. But this is a corrupt process. This is a corrupt process. And all we have to do is see what's going on, or 13 what happened this morning via Zoom at the federal courthouse 14 15 in Chicago. I'm sure we'll talk more about that later. But Ladies and Gentlemen, the people of Illinois deserve better 16 17 than what you guys got on the table here. And I urge a 'no' 18 vote."

- 19 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Batinick on House Resolution 359."
- 20 Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 21 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 22 Batinick: "Representative, I haven't caught all the committees
- but I caught many of them. And I think the regular drum beat
- 24 you've heard from this side is about waiting for the census
- data. Is that correct?"
- 26 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 27 Batinick: "From the Republicans?"
- 28 Hernandez: "Some of it. Yeah."

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- 1 Batinick: "You mentioned in the press that you were accommodating
- 2 Republican requests. Can you tell me who requested what from
- 3 the Republican side?"
- 4 Hernandez, L.: "I don't have who, but I do have here that
- 5 Republicans in the Legislature made public comments
- 6 criticizing the number of incumbent Republicans who would be
- 7 located in the same district. And a number of those districts
- 8 have been reconfigured to accommodate the concerns of
- 9 Republicans."
- 10 Batinick: "Okay. So, nobody came to you and made any request for
- anything? They just noted reality?"
- 12 Hernandez, L.: "I... I think that there was a press conference today
- that is was... it was brought up."
- 14 Batinick: "Okay. Well the maps were dropped before the press
- 15 conference today. So I'm pretty sure that the press conference
- today didn't affect the map drawing."
- 17 Hernandez, L.: "I believe it was Representative Spain and
- 18 Representative McCombie who said something."
- 19 Batinick: "Okay. So they came to you and made a request for things
- to be changed?"
- 21 Hernandez, L.: "No."
- 22 Batinick: "No. So, there wasn't a request?"
- 23 Hernandez, L.: "No, it's public comments that they made."
- 24 Batinick: "Okay. What was their public comment that they made? I
- 25 mean, this is an important issue."
- 26 Hernandez, L.: "I don't have the exact words, Representative."
- 27 Batinick: "Okay. I..."
- 28 Hernandez, L.: "But, I'm aware that they..."

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1	Batinick: "I'm being told that it was not a request. There was
2	no I'm sure we would know on our side if somebody made a
3	request for changes to this proposed map."
4	Hernandez, L.: "I don't know if I said request. Did I say request?
5	It was concerns"
6	Batinick: "It says in the Resolution, Representative. Your
7	Resolution. I think we're finding that we have a lot of
8	Sponsors carrying Bills that they don't know, that are maybe
9	dropped in the middle of the night, that are hundreds of pages
10	written by consultants, and they're not even paying attention
11	to them. That seems to be a theme here. I'm not sure what the
12	groans are about. So, the question it's in your Resolution.
13	What Republican requested something from you, from you in
14	your Bill, that's in your Resolution?"
15	Hernandez, L.: "Well, again, Representative, some of the public
16	comments that were made because of that, that was why we
17	accommodated."
18	Batinick: "Okay. But can we be clear that that was not a request?"
19	Hernandez, L.: "Well then, why did they make the statement?"
20	Batinick: "Noting reality is not a request. I'll leave it to the
21	Bill. Noting reality is not a request. There's no evidence of
22	a request. It's in the Resolution that the Republicans made
23	a request. It didn't happen. Vote 'no'. Thank you."
24	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Spain."
25	Spain: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
26	Speaker Hoffman: "Indicates they'll yield."
27	Spain: "Leader Hernandez, a couple of questions for you. And as
28	the previous speaker was trying to understand, and for the

benefit of most of us, this is our first time going through

the process of redistricting the Legislature. So, this

Resolution is part of that process and there's actually

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_	resolution is part of that process and there's actually
3	another piece of legislation that is part of the process. Am
4	I correct with that?"
5	Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
6	Spain: "And we'll see that, I assume, sometime later. Can you
7	describe, again, what is the purpose of this Resolution?"
8	Hernandez, L.: "Well, the purpose is based on the request from
9	public hearings that there be something descriptive for the
10	public to see on how we went about putting the map together."
11	Spain: "So, more or less, in simple terms, the intention here is
12	to lay out in language of this Resolution why certain
13	decisions were made about the drafting of the maps that we're
14	considering, correct?"
15	Hernandez, L.: "And I would just add that this would include some,
16	but maybe not all, considerations."
17	Spain: "Do and what do you mean by that? That there are other
18	considerations that are not listed in the Resolution?"
19	Hernandez, L.: "Well, I I will say it like I've said it before.
20	It's not a perfect map. We got some people that are very,
21	very happy with it. There are some that would beg to differ."
22	Spain: "I remember, Leader, that you said that this map was a
23	model. I remember a paid consultant who also said that during
24	our first line of testimony during committee earlier this
25	week. But I want to understand your point about that not all
26	considerations were incorporated. Were there requests that
27	were made that were not incorporated and are not included in
28	this Resolution?"
29	Hernandez, L.: "I'm sorry, Representative. Can you repeat that?"

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Spain: "Were there requests made that were not included in this
Resolution? The Resolution speaks to why certain decisions
were made. Does it speak to why any decisions were not made?"
Hernandez, L.: "No, it doesn't. I don't I don't think so. No."
Spain: "Now, House Resolution 359 talks a lot about communities
of interest. And from the… I think we've agreed maybe 50 would
be the working number for the number of hearings we've held
ono this topic. Did we receive testimony about the importance
of protecting communities of interest and holding communities
of interest together during some of those 50 hearings?"
Hernandez, L.: "Yeah. I would say we there was testimony and
there was submission."
Spain: "Is there a requirement under the Illinois Constitution
that would hold communities of interest together?"
Hernandez, L.: "No."
Spain: "No. There is, however, a requirement under our State
Constitution that districts should be compact. Is that
correct?"
Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
Spain: "And I noticed that the Resolution describes some of the
ways that certain districts were made to be compact, but I
know through my review of the map that other districts were
made to be less compact. Would you agree with that?"
Hernandez, L.: "There there is many scientific ways to get to
what compact could be."
Spain: "What were the scientific ways that you employed to
determine compactness for the purposes of this map and this
Resolution?"

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- 1 Hernandez, L.: "So, some districts would... they're not going to be
- the same. Some will go up, some will go down."
- 3 Spain: "But redistricting science uses certain tools to measure
- 4 compactness. I see no mention of those data points in this
- 5 Resolution. Is that correct?"
- 6 Hernandez, L.: "There's about 30-plus, which ones are you
- 7 referring to?"
- 8 Spain: "Thirty-plus what?"
- 9 Hernandez, L.: "Measures of compactness."
- 10 Spain: "What are the measurers of compactness that you've
- 11 demonstrated within this Resolution to describe the districts
- 12 as proposed?"
- 13 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Spain, your time has expired.
- 14 Representative Reick would give you his five minutes."
- 15 Spain: "Thank you."
- 16 Speaker Hoffman: "Please proceed."
- 17 Hernandez, L.: "So, there's two measurers. Let me see if I get
- this right. Polsby and Reock."
- 19 Spain: "And you conducted a compactness analysis for the purpose
- of this map with one of those two methodologies?"
- 21 Hernandez, L.: "That's correct. Yes."
- 22 Spain: "And where can I find that data?"
- 23 Hernandez, L.: "I guess you can use some... you can use software to
- identify that."
- 25 Spain: "Did you use software to identify that?"
- 26 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 27 Spain: "And do you have that number?"
- 28 Hernandez, L.: "Compactness wide is equal to... okay. So,
- compactness statewide is equal to what it was 10 years ago."

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- 1 Spain: "It's your assertion that compactness in the proposed map
- that we will consider is the same as it was in 2011?"
- 3 Hernandez, L.: "So, again, like I said before, some will be up,
- 4 some will... will be down..."
- 5 Spain: "Sure."
- 6 Hernandez, L.: "...but overall, it's similar to what we did last
- 7 time."
- 8 Spain: "Thank you. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill."
- 9 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- "Ladies and Gentlemen, this is another one of those 10 exercises on this topic where we've asked throughout the 11 12 process that has lasted many months now, where's the data? And again and again, we asked for data to be shared. Not only 13 with colleagues here on the Republican side of the aisle, 14 15 that should be a reasonable request, shouldn't be a point of information that's hidden and obscured, but for the voters of 16 the State of Illinois, for the community advocacy groups that 17 18 have demonstrated countless hours of testimony and sought to make their voices heard. Those same groups that have now 19 resoundedly come forward and said, 'You didn't listen to us. 20 You didn't take our views into account. You didn't do what we 21 22 asked to do. And we feel that you've acted in bad faith by soliciting our testimony numerous times and not delivering 23 upon these reasonable requests.' And one of the requests has 24 been, we need data to be able to understand what decisions 25 have been made by the Democratic Majority to defend their 26 majority. This information should not be a trade secret. It 27 should be available to the public as a way to defend the 28 29 decisions that will be made today. There's one more item

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within this Resolution that deserves further comment. And the 1 2 assertion that Republican Members of the Redistricting 3 Committee or Republican... Members of the Republican House 4 Caucus have come to Democrats demanding changes to the blatantly overall weaponization of the locations in which we 5 6 all live, to say that making that observation amounts to a 7 request from Republicans to change district lines is false. 8 It's false. It's disingenuous. It's untruthful to include in 9 this Resolution, and I'm disappointed to read it several times. I have the comment that you were referring to, to me, 10 11 Leader Hernandez, when asked to give a reaction to the map 12 that you proposed late on Friday evening, last week. And I was asked, what do I think is going on with the creation of 13 14 these maps? And I said, the only thing that seems to matter 15 in reviewing these maps are the home addresses of incumbent 16 politicians so that Democrats can be protected Republicans can be punished. This is why politicians should 17 18 not be in the business of drawing their own Legislative 19 Districts. Please vote 'no'."

- 20 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Keicher."
- 21 Keicher: "To the Bill, Mr. Speaker."
- 22 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- 23 Keicher: "Within HR359, on page 67, the following sentence 24 appears. 'Following the request of Republicans, RD 70 was 25 reconfigured to include Representative Keicher's home.' I 26 know of no request to do this. It's not true. And just because 27 we put it in writing in a Resolution does not make it true. 28 There have been two consistent requests that have been made 29 by Republicans. One, is to not allow politicians to draw maps.

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1	And the second, repeatedly, has been not to use flawed ACS
2	data in the creation of maps. You put my name in the
3	Resolution. I'd like you to take my name out of this
4	Resolution. Thank you."
5	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Bourne."
6	Bourne: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
7	Speaker Hoffman: "Apologize. He she indicates she will."
8	Bourne: "Thank you. Leader Hernandez, I want to take you back to
9	the 40-plus hearings that we've had. We got a lot of public
10	input at regional hearings about communities of interest and
11	other input, asking us to wait until the census among them.
12	But I have noticed that in this Resolution there are several
13	instances where the majority claims that they are fulfilling
14	the request of the public input in the drawing of these maps.
15	Could you give us a couple of examples of how the majority
16	took input from those regional hearings and incorporated them
17	into the map?"
18	Hernandez, L.: "Sure. So, one of them is at the request of local
19	officials. Evanston is one of the Legislative Districts with
20	two House seats. Two, historically black Evanston wards have
21	been combined into one House District. The 5th and 11th wards
22	of Rockford were kept in one House District, despite
23	significant population loss. And Carbondale is now one
24	Representative District."
25	Bourne: "Thank you. I want to take us back to April 24. It was a
26	Saturday, we had several redistricting hearings. Also
27	Independent Bookstore Day. I'm looking at my calendar. It was
28	3 p.m., and we got written testimony from a local official
29	with the City of Momence. You may not recall this because the

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1	link was broken and none of the people who wanted to testify
2	were actually able to get in the hearing. But he found a way
3	to submit his testimony anyway. Kudos to him. And his
4	testimony comes up in this Resolution on page 33. On page 33,
5	it reads, 'The proposed district of 34 now contains all of
6	Momence, which fulfills a request from written testimony
7	submitted by Momence elected officials.' Did we get any other
8	written testimony from elected officials other than this
9	letter from his name first name is Jake? Alderman Jake
10	Salomone. "
11	Hernandez, L.: "Yes, we have. I just mentioned some from
12	Evanston."
13	Bourne: "No, no, no. Did we get any other written testimony from
14	other local officials from Momence, other than this alderman?
15	Were there multiple written pieces of testimony?"
16	Hernandez, L.: "Not not that I I don't know. I don't recall."
17	Bourne: "Well, I kind of hope so because the way that you've
18	incorporated his testimony is actually the exact opposite of
19	what he was requesting. Do we know, in the current map, is
20	Momence completely within in the same Legislative District?
21	I'm trying to look. It's hard to tell, but I think that they
22	are. Does that sound right to you?"
23	Hernandez, L.: "Yes, I believe so."
24	Bourne: "Yeah, they are. Yet, this alderman was not very happy
25	with it. He said, 'Thank you for the opportunity to briefly
26	testify in a written statement and for taking the time to
27	address, specifically, the Kankakee area.' He goes on to talk
28	about how important it is how important this census was,
29	which was a common theme that we heard. And he said, 'As the

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committee meets to discuss, please consider modifying the boundaries of the Illinois House of Representatives District 79 to include the entire City of Momence. A Representative, primarily focused on Chicago, has a very different... has very different strategies and goals than our community. And including all of the City of Momence into District 79 will align better with the overall region and the needs of our community.' When I read that, I take it to mean I've looked at the boundaries of District 79. He wanted to be included with the rest of his county. He was already wholly contained within a district that wove all the way up to Chicago. And he said, can we change this? I want to be with my county. But no, now you take his testimony in this Resolution... may I have some more time, Mr. Speaker?"

15 Speaker Hoffman: "Yes, Representative Elik provides you time."

Bourne: "Thank you. Yet, you take his testimony in this Resolution that includes his community in a district that goes to Chicago and say that you are fulfilling his testimony by gerrymandering their county. Do you stand by this, that your Resolution and your map took into account the very heartfelt... and really he had to go way out of his way to submit it... testimony that we received from this alderman?"

Hernandez, L.: "I think that what maybe was left out is that you have to consider community need. There's a lot of variables that go in there. And although he gave that testimony, and it was a great testimony, all is taken into consideration but all of these variables have to play in as well."

Bourne: "I understand that. Wholeheartedly, I understand that.

Yet, you are citing the fact that his testimony was taken to

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1	heart in your map and that you took his testimony and used
2	it. You didn't say, thanks for your testimony. We had all
3	these other factors, communities of interest, politics, so we
4	put you over here. Instead, you say, thanks for your
5	testimony. We did what you requested. And you didn't. You
6	took his testimony, did the opposite, and then you're trying
7	to justify your maps with his testimony. Do you do you take
8	his testimony to mean something different than I do? I guess
9	that's the only legitimate way that this could be used,
10	right?"
11	Hernandez, L.: "You may be referring, I think, to the 34th
12	District"
13	Bourne: "Correct. Yeah."
14	Hernandez, L.: "and I believe he does have"
15	Bourne: "Page 33."
16	Hernandez, L.: "yeah, he has he has more of Kankakee in his
17	district than previously."
18	Bourne: "No. No, Ma'am. The alderman wanted to be included with
19	the rest of his county. And when we look at the map now, their
20	county is fractured much more than in the current district
21	map."
22	Hernandez, L.: "Okay. Well, I see that there's more of Kankakee
23	County in his district, so that's the difference."
24	Bourne: "Yes. To to the Resolution, Mr. Speaker."
25	Speaker Hoffman: "To the Resolution."
26	Bourne: "The request from this alderman was for the economic
27	activity of their community, that their county would be
28	represented as a whole. And he said, 'A representative,
29	primarily focused on Chicago, has very different strategies

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and goals than our community. And including all of the City of Momence into district 79', which I will preface by saying is the rest of the county, 'will align better with the overall region and the needs as our community.' The majority has gone to great lengths to justify their maps by saying they used a data source of community input. They go so far as to put it in their Resolution to justify it. Yet, they took this community input and twisted it for their own purposes instead of listening to the local community and what their needs are. Literally took his testimony where he said, please don't put us with Chicago, let us be whole, and said, let's put more of you with Chicago. Isn't that what you want? This is just such a shame to take the words of local testimony, twist them around, and call it good policy. Please vote 'no'."

- 15 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative McCombie."
- 16 McCombie: "Thank you, Speaker. To the Resolution, please."
- 17 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Resolution."
- McCombie: "I was... had no intention to speak today until my name 18 19 was brought up in debate being accused of something that is absolutely, completely false and disgusting. I'm going to 20 21 read for the record, for my colleagues here, what exactly I 22 said rather than what was put into a blog this morning. 'McCombie called the new maps politically driven', in quotes. 23 'If you don't think that is in my district, you can certainly 24 see it across the state when you have two or four Republican 25 House seats drawn in together with empty seats right next to 26 27 them. I think the courts will tear them apart for two reasons: one, you didn't use the U.S. Census; two, from how blatantly 28 29 politically they are drawn.' I go on further to say, 'It was

blatantly political, not transparent, and completely

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2 unethical how the Democrats went about this. We have to do 3 something about ethics reform. If we had ethics reform and people were punished for behaving this way, we wouldn't have 4 these issues.'" 5 6 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Caulkins." Caulkins: "Will the Sponsor yield?" 7 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield." 8 9 Caulkins: "That's a tough act to follow. Representative, when was this current map drawn?" 10 11 Hernandez, L.: "The current map... May of 2011." 12 Caulkins: "Date, please. May 2011 is when?" Hernandez, L.: "Late May of 2011." 13 Caulkins: "Date please, Ma'am? Wasn't this map already drawn two 14 15 weeks ago?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "Are you asking about the map we're discussing or 17 the..." Caulkins: "Yes, Ma'am." 18 Hernandez, L.: "...or the current map? Because..." 19 20 Caulkins: "The current map. The current map." Hernandez, L.: "The current... I don't have the exact date but it's 21

- 26 Hernandez, L.: "Well, I'm getting... I'm trying..."
- 27 Caulkins: "You're supposed to know these things."

the Chairman. You're the spokesperson."

28 Hernandez, L.: "I understand, but I'm trying to get you..."

at the end... it's late May of 2011. The current map."

Caulkins: "Well, we're... late May is when? Can you give me a

timeframe? No, you don't have to listen to him, please. You're

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- 1 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative. Representative. We have staff,
- you have staff. Please proceed."
- 3 Hernandez, L.: "So, I'm... I'm trying to get clear. You're asking
- 4 about the proposed map, right?"
- 5 Caulkins: "Yes, Ma'am. The current map."
- 6 Hernandez, L.: "Yeah, okay. So, the map was proposed... or sent out
- 7 last Friday."
- 8 Caulkins: "No, we had a map that was sent out this morning or
- 9 last night. That's... that's the map I'm referring to. It's the
- one that you're referring to..."
- 11 Hernandez, L.: "Okay."
- 12 Caulkins: "...that says that it was changed because some of our
- 13 Members made requests."
- 14 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 15 Caulkins: "But... this map has been drawn for a while, hasn't it?"
- 16 Hernandez, L.: "No. We... the first initial map went out last
- 17 Friday, and this is..."
- 18 Caulkins: "Would you please speak... I'm sorry. I'm a little hard
- of hearing."
- 20 Hernandez, L.: "Yes. The first map was sent out last Friday. And
- we sent out the revised map yesterday."
- 22 Caulkins: "I understand. When was the map that was sent out
- yesterday drawn?"
- 24 Hernandez, L.: "Through the course of Friday and yesterday."
- 25 Caulkins: "Have any Members of your party made any requests about
- 26 changing a map?"
- 27 Hernandez, L.: "Yes. There's been input, as your Members have
- probably be given... are giving input as well."

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1	Caulkins: "When addressing the compactness of the map, I draw
2	your attention to Macon County. That's where I live. Macon
3	County's population has declined since the 2010 election
4	census, estimated to have declined, maybe 7 or 8 thousand
5	people. I know our mayor of Decatur has made a request that
6	we keep the city intact. The county intact. And yet, this map
7	divides Macon County into four House Districts. How does that
8	compel I guess compute with your compactness and interests?"
9	Hernandez, L.: "I'm sorry, Representative. Can you ask your
10	question again?"
11	Caulkins: "Yes. When you take a county that's the population has
12	declined almost 7 or 8 thousand people over the last 10 years
13	by estimate and, yet, you decide to draw that into 4 different
14	House Districts, 3 different Senate Districts, how how does
15	that meet your standard?"
16	Hernandez, L.: "So, I'm my understanding is the vast majority of
17	your district, the urban district the urban area is in one
18	district."
19	Caulkins: "I'm sorry. Please I don't understand your answer."
20	Hernandez, L.: "My understanding that the vast majority of the
21	urban area in Decatur is in one district."
22	Caulkins: "There's four districts in Macon County. Four House
23	Districts and three Senate Districts, I believe. But I know
24	four House Districts. I'm not sure how that meets your
25	standard. It certainly doesn't meet the need of the people of
26	Macon County, but perhaps you can explain that."
27	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative, your time is is expired. Would
28	you like to bring your remarks to a close or additional five
29	minutes?"

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- 1 Caulkins: "It's up to you."
- 2 Speaker Hoffman: "Well, no, it's kind of up to you. Okay, five
- 3 more minutes."
- 4 Caulkins: "You recognize this Gentleman. Thank you very much, Mr.
- 5 Speaker. I'm waiting, Representative, for your answer."
- 6 Hernandez, L.: "Give me a second."
- 7 Caulkins: "Could you stop the clock, please, Mr. Speaker?"
- 8 Speaker Hoffman: "Just... just proceed. We'll get you another five
- 9 minutes if you need it."
- 10 Hernandez, L.: "So, my understanding is that the... Decatur, I
- 11 guess, is considered a very urban area and it has... it needs
- 12 to be kept together."
- 13 Caulkins: "What about the other three House Districts?"
- 14 Hernandez, L.: "Not every county can be kept together."
- 15 Caulkins: "I beg your pardon?"
- 16 Hernandez, L.: "Not every county can be kept together."
- 17 Caulkins: "Not... but isn't the goal to be compact, I mean, and
- 18 represent similar interests?"
- 19 Hernandez, L.: "It is..."
- 20 Caulkins: "I accept... I accept your premise that perhaps the inner
- 21 City of Decatur deserves or should be drawn over to
- 22 Springfield, but what about the rest of the county? What about
- the rest of the people of Macon County?"
- 24 Hernandez, L.: "It... it just... it can't work that way. It is
- 25 compact..."
- 26 Caulkins: "This..."
- 27 Hernandez, L.: "...but it's just that the area..."
- 28 Caulkins: "It's..."
- 29 Hernandez, L.: "...is it... the urban area... so, it just doesn't..."

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Caulkins: "Part... part of our county is drawn to the south, almost 1 2 to Effingham. Part of our county is drawn to the south way, 3 way past Taylorville. Part of our county is drawn, I mean... you know, Macon County could be its own House District with 4 5 a hundred and some thousand people in it, I believe. I mean..." 6 Hernandez, L.: "So, the..." 7 Caulkins: "I mean, this was the... this was the request of our mayor. It was a request of our county board chairman. It was 8 9 the request of the people of our county. It was my request in our hearings that we... we keep this as a compact and close 10 11 unit. And you... you claim that you're going to do that and, 12 yet, here I stand with a county that's divided in four different ways, three different Senate seats, and it makes no 13 sense." 14 15 Hernandez, L.: "So, I would say the Resolution speaks for itself in that area." 16 Caulkins: "All right. You know, I feel badly for you, I do. To 17 the Bill, please." 18 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill." 19 Caulkins: "This... this process is... is absolutely corrupt. It does 20 21 not use the proper data that we should be using and it's all 22 done for political gain. The people of Illinois are poorly served. Certainly the people of Macon County, that I live in, 23 24 that I represent part of, have been taken advantage of. And this is not the way we should be doing business. This is not 25 the map that we should be adopting. We need to do better. We 26 should have done better. And I certainly would urge a 'no' 27 28 vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Demmer."

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- 1 Demmer: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 2 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 3 Demmer: "Hi, Representative Hernandez. I know that we had a
- 4 discussion in committee. We've certainly had a lot of
- 5 questions that we've asked in committee over the past several
- 6 weeks and I'm hoping we can get some answers to those
- 7 questions here today. In drawing these Legislative District
- 8 maps, you've indicated that the data that was used is ACS
- 9 data. Can you be specific about what type of ACS data was
- 10 used?"
- 11 Hernandez, L.: "It's in the Resolution. ACS data."
- 12 Demmer: "2015 to 2019 American Community Survey data, correct?"
- 13 Hernandez, L.: "That's correct, yes."
- 14 Demmer: "So, these numbers rely, in part, on a survey that was
- administered six years ago. Is that correct?"
- 16 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 17 Demmer: "Was any other data used in drawing these maps?"
- 18 Hernandez, L.: "My understanding that there is the election from
- 19 the Board of Elections data that was used to supplement."
- 20 Demmer: "And, specifically, what data from the Board of
- 21 Elections?"
- 22 Hernandez, L.: "Election results."
- 23 Demmer: "Election result data. Over the past several months, there
- have been hearings that you've given quite a bit of
- 25 credibility to. In each of those hearings, Republican Members
- of the Redistricting Committee asked what data was being used
- 27 to draw these maps. Why did you not answer those questions?"
- 28 Hernandez, L.: "At the time, I only knew of one source of data
- that was being used or being considered. And obviously, all

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1	the information and feedback from the community interest
2	groups through the hearings."
3	Demmer: "And then a week ago when the first version of the maps
4	were introduced, it was disclosed that American Community
5	Survey data was used. But it was described then to say,
6	American Community Survey was one of a number of sources used.
7	When did you become aware that election data was being used
8	in the creation of these maps?"
9	Hernandez, L.: "Well, I recently became aware and, frankly look,
10	I've always said that the ACS data was one of the sources. I
11	just I know that they were weighing in on other data, and
12	I "
13	Demmer: "I know I asked, I think, a dozen times what other sources
14	were being used and you said, I don't know. I don't know. I
15	don't know. It's one of the number of sources. So, I'm asking,
16	when did you become aware of those other data sources?"
17	Hernandez, L.: "I just recently became aware of the other"
18	Demmer: "Recently in the last 24 hours?"
19	Hernandez, L.: "Recently, yes."
20	Demmer: "So, you're the Sponsor of this Resolution and the Sponsor
21	of the Bill that will lay forward the Legislative District
22	Maps and you, yourself, only in the last 24 hours, became
23	aware of what data was going to be used?"
24	Hernandez, L.: "That's not what I said. What I will tell you,
25	Representative Leader Demmer, is that I often times, I did
26	say that one of the sources was the ACS data, and that there
27	were other sources look, I couldn't confirm because I they
28	were weighing in on what data to use. Until recently, I was

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1	able to confirm that the election data was was used as a
2	supplement. Was being used."
3	Demmer: "Has ACS data ever been used in Illinois history to
4	determine whether a district is substantially equal in
5	population?"
6	Hernandez, L.: "No, it hasn't. But it has been used to determine
7	the Latino CVAP population. It's been used for other sources."
8	Demmer: "But it's never been used to determine whether a district
9	is substantially equal in population."
10	Hernandez, L.: "No. Not"
11	Demmer: "Okay. The 2015 to 2019 American Community Survey uses
12	geographic boundaries established during the 2010 census. In
13	drawing these maps, did you use geographic boundaries from
14	2010 or 2020?"
15	Hernandez, L.: "The my understanding is the geographic boundaries
15 16	Hernandez, L.: "The my understanding is the geographic boundaries are from 2020."
16	are from 2020."
16 17	are from 2020." Demmer: "Okay. So, the American Community Survey data relies on
16 17 18	are from 2020." Demmer: "Okay. So, the American Community Survey data relies on geographic boundaries established in 2010. You've drawn the
16 17 18 19	are from 2020." Demmer: "Okay. So, the American Community Survey data relies on geographic boundaries established in 2010. You've drawn the maps today using geographic boundaries identified in 2020.
16 17 18 19 20	are from 2020." Demmer: "Okay. So, the American Community Survey data relies on geographic boundaries established in 2010. You've drawn the maps today using geographic boundaries identified in 2020. How did you account for the discrepancy?"
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Hernandez, L.: "Well, Leader Demmer, that's not... it's done by our 1 2 experts. That's... it's our experts, yeah." 3 Demmer: "And that's what I'm asking. How did your experts do 4 that?" Hernandez, L.: "We'll have to ask our data experts." 5 6 Demmer: "Well, we don't have that opportunity to ask the data 7 experts. This is an important point. So, let me give you an example, okay? In a 2010 block group, there's a... there's a 8 9 block group that's identified in the 2010 geographic boundary, and it has a thousand people in it. Okay? In 2020, 10 11 the census data... the Census Bureau put out new geographic 12 boundaries. They could have split that block group into two. Now, we all know, looking at communities we that we represent 13 and serve and just knowledge of general population, that 14 15 people don't live evenly dispersed across a plot of land. So, it would not be accurate to assume that 500 people live on 16 one side or the other of that line. You'd have to apply some 17 18 kind of adjustment factor to estimate. Because you're using the outdated geographic file, you'd have to make some 19 estimation to apply it to the new geographic file. This could 20 substantially increase a margin of error that you're dealing 21 22 with. So my question is, what method did you use? Did you simply split it in half, if there was block group that was 23 split from 2010 to 2020, or what method was used?" 24 Hernandez, L.: "I... I'm not the data... data expert. That... that comes 25 26 from our recommendations from the demographers." 27 Demmer: "The ACS estimates are only available because, again, as we've made a point countless times and community groups have 28 29 as well, the American Community Survey is not designed to

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1	count people. The census counts people. The American
2	Community Survey surveys characteristics of their lives. So,
3	the ACS estimates are not available at a granular enough
4	level. They're only available at the block group level. But
5	your plan draws boundaries around census blocks. There are,
6	on average, 45 blocks, census blocks, inside each block group.
7	How did you take data that was only available at the block
8	group level and break it down into census blocks?"
9	Hernandez, L.: "I you know, I didn't. That was, again, once
10	again, those are our experts. They came up with that."
11	Demmer: "Do you have any information on how the experts made these
12	important choices?"
13	Hernandez, L.: "No."
14	Demmer: "No information on how data was being shoehorned to fit
15	with updated geographic updated geographic boundaries and
16	data that was not available at a granular enough level. So,
17	we're not only talking about a census American Community
18	Survey that relies in part on surveys that are six years old,
19	that is not designed to count people, but now we have
20	compounding assumptions about how to split among census
21	blocks and how to update for a geography that the that the
22	American Community Survey did not address. Is that correct?"
23	Hernandez, L.: "Leader Demmer, that is the reason why we had
24	experts in the room. They are the ones who are giving the
25	recommendations. They are the ones that come up with this
26	information. They are the ones that have that knowledge to
27	come up with the solution. So, I can't explain to you in the
28	detail because I'm not the expert. We took it from the experts
29	on how this was you know, they're the ones that"

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know."

Hernandez, L.: "No."

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Demmer: "Okay. And I think it's ... I think it's worth pointing out 1 2 to the Body though that there are a number of assumptions 3 built into these calculations that were never necessary before because we used official census data before, which 4 5 required no such assumptions. So, let me ask about... you've 6 pointed to in some statements and I think in the Resolution 7 as well, looking at the statewide ACS margin of error estimate being .3 percent. Of course, that's a estimated margin of 8 9 error for the state as a whole. We know, it's documented in many, many places, that as you get down to a lower geographic 10 level with the American Community Survey data, the margin of 11 12 error goes up. So, since you're drawing maps within the state, you're drawing 118 maps... different Legislative Districts 13 within the state, we can assume that each district varies by 14 15 the same as the statewide average. It's not uniform. Did you calculate an ACS margin of error on a per district basis?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "Leader Demmer, let me point out that the census 17 18 also has a margin of error." Demmer: "And... well, I'm asking, did you calculate a margin of 19 error at a district level for the A... American Community Survey 20 data?" 21 22 Hernandez, L.: "No." Demmer: "So, the margin of error in these districts could..." 23 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader. Leader. Would someone... five more 24 minutes. Representative Welter." 25 Demmer: "So, some districts could be far above a .3 percent margin 26 27 of error, correct? Because you didn't calculate it, you don't

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1	Demmer: "So, it's been brought up several times here, and I know
2	that a couple of my colleagues have talked about many of the
3	frustrations that they see when experiencing this process,
4	when going through it, and then when seeing the maps that
5	have been laid before us today. A couple of our colleagues
6	expressed, in public comments, frustration about that
7	process, and you took those as requests, which they certainly
8	were not requests. But my question is, there's been these
9	allegations about rigging the process in favor of one
10	political party or another, putting your thumb on the scale
11	to increase a partisan advantage. Did you draw these maps to
12	increase the partisan advantage for Democrats?"
13	Hernandez, L.: "I think that I think that the Resolution is
14	speaks to why we drew the districts the way they are."
15	Demmer: "Well, the Resolution certainly says a lot about all these
16	districts. I'm asking you just a simple question. Did you
17	draw these maps to give yourselves a political, partisan
18	advantage?"
19	Hernandez, L.: "So, the the Resolution details how we came about
20	in remapping."
21	Demmer: "Representative, we all had the Resolution"
22	Hernandez, L.: "The details are there."
23	Demmer: "We all have the Resolution in front of us. I'm asking
24	you, did you draw these maps to give Democrats a political,
25	partisan advantage? It's a simple 'yes' or 'no' question."
26	Hernandez, L.: "So, I would just say it like this, that, yes,
27	politics is part of a factor."
28	Demmer: "No, I'm asking you, did you draw the maps to give you a

political, partisan advantage?"

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Hernandez, L.: "And I will answer that politics plays a factor in 1 2 this." 3 Demmer: "That's not the question. Politics plays a factor in a lot of parts of our lives. I'm asking you, here, did you draw 4 the maps to create a political, partisan advantage for 5 6 Democrats? Is this... this is a fundamental question that I 7 know many of us will go home and get from constituents in our districts. Were these districts drawn to give the Majority 8 9 Party a political, partisan advantage?" Hernandez, L.: "In the Resolution, it explains, it details how we 10 came about each of those districts. It would... it would detail 11 12 it there." "I'm asking you on the whole. Is this... I mean, my 13 Demmer: colleagues in the House, I'm sure, are as shocked as I am 14 15 that you can't answer a 'yes' or 'no' question. The... this is at the fundamental core of the redistricting process. One 16 that people across the State of Illinois have been interested 17 18 in for years. For years, they've had efforts to reform the map making process for this very reason. And so, I'm simply 19 asking you, did you draw these district maps to give Democrats 20 21 a political, partisan advantage? Yes or no?" 22 Hernandez, L.: "I think that the ... once again, I will say that the 23 Resolution really details..." Demmer: "It's unbelievable. Mr. Speaker, to the Resolution." 24 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Resolution." 25 "A fundamental question of whether these maps were drawn 26 Demmer: to give Democrats a political, partisan advantage, the 27 Sponsor of the Resolution refuses to answer the question. She 28 29 won't say whether these maps are drawn to represent the voices

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of the people of Illinois or to elevate political reward above 1 2 all else. This is a simple question. One that certainly we 3 will get from our constituents. How will you answer? Vote 'no'." 4 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Lewis on House Resolution 359." 5 6 "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?" Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield." 7 8 "Leader Hernandez, I do not envy you being in this 9 position, as the leader of this whole redistricting process. I believe you are trying to do the right thing. Would that be 10 11 correct?" Hernandez, L.: "We are doing the right thing, yes." 12 Lewis: "Okay. Understand that. I heard you just mention, I wrote 13 it down, that this Resolution details how we came to the 14 15 conclusion for the current maps that we are looking at, correct?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "Yes." 17 Lewis: "And that, I understand, respect you enough, that you did 18 not fact check this or you did not create all these facts 19 20 yourself. You had people and experts in the room doing this 21 for this process, correct?" Hernandez, L.: "I... I didn't do the map. No. I... no." 22 23 Lewis: "Correct. And even develop the Resolution, you had the 24 experts do that, correct?" Hernandez, L.: "The staff put it together." 25 Lewis: "Okay. Which... which I believe. Here is where I run into a 26 27 problem. I'm a degreed engineer. I ran engineering teams. And when one of I or one of my team members found factually wrong 28

information, data that was not accurate to drive to a larger

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conclusion, we had to go back and look at things. And I look 1 2 at this Resolution in areas that I am familiar with, 3 specifically. I'll read. 'This district was drawn 4 consolidate Bloomingdale Township into fewer Districts.' There are currently four House Districts in 5 6 Bloomingdale Township. Do you know how many are in this 7 Resolution? Four House Districts are currently 8 Bloomingdale Township. I've talked to some of my other 9 colleagues. They look, not at testimony, but descriptions of how these districts are drawn and they are factually wrong. 10 11 And your experts are giving you bad facts. If this Resolution 12 truly is what drove the maps and the way they are, there are factual errors in these descriptions. And if you're doing the 13 right thing, I just ask that you go back and have these facts 14 15 corrected before you present the next Resolution detailing the maps. Otherwise, they are factually wrong. If any of my 16 other colleagues has, take a look at your descriptions, look 17 18 at the facts, because I want ... know we all want to do the right 19 thing. And we want to base our votes and decisions on facts. Thank you." 20

- 21 Speaker Hoffman: "Thank you, Representative. Representative 22 Luft."
- 23 Luft: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Resolution, please."
- 24 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Resolution."
- 25 Luft: "Thank you. I would like to make note for the record, on 26 page 72 of the Resolution and on page 79, my name is mentioned 27 on both pages. This is a concern to me, and I would like it 28 publicly noted that I have not had any public conversation 29 with anybody, period, on the redistricting these maps. My

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concern is anybody who would just thumb through this Resolution, or an analysis of this Resolution, it would appear, following this statement, 'Republican Representatives made public comments criticizing the number of the same Representative Districts as another incumbent Republican.' After that statement, my name was followed under that statement twice. That would give an impression that I made public comments on the redistricting or that I made a public and/or private request for a district, and that is simply not true. While looking through to see if my name was anywhere else in this Resolution, I noticed that there are several names of Representatives in this Resolution that only sit on this side of the aisle, which continues over and over. Anybody who would flip through an analysis or this Resolution that there have been multiple public statements and multiple requests, whether public or private, for adjustments in the redistricting, and that is simply not true. I'm offended by this and I would like to publicly ask that my name be removed from this Resolution. It has no business being in this Resolution. This Resolution is directed by district number, not by Representative in that district. As I stated before, the only names in any analysis or in this Resolution are names on this side of the aisle. Respectfully, again, I will request that my name be taken out of this Resolution. Thank you."

- 25 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Mazzochi."
- 26 Mazzochi: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 27 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 28 Mazzochi: "All right. You mentioned earlier that there were
- 29 experts who were drawing the map, but I don't think you

actually coughed up the names of the experts on your side who

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_	accusing appearance of one one of the configuration and
2	were drawing the map. Can you kindly list who they are?"
3	Hernandez, L.: "Representative, I've never said that there was an
4	expert that drew the map."
5	Mazzochi: "You said that you had expert you said you you
6	personally weren't involved in the map. You said there were
7	members of your staff and other experts and consultants who
8	were actually doing the process of creating the maps. So, who
9	were what were the names of those experts and staff members?"
10	Hernandez, L.: "So, it was a collaboration of staff, legal, and
11	consultants who advised."
12	Mazzochi: "Okay. So, give me the… give their actual names."
13	Hernandez, L.: "Dr. Lichtman."
14	Mazzochi: "Who else?"
15	Hernandez, L.: "That's all I know."
16	Mazzochi: "That's it?"
17	Hernandez, L.: "That's all I know."
18	Mazzochi: "You don't know anybody in in your in-House staff or
19	on you legal side or legal team who was working on this?"
20	Hernandez, L.: "I don't have a list of names."
21	Mazzochi: "Okay. One of the things that I've noticed is in
22	connection with a whole host of areas that I am familiar with,
23	near the area where I live, there are many misstatements that
24	are set forth in the Resolution. So, for example, if I could
25	draw your attention to page 54, starting at line 26. It says
26	'Representative District 45, which is the current RD 47',
27	talks about a population gain. It states that, 'The district
28	was drawn for political purposes to assist with increasing

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1	the political advantage for neighboring districts.' Could you
2	tell me what that means, please?"
3	Hernandez, L.: "I'm sorry. Can you repeat that one more time?"
4	Mazzochi: "Yes. We're on page 55 of House Resolution 359,
5	discussing the proposed District 45 that retains 87.55
6	percent of current RD 47, under what's presented here. It
7	says, 'This district was drawn for political purposes to
8	assist with increasing the political advantage for
9	neighboring districts.' What does that mean?"
10	Hernandez, L.: "I would say that statement speaks for itself."
11	Mazzochi: "Okay. And what that statements says, in for legal
12	purposes, is that this district is being drawn for political,
13	partisan advantage, correct?"
14	Hernandez, L.: "That's one of the factors."
15	Mazzochi: "Okay. Now, it also says that the district includes all
16	or portions of Elmhurst, Oakbrook Terrace, Westmont,
17	Clarendon Hills, Hinsdale, Willowbrook, and Downers Grove. Is
18	that referring to the current district as you're proposing to
19	draw it or the old district?"
20	Hernandez, L.: "That would be the proposed."
21	Mazzochi: "Okay. Well, the proposed district, is it going to
22	include Western Springs in Cook County? Because the current
23	map that you've drawn includes portions of Western Springs in
24	Cook County."
25	Hernandez, L.: "I don't know."
26	Mazzochi: "Right. The well, and one of the reasons why I'm
27	curious about this is because Elmhurst is being splintered
28	even further. A portion of Elmhurst is going into Speaker
29	Welch's District 7. A larger portion of Elmhurst is going

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into the proposed RD... I'm sorry, the proposed District 46. 1 2 So, it seems odd to me that when you have a portion of a 3 district that you've drawn that contains a part of Cook County, that you're taking... that you're keeping the Cook 4 County portion in here, yet taking a portion of Elmhurst, 5 6 which is in DuPage, and throwing that into what is 7 predominately a Cook County district. How do you do that and be consistent with saying that there's a... that you're 8 9 protecting communities of similar economic interests and to keep several school districts together? Because you're 10 actually splintering the school district." 11 Hernandez, L.: "I don't know." 12 Mazzochi: "All right. Well, one of the things that's being stated 13 14 here, if... if a priority is to try to keep several school 15 districts together, the City of Elmhurst actually has a unified school district, District 205. And to the extent that 16 there are any boundaries outside of Elmhurst, they actually 17 extend a small portion into... into Bensenville. So, again, why 18 would you be taking portions of Elmhurst and putting that 19 into Cook County, as opposed to if you wanted to keep school 20 21 districts together, not adding additional portions of 22 Bensenville?" Hernandez, L.: "You know, it... like other Members that have spoken 23 out on their own district, you just ... you can't have it all. 24 It just doesn't work that way." 25 Mazzochi: "It's not a question of having it all. It's trying to 26 actually understand what the philosophy is behind the 27 statements that are written here because they're simply 28

false. Another issue, to the extent you're saying that the

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population of district... of the current RD 47 had a population gain of 5,881. The population of Oakbrook Terrace, which is currently within the district, has a population of around 2500. So, again, rather than splintering communities such as Oakbrook, throwing a portion of Oakbrook into a Cook County district, throwing a portion of Elmhurst into a Cook County district, why not simply move Oakbrook Terrace into the surrounding districts, which you've also noted here in this Resolution, have lost population?"

Hernandez, L.: "Representative, we can't always keep it together.

The Resolution speaks for itself."

Mazzochi: "Right, but the problem is is that you're representing... in this Resolution that you are doing things to keep communities together, when, in fact, you're splintering them apart. Similarly, the Asian population in Oakbrook. You are actually splintering that community of interest by having one portion of it in the proposed RD 45 and throwing another portion of it into Speaker Welch's current district. So, there's a whole host of things that are... like I said, that are simply false. You're also not... reflecting the fact that you're changing the ... so, in the current District 47, there are certain districts that are in... there are several... there are four precincts in Western Springs, there's one precinct in Downers Grove, there's a precinct... half of a precinct that's in Deering, and a portion of it that's in Willowbrook. So, rather than actually trying to move those splintered precincts, you're actually making the new District 45 even more splintered. So, I don't understand how you can ... so, to the Bill. You can't possibly say..."

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- 1 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative. Representative. So, we'll give
- 2 you some time."
- 3 Mazzochi: "I'll finish up."
- 4 Speaker Hoffman: "We'll give you more time."
- 5 Mazzochi: "I'll finish up."
- 6 Speaker Hoffman: "Okay."
- 7 Mazzochi: "You can't possibly say that the statements relating to
- 8 Representative District 7, which is Speaker Welch's district,
- 9 to... the new proposed District 45... I just want it clear for
- 10 the record, these are areas that I am intimately familiar
- 11 with. The representations that are made in this Resolution
- are blatantly false. And because you haven't been able to
- provide the underlying data to anyone as to exactly how and
- 14 why you drew these, you are splitting communities up, you are
- going across school district lines, you are going across
- 16 county lines, and that is simply... and all... and according to
- what your Resolution says, to increase... to increase your
- political advantage. And that's shameful."
- 19 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Durkin."
- 20 Durkin: "Inquiry of the Chair."
- 21 Speaker Hoffman: "Please state your inquiry."
- 22 Durkin: "Mr. Speaker, during the course of this debate, in this
- 23 Resolution, there are references to Republican Members within
- 24 the document. Three in particular. Representative Spain,
- 25 Representative Wilhour, and Representative Luft have all
- categorically stated that any information... actually, it's a
- 27 little bit more. Representative Friess, Representative Meier,
- 28 Keicher, Sosnowski, Luft, Niemerg, Sommer, Wilhour, Spain,
- 29 have all categorically stated that any reference to and any

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1	information attributed to them in that Resolution is
2	categorically false. Many of them have asked the the Sponsor
3	to have that corrected. I am going to ask of you to publicly
4	state that those references and any information that is
5	related to this to them in that Resolution be officially
6	moved from the record, as they have asked."
7	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader, it is my understanding that the record
8	is the record. So, you can't just have the record moved. What
9	we what I can say to you is that, well, it's my understanding
10	it wasn't an intent to specifically indicate that those
11	statements were by those individuals."
12	Durkin: "Mr. Speaker, in your position, you have the ability to
13	make recommendations and also state clarifications for
14	purposes of order in this chamber. So, on behalf of my Members
15	and myself who have asked that their names be redacted from
16	this debate or any reference to them, I'm asking you to state
17	that those individuals, who I've stated, have their names
18	redacted from the record."
19	Speaker Hoffman: "Again, Leader, that is not within my power
20	because the record is the record. I can't redact it's my
21	understanding from the Parliamentarian, I cannot legally
22	redact something from the record. You can state your position
23	that you don't agree, but I cannot legally redact something
24	from the record. That's my understanding."
25	Durkin: "Leader Hoffman, you can do whatever you want up there.
26	I've been around here long enough and so have you. And we
27	also know that"
28	Speaker Hoffman: "I'm not I'm not trying to"

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"...you have wide-ranging authority to be able to make 1 2 statements on the record of process. So, I will ask one more 3 time to do the ... extend the courtesy to my Members who wish to not have their names be used without their permission and 4 somehow in support of this Resolution. I think is a simple 5 6 request and ask that you respect the rights of the Minority 7 Party and say that those names will be, and any reference to 8 them, will be withdrawn from the record. You can do that." 9 Speaker Hoffman: "I'm told by the Parliamentarian I cannot legally do that. However, we can make note of your objections. We can 10 11 make note of their objections. And that will be duly noted 12 for the record." "Well, I just don't know how... let me just make a final 13 Durkin: 14 comment. I don't know how Representative Hernandez can stand 15 up and make these statements when each one of these Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlemen, have said that this is absolutely not 16 true. I... I would think that this is a proper place for us to 17 18 correct an extremely important record that would be made that is going to, eventually, I would assume, that will be viewed 19 by a court of law." 20 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Ozinga." 21 22 Ozinga: "To the Resolution. As the previous speaker mentioned, 23 the Resolution repeatedly and falsely states that adjustments 24 to the map were made, 'following the requests of Republicans.' To build on the previous speaker's comments, I would like the 25 record to reflect that no such requests were made, and that 26 should be stricken from the Resolution. 27 their names Furthermore, I would like to make a formal request that any 28 29 Representative on the Democrat side of the aisle, that had

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input or requested changes, be added to the Resolution so 1 2 that it is factually accurate. It is my request that we pull 3 the Bill until these changes are made and reintroduce it when 4 it is accurate and factually correct." Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler." 5 6 Butler: "Inquiry of the Chair." Speaker Hoffman: "State your inquiry." 7 "Speaker Hoffman, when you say the record, could you 8 9 define that for me, please?" Speaker Hoffman: "I would... I would define it as the official 10 11 record of the House of Representatives. Similarly, if you 12 vote a certain way and you want to change your vote, or wish you would have voted differently, you can't change the vote. 13 You just make it part of the record." 14 15 Butler: "So, the proceedings of the House Redistricting Committee spent money to have court reporters at each and every hearing 16 except for one, the joint hearing the other day with the 17 18 Senate. Those transcripts are available for everybody to look at right here. You finally put them up online. So, my question 19 is, when you refer to the record... and as our Members just 20 stated, none of them... all of them want this pulled out of the 21 22 Resolution. None of them made these requests, Mr. Speaker. Can you please tell me in... where in any of the transcripts 23 from the official proceedings of the Illinois House 24 Redistricting Committee that any of these mentions were made 25 of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives?" 26 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader, that is not a parliamentary inquiry. 27 28 That would be a question for the Sponsor, I believe."

Butler: "Well, can I ask the Sponsor then, please?"

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Speaker Hoffman: "Yes, you can."

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- Butler: "Madam, can you please answer the question I just stated?"

 Hernandez, L.: "Go ahead. Can you repeat it one more time?"

 Butler: "No, I'm not. I stated it once. I'd like an answer."

 Hernandez, L.: "I don't know what you asked. Sorry. That's why

 I'm asking you to repeat it."

 Butler: "So, the… our Members on this side of the aisle, the

 Republicans that are mentioned in this Resolution, was any of
- that is mentioned in the Resolution, is it a part of the official record of the proceedings of the numerous hearings we had with a court reporter, with the transcripts right here,

their... these discussions, any of their mentions, any of this

- are any of those Members mentioned for what is in the
- Resolution in the transcripts of the official proceedings?"
- 15 Hernandez, L.: "No, they're not."
- 16 Butler: "Thank you."
- 17 Hernandez, L.: "But what I will share is that there were
- 18 Republicans... it's generalized, Republicans. The names that
- 19 pop up, it's other than just... if that's your district... if
- 20 that's your district, your name pops up. It's... it's coinciding
- 21 with your district. But there is no mention within those...
- 22 those areas that this particular Representative requested.
- 23 It's not indicated there. When we talk about Republicans
- requests, it's a generalized within the Resolution."
- 25 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Hernandez to close."
- 26 Hernandez, L.: "I want to... I really want to take a moment to...
- this has been, I know, very tough. But I do want to take a
- 28 moment that... to emphasize the exercise that has taken... that
- we have taken in terms of engaging community, being able to

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engage more individuals in the process is ... is something to be very, very proud of. I went through a redistricting 10 years ago, and 10 years ago it was in person. And one of the differences that I find this time around is that we are able to engage the public much more. I understand that through these conversations we had a lot of feedback. But, I tell you that the Resolution and the information that comes in front of you is within the guidelines of the law. It was very meticulous on how we had to work to get there. Is this map perfect? No. We do have ... we do have Members that are content with their map. We do have community interest groups that are content with the map. We haven't talked about that, but it's in the hearings. In the end, I do believe, and it has been said, that this particular map, this produced map, is a map that really reflects the diversity of this state. And it's a map that will be modeled nationwide. I ask for your 'aye' vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "If no further discussion, Leader Hernandez moves for the adoption of House Resolution 359. All in favor vote 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question, there are 72 voting 'yes', 45 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'. And this Resolution, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared adopted. Mr. Clerk, Rules Report."

Clerk Hollman: "Committee Reports. Representative Harris, Chairperson from the Committee on Rules reports the following committee action taken on May 28, 2021: recommends be adopted

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1	is the Motion to Concur with Senate Amendment #1 to House
2	Bill 2777."
3	Speaker Hoffman: "Members, we will proceed to Senate Bills on
4	Third Reading. On page 2 of the Calendar, appears Senate Bill
5	654, Representative Ortiz. Out of the record. Leader
6	Batinick."
7	Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Inquiry of the Chair. We have
8	an hour before we can debate, I believe, House Bill 2777. Do
9	you know when that timeline started?"
10	Speaker Hoffman: "Mr. Clerk."
11	Batinick: "From the last Rules Report."
12	Clerk Bolin: "The last Rules Report was read at 4:38 p.m."
13	Batinick: "Thank you."
14	Speaker Hoffman: "Going to page 3 of the Calendar, on Senate Bills
15	Third Reading, appears Senate Bill 805, Representative
16	Greenwood. Mr. Clerk, please read the Bill."
17	Clerk Bolin: "Senate Bill 805, a Bill for an Act concerning
18	education. Third Reading of this Senate Bill."
19	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Greenwood."
20	Greenwood: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker and Members of the General
21	Assembly. Senate Bill 805 provides that districts school
22	districts must incorporate a food sharing plan for unused
23	food into the local wellness plan. I believe this Bill passed
24	the Senate unanimously and I ask for an 'aye' vote."
25	Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Morrison."
26	Morrison: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Morrison: "All right. Thank you. Representative Greenwood, is

Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."

this an agreed Bill?"

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- 1 Greenwood: "The language was submitted by ISBE."
- 2 Morrison: "Okay. But in committee when we discussed this, there
- 3 were some opponents to your Bill, weren't there?"
- 4 Greenwood: "The School Board Association and the... no, they don't.
- 5 They're still in opposition."
- 6 Morrison: "Okay. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill."
- 7 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- 8 Morrison: "There are some merits for making sure that there are
- 9 no hungry children in the State of Illinois. That is an
- 10 obvious, obvious fact. The concerns of opponents on this Bill
- 12 School Board Association brought up a concern about hot food,

are just how the mechanics will work on it. Particularly, the

- for example, and the potential for safety concerns in the
- handling of things like hot food. Another one of their
- concerns had to do with the definition of unused food. And
- whether that involves fresh fruit and such that would be very
- easy to distribute versus other food that is more shelf stable
- and could easily be then given to students in the subsequent
- day or week. Anyway, so with that being said, I think this...
- this issue is best handled at the local level rather than
- 21 putting this on as a mandate. And so, I would ask for a 'no'
- vote."

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- 23 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Greenwood to close."
- 24 Greenwood: "I ask for a 'yes' vote so we can focus on needy
- 25 students around our state and for those who need assistance
- the most. Thank you."
- 27 Speaker Hoffman: "The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 805 pass?'
- 28 All in favor vote 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. The voting is
- open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have

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all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, please take the record. On this question, there are 85 voting 'yes', 30 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'. And this Bill, having received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared passed. On page 3 of the Calendar, appears Senate Bill 818, Representative Lilly. Mr. Clerk, please read the Bill."

7 Clerk Bolin: "Senate Bill 818, a Bill for an Act concerning 8 education. Third Reading of this Senate Bill."

Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Lilly."

Lilly: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker and Ladies and Gentlemen of the General Assembly. I rise to present SB818. I am pleased to return to this chamber to continue the efforts that began 10 years ago to provide young people with information and skills that they need to leave safe and healthy lives. This Bill has been worked on by a number of concerned Illinoisans. A coalition of the Healthy Youth Act and the REACH Act have come together to agree that we must continue to educate our young people where they can be ... keep them safe and healthy. Under SB818, if school teach personal health and safety in 5... K through 5 grades, or comprehensive sexual health education in 6 through 12 grade, the materials and instruction must be age and development... developmentally appropriate, medically complete, culturally appropriate, accurate, correct, inclusive, and trauma informed. SB818 is not a mandate. Under SB818, parents, quardians, and others will still be able to review the materials used by schools. Parents are still able to opt out, and local control of applies to the selection of courses and materials and the curriculum. In addition to reducing stigma, SB818 would result in creating... and the

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creation of learning standards that reflect the diversity of 1 2 all students here in the State of Illinois. With this, if 3 there's no questions, I'll ask for an 'aye' vote." Speaker Hoffman: "Representative McCombie." 4 "Well, we're going to have a few questions, 5 McCombie: 6 Representative, if that's all right." Speaker Hoffman: "Will the Sponsor yield? She indicates she will." 7 McCombie: "And I'm not sure if everybody understood that this is 8 9 actually a comprehensive sex ed Bill. That kind of was... wasn't talked about a whole lot. So, if I could just get some 10 attention, I think the answers that Representative Lilly is 11 12 going to be giving us are going to be very important. To dispel any rumors, first off, today, small children are 13 learning about bullying. Today, they are learning what a good 14 15 touch is versus a bad touch. They learn about health and safety. Our children learn about consent. Our children learn 16 about pregnancies and STD preventions. Representative, is it 17 18 your intent to promote health, wellness, and healthy relationships for our youth from kindergarten through 12th 19 20 grade?" 21 Lilly: "It is the intention to continue to promote education and 22 wellness that are accurately... medically accurate and age 23 appropriate." McCombie: "So, it's to promote health, wellness, and healthy 24 relationships for our youth, kindergarten through 12th?" 25 Lilly: "Yes." 26 27 McCombie: "Thank you. So, we actually agree on something." 28 Lilly: "Thank you."

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- McCombie: "We have some common ground. Where we disagree is the 1 2 Bill goes far beyond health, wellness, and safety for our 3 kiddos. Everyone wants our... our youth to be educated. We want our youth to be safe and protected. But this Bill, like so 4 many others in this House, goes way too far. As asked in 5 6 committee of you six years ago, I think that was the date we 7 figured out, you sponsored and passed what was called a comprehensive sex ed Bill for grades 6 to 12. Is that 8 9 correct?"
- 10 Lilly: "Yes."
- 11 McCombie: "Is this Bill a comprehensive expansion to include
- grades kindergarten through 5th grade?"
- 13 Lilly: "I'm sorry, Representative. Is that a question?"
- 14 McCombie: "Yeah, it was. Is this Bill, SB818, a comprehensive
- expansion to include kindergarten through 5th grade?"
- 16 Lilly: "We are including K through 5, yes."
- McCombie: "Right. So, it's expanding it. Okay. It was stated in 17 committee that SB818 actually does not make significant 18 changes to what was previously passed. This part y'all might 19 want to pay attention to. Many strongly disagree. I do agree 20 that it does expand the original grades of 6 through 12 to 21 22 include kindergarten through 5th grade. It also expands curriculum recommending... expands curriculum to recommend 23 discussing sensitive topics starting at 10 years old. 24 Starting at 10 years old. Actually, defining sexual 25 intercourse for your 10 year olds as 'having sex', in quotes, 26 27 that can involved the penis and the vagina, or the mouth and the genitals, for your 10 year old. Or the penis and the anus, 28 29 for your 10 year old. It also expands curriculum to allow

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- videos that are actually restricted on YouTube to adults only.
- 2 I'm not going to get into what that is."
- 3 Lilly: "That is not true."
- 4 McCombie: "That is true. That's absolutely true, Ma'am. There is
- 5 a recommended reading book that several of us have, it's for
- 6 10 and up, and that is literally defined in the book."
- 7 Lilly: "That is not true. In addition to this is standards, not
- 8 a curriculum. This Bill..."
- 9 McCombie: "No, no, no. That's correct. That's correct. That is
- 10 correct."
- 11 Lilly: "...addressed standards, not curriculum. Okay, thank you."
- 12 McCombie: "The standards... the curriculum will be developed by the
- standards. This is a recommended book for 10 years old and
- up. I'll carry on with my questions. Thank you."
- 15 Lilly: "The state is not recommending..."
- 16 McCombie: "Here's the book, 10 and up."
- 17 Lilly: "The state is not recommending any book."
- 18 McCombie: "This is a.m. no, no. But the curriculum has
- 19 recommended reading and this is in it."
- 20 Lilly: "That is not true."
- 21 McCombie: "It is true."
- 22 Lilly: "It is not specified in this Bill..."
- 23 McCombie: "No, no, no. You're right."
- 24 Lilly: "...anywhere."
- 25 McCombie: "It is not specified in this Bill. That is correct,
- 26 Ma'am."
- 27 Lilly: "It's not."
- 28 McCombie: "That is correct."
- 29 Lilly: "Thank you."

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- McCombie: "You're welcome. In committee, I had asked why the words 1 2 'family life' was stricken from the current statute. We were 3 told that the definition of family was defined in the standards. Can you advise where that is?" 4 5 Lilly: "One second. Representative, I do have the Bill with me. On page five, it states, 'comprehensive'... we're removing 6 7 family life, and we are adding 'comprehensive personal health and safety education' and 'comprehensive sex health'." 8 9 McCombie: "Right. How... how does that define family life, though?" Lilly: "We're not defining family. We're being... we are clarifying 10 and..." 11 12 McCombie: "Okav." Lilly: "...answering questions. Comprehensive personal health." 13 McCombie: "How about in the standards? I guess I should rephrase 14 15 that. The ... the advocates in committee stated that family life was defined in the standards that are going to be used to 16 recommend... going to be used for the curriculum. So, where is 17 18 it defined? Where is family life defined in the standards, as was stated in debate in the committee? I... I couldn't find 19 it." 20 21 Speaker Harris: "Harris in the Chair." 22 Lilly: "I'm not sure if that was debate I was in, because..."
- 26 Lilly: "With the REACH."

McCombie: "It was."

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27 McCombie: "So maybe afterwards, your... your staff could figure out

McCombie: "Yeah, it... it was just the other day actually."

Lilly: "...I know we had a number of debates, so."

where that is exactly. That'd be great because I still don't

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- know. Please verify the National Sex Education Standards is 1 2 defined to be age appropriate and medically accurate." 3 Lilly: "Correct. Correct." McCombie: "Okay. Actually, that is not correct. Per the standards, 4 5 on page 11, NSES takes a theory, an intersectionality approach, as the guiding principle. And it continues to 6 7 discuss that on page 12 where it actually goes into more detail about the theoretical framework, stating that an 8 9 effective compressive sex education is theory driven and focuses on specific behavioral outcomes. Comprehensive sex 10 11 education is theory driven and focuses on specific behavioral 12 outcomes. As a matter of fact, within the quide, it continues on with 16 points, none of which say medically accurate." 13 Harris: "Representative, could you bring your remarks to a close? 14 15 Representative Hammond gives her time." McCombie: "Can you point me in the... can you point to me in the 16 standards where it states the curriculum is to be medically 17 18 accurate?" Lilly: "Two things, Representative. Okay. In the Bill, page 12, 19 it does state 'family structure' within the Bill. Two, we 20 21 have language that has the word... oh, here it is. We are not 22 mandating the national standards. We are seeking alignment. And any teacher, school district, can use the curricula that 23 they deem fit for their school district." 24 McCombie: "Okay." 25 Lilly: "Along with the parents being able to opt out if it's not 26

what they are proposing for their child."

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McCombie: "You're kind of moving me ahead on my questions, but

I'm more than happy to tackle that one right now. If any

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- school wants to teach sex education, they have to choose...
- 2 they have to develop a curriculum with the National Sex
- 3 Education Standards. Is that correct?"
- 4 Lilly: "We are seeking alignment with standards."
- 5 McCombie: "That's right. Alignment... so, if..."
- 6 Lilly: "They do not have to adopt..."
- 7 McCombie: "If a school chooses to teach sex education, they have
- 8 to develop a curriculum that aligns with the National Sex
- 9 Education Standards. Is that correct?"
- 10 Lilly: "Yes."
- 11 McCombie: "Yes. Okay. So, can you point to me, then, in those
- 12 standards that we have to use to develop curriculum, where it
- states medically accurate?"
- 14 Lilly: "There's a number of experts that put forth these
- 15 standards."
- 16 McCombie: "Great, can you show me where that is... about that then,
- in the standards? This was a big concern for one of your
- 18 Leaders."
- 19 Lilly: "And it is important that you recognize that they have
- 20 been researching this for over 30 years."
- 21 McCombie: "Great."
- 22 Lilly: "And in that medically accurate terminology, and I will
- give you primary... those professionals."
- 24 McCombie: "I don't need their name. I would just like to see where
- in the standards..."
- 26 Lilly: "The organizations, that is."
- 27 McCombie: "I don't need the organizations. I don't need the
- 28 names."
- 29 Lilly: "It can be found on page six of the standards."

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- 1 McCombie: "Pardon?"
- 2 Lilly: "It can be found on page six of the standards."
- 3 McCombie: "Page six of the standards."
- 4 Lilly: "And on page 10."
- 5 McCombie: "Okay, confirm that. That's in here."
- 6 Lilly: "On page 10 of the Bill."
- 7 McCombie: "Oh, it's in the Bill. I see it in the Bill, but it's
- 8 not in the standards."
- 9 Lilly: "It is on page six on the standards."
- 10 McCombie: "All right."
- 11 Lilly: "Got our information."
- 12 McCombie: "Thank you. Thank you."
- 13 Lilly: "You're welcome."
- 14 McCombie: "Can you advise... during debate... during debate in
- 15 committee, one of the Leaders asked how age appropriate was
- defined by the NC... NSCS, the standards. It was stated by the
- 17 advocates that age appropriateness was in the Bill. Can you
- advise where age appropriate is defined in the Bill?"
- 19 Lilly: "It's in the current Bill. It's in the Bill... the law that
- 20 we have now."
- 21 McCombie: "It's in this Bill, as well. So where..."
- 22 Lilly: "Exactly."
- 23 McCombie: "Okay. So, I'll tell you where it is. It's on page six."
- 24 Lilly: "It's on... it's on page six."
- 25 McCombie: "That's right."
- 26 Lilly: "Adult... age and developmentally appropriate means suitable
- 27 to the particular ages or group of children and adolescents
- 28 based on the development and cognitive and emotional and
- behavioral capacity typical for the age or age group."

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- 1 McCombie: "That's so clear. That's so clear."
- 2 Lilly: "It's in... it's in the Bill, Representative."
- 3 McCombie: "Yeah, page 6. Age and developmentally appropriate.
- 4 Comprehensive personal health and safety education for
- 5 pupils, kindergarten through 5th grade, and comprehensive
- 6 sexual health education for pupils 6 through 12. That's how
- 7 it's defined. Age is not defined as one would think. It's
- 8 very subjective. Some questions about the standards. Who is...
- 9 what is the National Sex Education Standards? Does
- 10 Illinoisans develop those standards?"
- 11 Lilly: "Once again, there were three groups that worked. The
- 12 Advocate..."
- 13 McCombie: "Ozinga."
- 14 Lilly: "...since... SECAs, and The Answer were the groups..."
- 15 Speaker Harris: "Representative Ozinga has donated his time."
- 16 Lilly: "...who developed the standards."
- 17 McCombie: "But not Illinoisans?"
- 18 Lilly: "Again, it was Advocates for Youth, SECAs, and The Answer."
- 19 McCombie: "Right."
- 20 Lilly: "And they convened a wide range of independent experts in
- 21 the area of sexuality, public education, public health, child
- and adolescents medicine, and psychologies to develop and
- review these standards."
- 24 McCombie: "So, those are the folks that came together to draft
- 25 the standards. The advocate groups. Did any of them have
- 26 political agendas?"
- 27 Lilly: "They were independent experts."
- 28 McCombie: "Great. Any of them funded by any sort of dark money or
- 29 organizations with agenda?"

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- 1 Lilly: "It's not relevant. We're talking about SB818..."
- 2 McCombie: "Right, we're... it's very relevant because..."
- 3 Lilly: "...a personal..."
- 4 McCombie: "...they're the ones who are drafting the... who are
- 5 drafting these standards that are going to be the basis for
- the curriculum for our children, kindergarten through 12th."
- 7 Lilly: "I am unaware where these organizations get their funding."
- 8 McCombie: "Thank you. You have stated that this is not a mandate."
- 9 Lilly: "Correct."
- 10 McCombie: "You've also stated that school districts must develop
- a curriculum that is aligned with the national education
- 12 standards, National Sex Ed Standards. If the district does
- not agree with these standards, can they choose another?"
- 14 Lilly: "I'm... I'm going to repeat... I apologize if I'm repeating
- the same..."
- 16 McCombie: "That's okay."
- 17 Lilly: "...thing. The standards are to align with the national..."
- 18 McCombie: "Right."
- 19 Lilly: "...standards."
- 20 McCombie: "And I'd just... and I just said that as well."
- 21 Lilly: "Okay."
- 22 McCombie: "So, but if the district..."
- 23 Lilly: "Want to make sure."
- 24 McCombie: "...if a district... if my home district does not agree
- with these standards, can they choose another standard?"
- 26 Lilly: "It must align with the National Sex..."
- 27 McCombie: "No, that's not question."
- 28 Lilly: "...Education Standards."
- 29 McCombie: "Can they choose another standard to align with?"

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- 1 Lilly: "I believe I'm saying they can, but I'm not sure if you're 2 not getting it. It's the same criteria and the answer is
- 3 'yes'."
- 4 McCombie: "Okay. Woah... so you're saying that a school district
- 5 does not have to use the National Sex Education Standards as
- 6 the standard to develop curriculum for kindergarten through
- 7 12th grade? They can choose a different standard?"
- 8 Lilly: "Schools may choose and adapt the age and development
- 9 appropriate, medically correct, complete, culturally
- 10 appropriate, inclusive, and trauma informed comprehensive
- 11 personal health and safety and comprehensive sex health
- 12 education curriculum that meets the specifics of the needs of
- 13 their district and community. This is on page 15 of the Bill."
- 14 McCombie: "Yes, but can they use another standard or does it have
- to be the National Sex Education Standards that they align
- with? Is it them or none?"
- 17 Lilly: "We are aligning with..."
- 18 McCombie: "Is it them..."
- 19 Lilly: "...the national standards."
- 20 McCombie: "...or none? Is it NSES or none?"
- 21 Lilly: "I'm sorry."
- 22 McCombie: "Is it those standards, the National Sex Education
- 23 Standards, or none?"
- 24 Lilly: "Yes. Yes."
- 25 McCombie: "Yes what, please?"
- 26 Lilly: "Yes, it's those standards. I'm understanding."
- 27 McCombie: "It has to be them or nothing, correct?"
- 28 Lilly: "Yes."

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1	McCombie: "Thank you. Thank you. So, to confirm then, the
2	curriculum must align with the national standards or nothing.
3	So, in reality, this really is a mandate. All or nothing, and
4	one must opt out compared to opt in. Unfortunately, curriculum
5	is not often known to parents, grandparents, caregivers. They
6	don't dig in, unfortunately. I've heard from many of my
7	educators, parents, that an opt in would be more transparent
8	and bring forward the newly developed curriculum. Would you
9	be willing to amend this Bill to have an opt in compared to
10	an opt out?"
11	Lilly: "Representative, we already have this teach the standards
12	excuse me. We already teach sex ed in our schools. The parents
13	can already opt out."
14	McCombie: "Right, this is new. So, can we change the would you
15	be willing to change it to an opt in and compared to an opt
16	out?"
17	Lilly: "No."
18	McCombie: "Why not?"
19	Lilly: "This is this is this Bill. Maybe you want to present a
20	Bill that has that in it."
21	McCombie: "Sure."
22	Lilly: "Okay."
23	McCombie: "Okay. So, you state that this instruction has an opt
24	out option for parents. However, is it the intent of the Bill
25	for parents to have an option to opt out where it concerns
26	diseases, concerning STDs, or any other health related
27	diseases non-sexually related?"
28	Lilly: "Parents, as stated and this is current. Parents may opt

out of any portion of the curricula that is..."

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- 1 McCombie: "Okay."
- 2 Lilly: "...presented to them by the district."
- 3 McCombie: "But this Bill changes..."
- 4 Speaker Harris: "Representative..."
- 5 McCombie: "...that."
- 6 Speaker Harris: "Representative, could you bring your remarks to
- 7 a close?"
- 8 McCombie: "I'm... you're probably not going to have a whole lot
- 9 from other speakers I would think. So, if you could indulge
- 10 me, Sir."
- 11 Speaker Harris: "Five... five more minutes, would that satisfy you?"
- 12 McCombie: "So, let me repeat that. This Bill does indeed change
- that. The opt out option for parents, however, it is... is it
- 14 the intent, which I don't think it is, for the Bill for
- parents to have an option to opt out where it concerns
- diseases? Whether that's in the context of STDs or any other
- 17 health related diseases?"
- 18 Lilly: "It is."
- 19 McCombie: "So, it's your intent that they can opt out for that
- instruction. In the Bill, on page 27, lines 5 and 6. The Bill
- 21 repeals Section 27-11, which takes away the option for parents
- 22 to opt out concerning diseases, sex education related, or
- otherwise. It repeals the entire section. That was a concern
- of a constituent who tried for months to have that complaint
- come forward. Actually, even tried to get into the committee
- 26 the other day. For religious regions, this... this repeal
- changes that. They will not have that option to opt out. Would
- you be consider... would you consider, because that is not your
- intent, would you consider to not repeal that section?"

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- 1 Lilly: "This is only on diseases."
- 2 McCombie: "The way the School Code is written, it is sexual in
- 3 relation or otherwise."
- 4 Lilly: "As I'm reading it, it reduces the sexual activities,
- 5 sexual transmission diseases, and prenatal pregnancies."
- 6 McCombie: "I'm just talking about that line on five and six
- 7 repealing Section 27-11. That's the only piece I'm thinking
- 8 of right now. It just repeals it."
- 9 Lilly: "It does."
- 10 McCombie: "Right, so that... that does not allow a parent to opt
- 11 out. When it comes..."
- 12 Lilly: "Of disease of instructions. Instructions of diseases
- 13 only."
- 14 McCombie: "There are some religions in Illinois that do not want
- 15 their children to be... they want to be able to opt out of
- learning about STDs or any other diseases, and this repeals
- 17 that. You state that's not your intent. So, I'm asking if
- you'd be willing to consider changing that."
- 19 Lilly: "In the future we can have that conversation."
- 20 McCombie: "So, their religion doesn't matter. Would you agree
- 21 that we have a teacher shortage in Illinois?"
- 22 Lilly: "Where is this going?"
- 23 McCombie: "Do you agree that we have a teacher shortage in
- 24 Illinois?"
- 25 Lilly: "I really don't know."
- 26 McCombie: "Okay."
- 27 Lilly: "But I bless, yes."
- 28 McCombie: "Well, I'll say we have a teacher shortage in Illinois.
- So, to be clear, our teachers and our facilitators... a lot of

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- us downstate don't have teachers in a lot of our classrooms 1 2 and we're actually using facilitators in a lot of our schools. 3 They're not professional sex educators like we had speak in So, we're going to have teachers 4 facilitators teaching this curriculum that aligns with the 5 6 standards, compared to a professional sex ed educator, who 7 was noted by as your witness in committee, that they're trained to be thoughtful, deliberate for age appropriateness, 8 9 familiar with the theoretical framework as outlined in SES. This is way too much to be asking for our teachers to do. 10 11 Many have reached out to me and others in... they do not want 12 to be having these conversations. Were you aware that in the standards there is a note, stating for educators, that there 13 are asterisks placed throughout to inform educators that they 14 15 may want to include a trigger warning when teaching? Can you imagine? Our teachers are given asterisks throughout their... 16 their manual to make sure the kids know they have a trigger 17 warning possibly coming. I won't even make you answer. It's 18 there. Page 10. Look it up. In committee, it was stated that 19 our youth should not explore the Internet to learn about sex 20 education, correct? Our youth should not use the Internet as 21 22 a... as a way to explore their sexuality. Is that... remember that stated in committee?" 23
- 24 Lilly: "I'm sorry."
- 25 McCombie: "Youth should not have to explore the Internet to learn
- about sex education. Do you remember that?"
- 27 Lilly: "Representative..."
- 28 McCombie: "It was stated. It was stated in committee."
- 29 Lilly: "Would you like me to respond?"

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- 1 McCombie: "Sure."
- 2 Lilly: "Thank you. Appreciate it. It's already being explored by
- 3 young people. That was the reference, and we wanted to make
- 4 sure that they had an education that was age appropriate and
- 5 accurate."
- 6 McCombie: "Thank you."
- 7 Lilly: "That's why this Bill is creating a standard for school
- 8 districts to consider along with parent's review of...
- 9 materials and instructions with the ability to opt out if
- 10 they so wish."
- 11 McCombie: "In the Bill, on page..."
- 12 Lilly: "Young people..."
- 13 Speaker Harris: "Representative, your time has expired. I asked
- 14 you to please complete your remarks in this five minutes.
- You've had about twenty. I think that's fair..."
- 16 McCombie: "Actually, could you..."
- 17 Speaker Harris: "...for one speaker."
- 18 McCombie: "...just give me five more, please, Sir? Please indulge
- 19 me."
- 20 Speaker Harris: "Okay. But this will be the limit."
- 21 McCombie: "Perfect."
- 22 Speaker Harris: "Five minutes."
- 23 McCombie: "Perfect. Thank you so much. Appreciate it."
- 24 Speaker Harris: "Before... let me just say, before you begin, this
- is a reminder to Members on both sides of the aisle about
- Rule 51.5 and the wearing of masks. Rule 51.5, Members on
- both sides, and the wearing of masks. Proceed."
- 28 McCombie: "So, we're talking about youth exploring on the Internet
- about sex education, and saying that's not the most ideal

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place. I want to show in the Bill, on page 11, it states, 'Course material and instruction shall provide information to help students safely use the Internet, including social media, dating, or relationship Web sites or applications, and texting.' So, now we're going to show our youth how to get on dating websites. Stellar. Also, on page 13 of the standards, the guide also encourages the use of technology, recognizing the significant role that technology actually plays. Before I close, I want to read something from a parent, and many of you are parents in this room. I would say, this is a quote, 'I would say, first and foremost, it undermines my ability to be a parent to my child. The government is taking my right as a parent to... taking my right as a parent away to have those conversations with my kids and for my kids to learn that I am there to ask questions. That teacher will not always be there for them, but I will. Concerning my kids, my attention is focused on them, one on one. They are going to have one teacher to administer this difficult and confusing topic for 30 kids at a time. There is no way that one teacher and a cartoon book can replace the attention of a parent.'"

Lilly: "We do not mandate the book. We never intended for the thought process that you're going through. However, it is important to note that the examples that we're putting in the legislation to bring forth understanding. We know that our young people are finding information that is not age appropriate, that is not medically correct within our society norms."

28 McCombie: "I... I'm sorry to cut you off, Representative. I
29 appreciate you."

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Lilly: "I got you." 1 2 McCombie: "I appreciate you. To the Bill. We're here to represent 3 our kids. SB818 is much more than another curriculum mandate. These are our kids. Our kids. These young people that our are 4 5 future. I wish we could stop pretending that we're here to ... 6 to help and support the most vulnerable. To support our 7 children. Let's be honest and... admit that the advocates are pushing for this. We don't need to teach our youth how to 8 9 properly use the Internet to set them up to be victimized by perverts and human traffickers. The goal of sex education is 10 to help young people grow into healthier sexual relationships 11 12 and healthier adults. SB818 is not that. It is not age appropriate. It is sexually charged, and in some cases, it's 13 not medically accurate. And it takes away local control as 14 15 schools will have to follow the national standards. I strong... I strongly urge the Body to represent your districts, support 16 your constituents, honor the innocence and humanity of our 17 18 youth, of our young people. Speaker, if the Bill receives the requisite numbers of votes, I ask for a verification and I 19 strongly beg all of you to vote 'no'." 20 21 Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie has requested a 22 verification. We're going to go now... there are many Members who wish to speak on this topic. We are going to go to the 23 five minute timer. We'll stay on it. There will be no time 24 sharing. Everyone will have five minutes to please state your 25 opinion. Next speaker is Representative Bourne." 26 Bourne: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?" 27 28 Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

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1	Bourne: "Thank you. Representative, I'm going to ask you to be
2	expedient with your answers because I have some questions to
3	get through. Could you tell me who has certified these as
4	national standards? Representative, could you tell me who has
5	certified these as national standards?"
6	Lilly: "As mentioned, there's three groups. The Advocate of Youth,
7	SECAs, and The Answers, and a wide range of independent
8	experts in areas"
9	Bourne: "Are are any of them are any of them governmental
10	agencies?"
11	Lilly: "They're independent experts, as mentioned. And I'd like
12	to complete my answer so you can understand, hopefully, the
13	Bill a little better. So, thank you."
14	Bourne: "Representative, I appreciate that but I have quite a few
15	questions and four minutes left and I got one answer in one
16	minute. So, I'm going to be speedy. Are we aligning these
17	with any specific addition of the national standards, or is
18	it going to be whatever the current addition is?"
19	Lilly: "It's aligning with the national standards that was created
20	by the three national organizations that I mentioned."
21	Bourne: "Yes, but we're on the second edition now. Does it tie it
22	to any specific addition of the national standards?"
23	Lilly: "Yes. As the National Sex Education Standards are updated,
24	the State Board of Education shall update these learning
25	standards."
26	Bourne: "Okay. So, it's not tied to the edition now, it's going
27	to change over time. I have one more question and then I will
28	go to the Bill. Is it your"

Lilly: "The information is updated. On a regular."

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- 1 Bourne: "Yes, they will be updated. I'm... I believe that's true as
- well. Is this in alignment with any agency? Right, did the
- 3 CDC say these are the guidelines? Any..."
- 4 Lilly: "Real quick."
- 5 Bourne: "...any governmental agency that certified these as the
- 6 national standards?"
- 7 Lilly: "ISBE will develop and update the guidelines for the
- 8 state."
- 9 Bourne: "Thank you. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill. We debated a Bill the other day, that I opposed, that took the principal and
- 11 teacher mentoring programs out of what the other side
- 12 characterized as groups, independent groups, and gave them to
- 13 ISBE because they wanted there to be control at the state
- level of what that program would be. We're doing the opposite
- in this, but it's not on teacher or principal mentoring. It's
- on sex education for elementary kids. We're giving that right
- 17 to an independent group at the national level and giving them
- 18 the authority to change these standards at any given moment.
- 19 No input from teachers, no input from parents. Independent
- groups. Not accountable to anyone. Not accountable to anyone.
- In their own standards in edition 2, which is what we were
- on, it says that the standards will address ever evolving learning needs of students, including as it relates to
- emerging topics on sex and sex education. So, when you're
- voting today, you've heard about some of the wildly,
- inappropriate, for that age, topics that will be covered. You
- don't even know what these are going to be in 5, 10 years.
- And guess what? It doesn't matter because it's still going to
- be the standard in our schools. If you are concerned about,

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like you were a couple days ago, delegating responsibilities from groups and giving it to the state so there's more oversight, please be consistent when it comes to teaching these topics to our children. This is a... this is something that a lot of you are going to say, well, your side's just backwards on this, so of course we're going to vote 'yes'. But think about the 10 year old in your life and look at these standards. Or the 10 year old that's one now. What are these standards going to look like when they're 9 years... 9 years older? We are delegating all authority to an unaccountable, national group that could change these standards at any given moment with no check at the state level or at the school level. Please vote 'no'."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Morrison."

15 Morrison: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm going to go straight to the Bill. We hear on this floor, often, words like evidence-16 based and we want to know what the efficacy of certain 17 18 policies are. In 2016, the Obama administration reported on 19 comprehensive sex education programs provided by Planned Parenthood in the Seattle area, and they also took a look at 20 21 the Chicago Public Schools comprehensive sex ed program. And 22 these were the Obama administrations findings. This is from the Health and Human Services Office of Adolescent Health, 23 and what they found was after each of these programs spent ... 24 had spent \$4 million, they found that in the Seattle program, 25 females reported being pregnant at higher rates than females 26 27 receiving the alternative program. And by the way, what they looked at was a curriculum that would abide by the standards 28 29 that we're discussing in this Bill. In the Chicago Public

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- School program, after nine months of study, ninth graders 1 2 were found to be just as likely to not have ... to have sex 3 without a condom... let me read directly here. 'After offering the nine month program, 9 graders in health classes, they 4 5 found that youth were just as likely as youth receiving the 6 standard health curriculum to have sex, and to have sex 7 without a condom.' And so, what we're seeing here, if you want to just go on the evidence, the study, this is a failed 8 9 program. And I ask for a 'no' vote."
- 10 Speaker Harris: "Representative Ann Williams."
- 11 Williams, A.: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 12 Speaker Harris: "She... she indicates she will yield."
- 13 Williams, A.: "So, Representative, there's been a lot of talk
- about some book. Everyone's been raving around this book. Is
- 15 there anything in the law that provides a certain book be
- used for this sex ed programming?"
- 17 Lilly: "No, Representative."
- 18 Williams, A.: "So, is there any particular language in the Bill
- that provides a strict curriculum that needs to be provided
- for any particular school?"
- 21 Lilly: "No, Representative. This is a standards piece of
- 22 legislation."
- 23 Williams, A.: "Okay. So, we're talking about guidance. We're
- 24 talking about guidance, which I'm guessing refers to the
- 25 medically accurate documents and programming that health
- 26 experts have developed, correct?"
- 27 Lilly: "That is correct."
- 28 Williams, A.: "So, kind of on that note, under this legislation,
- will local school districts be able to have the ability to

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set the curriculum and choose the textbooks that they would like to utilize for this program?"

3 Lilly: "That is correct."

4 Williams, A.: "Okay. And to clarify, the opt out is available

just the same as it was before this proposal?"

6 Lilly: "That is correct, Representative."

7 Williams, A.: "Okay. Thank you. To the Bill. Looking at some of 8 the arguments against, it just doesn't make sense to me. We 9 are basing sex education on medically accurate information, evidence-based on what health experts have decided is 10 11 appropriate for children to learn about sex ed. And it's hard 12 to imagine why anyone would think our children should not learn about sex education in school, but rather should refer 13 to the Internet or Google to determine what sex is or what 14 15 their questions are and get them answered there. So, right now, if you Google any of these terms related to sex 16 education, you're going to get a lot more explicit information 17 18 than anything would be provided in a curriculum. So, I think that's important to keep in mind. A few other quick points. 19 A few years ago, you may recall that I worked on a Bill that 20 21 provided for consent to be taught as part of sex education. 22 Again, age appropriate. And that's the theme you'll find throughout any legislation pertaining to sex education. So, 23 what's appropriate for someone in 5th grade is very different 24 for... than someone in 12th grade. So, when we did the consent 25 legislation, I thought it was important to point out the nexus 26 between consent, sex education, and relationships for kids. 27 Kids have relationships when they're in 1st and 2nd grade, 28 29 but the relationships change and evolve quite a bit by the

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time they get to 10th, 11th, and 12th grade. A theme that we need to keep consistent are things like consent and are things like what's medically appropriate. Personal health and safety goes hand in hand with sexual health education. Data shows, and there's extensive evidence, that school based programs have resulted in students gaining improved knowledge and attitudes relating to dating violence better interpersonal violence. Where else are these kids going to get this information? These include things like reducing rape myths, victim blaming, and sexist attitudes when it comes to relationships. Things I would hope we all want for our children, and things they're just not going to learn on their own. Senate Bill 818 is a critical update to the sex ed law that... we've been working for years to improve and hopefully provide more complete, medically accurate information to our kids. Just ask yourself, where else are they going to get this information? Not, hopefully, the Internet. So, I would, again, thank the Sponsor for bringing this critical update to the floor today, and urge an 'aye' vote. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Niemerg."

Niemerg: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I'll go straight to the Bill. Over the last few days, I've had an opportunity to research Senate Bill 818, and the more I looked into it, the more I researched it, quite frankly, the angrier I became because I have a two year old little girl who's getting ready to turn three in June, and I have a six... six year old son who just finished up kindergarten. And they are my world. They are my life. And to think that our schools could be teaching something like this to my daughter or my son is infuriating.

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The National Sex Education Standards that were pointed out in previous debate are going to be used when it comes to formulating this curriculum. And this curriculum will have detrimental impact on our children. Now, when my children grow up and they're looking, 'Hey, what did dad do on the House Floor?' I've got a whole thing here. I've got the book here with... with what happens and this... this book can be used. This... this is a part of the... the curriculum that can be used. I want them to look back and say, 'Wow, dad. We were proud of you. You never lost your cool. You kept things in perspective, and we're proud.' So, I'm not going to quote what's in this book. I'm not going to quote what's in the National Sex Education Standards because I'm above that. My children are above that. You all should be above that. But you want this taught to our children. Our kindergarteners, our fifth graders, our sixth graders. It's atrocious. Folks, think about your kids. Think about their future. Think about whether or not you want to coparent with the government and that should be a part of your life. Let me be clear. I will not coparent with the government. This goes well beyond accessible health and safety standards. Think of your children, folks. Please. I urge a 'no' vote. Thank you."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Bennett."

Bennett: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill, please, if I may.

Friends, I'm a grandpa. More specifically, a Papa, and very

proud of it. I have two full grown children and five

grandchildren. Four months, a little girl, three years, seven

years, and nine years, and they have all have much more energy

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- than I do. However, Senate Bill 818 is not age appropriate.
- I move for a 'no' vote, thank you."
- 3 Speaker Harris: "Representative Ramirez."
- 4 Ramirez: "Hi. Does the speak... does the Sponsor yield?"
- 5 Speaker Harris: "She yields."
- 6 Ramirez: "Representative, is it true that ISBE is neutral on the
- 7 Bill?"
- 8 Lilly: "Yes."
- 9 Ramirez: "Is it true that the Associate of School Boards is also
- 10 neutral on the Bill?"
- 11 Lilly: "That is correct."
- 12 Ramirez: "Is it true that the Principals Association is neutral
- on the Bill?"
- 14 Lilly: "Yes."
- 15 Ramirez: "So, who is the remaining opposition?"
- 16 Lilly: "The Illinois Right of Life Action and the Illinois Family
- 17 Institute and the Pro Life Family Alliance."
- 18 Ramirez: "So, you're telling me that the educators, certainly,
- 19 you just went through some of those here, they are not opposed
- 20 to the Bill?"
- 21 Lilly: "That is correct."
- 22 Ramirez: "To the Bill. Educators don't oppose the Bill. They're
- 23 individuals concerned with the Bill, and it seems to me
- they're concerned with the Bill among some of the things that
- a few folks have said here and there, really the acknowledging
- of identity of all students. And I find that highly
- 27 problematic. It is incredibly important for our children to
- have the ability to get the education they need. And I... I've
- been reading through all the pages and... and the stuff on the

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- legislation, and I see over and over that it is clear that any parent can opt out. Is that correct?"
- 3 Lilly: "That is correct."
- 4 Ramirez: "Colleagues, this is extremely important. We have to
- 5 make sure that our children, regardless of their identity,
- are recognized. This Bill is a good Bill, and I urge an 'aye'
- 7 vote."
- 8 Speaker Harris: "Representative West."
- 9 West: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. I'm very aware of the underlying current that gives many people great pause when it 10 comes to this legislation. It's that word sex. A word that is 11 12 stigmatized. Many of us raised to understand that it should be saved for marriage. I grew up with that rule. Nothing wrong 13 14 with that rule. It's also safe to say that there's people in 15 here, in this chamber, who also grew up with that rule and broke that rule. To each their own. There's also people in 16 this very chamber, if I may be so bold, who was forced, forced 17 18 to break that rule. And the rest of us have heard stories from loved ones, from children who had the personal experience 19 of being forced to break that rule. When that happens, other 20 21 currents, other words are brought to light. Shame. Emptiness. 22 Guilt. Confusion. When this happens, one is instantly stripped from their unalienable rights of life, liberty, and 23 the pursuit of happiness. And it takes resources, it takes 24 support to reclaim those rights. And if they don't have those 25 resources to combat shame, emptiness, guilt, confusion, then 26 27 it's a downward spiral. And before we know it, that person has lost... has the lifestyle that blocks them from any of their 28 29 dreams. We view television shows on TLC like Hoarders, My 600

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Pound Life, just for example, where they often recall their childhood experience with shame, emptiness, quilt, confusion from their dealings with that word, sex. This legislation's primary focus is not about the birds and the bees. It's about equipping our children with age appropriate conversations on how they can be empowered within themselves. These standards are not being mandated by us. It's being constructed by those that we can trust. It says right in the legislation, on page 14, 'The State Board of Education in consultation with youth, sexual health and violence prevention experts, parents, and care providers, advocates, practitioners, including, but not limited to, administrators, regional superintendents of schools, teachers, and school support personnel, shall develop and adopt rigorous learning standards in the area of comprehensive personal health and safety education for peoples in kindergarten through the 5th grade and comprehensive sex and health in education for peoples in the 6th through the 12th grade, including, but not limited to, all of the National Sex Education Standards, including information on consent and healthy relationships, anatomy and physiology, puberty and adolescent sexual development, gender identity and expression, orientation and identity, sexual health and interpersonal violence, as authored by the Future of Sex Education Initiative. As the National Sex Education Standards are updated, the State Board of Education shall update these standards as well.' No matter how some of these words I just mentioned may make some of us feel, there are many young people dealing with those feelings within. And they need to

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know that they are supported with age appropriate resources and knowledge that can release them from their shame, fill their emptiness, and take away their guilt, and provide power to combat their confusion. I urge an 'aye' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Cassidy."

Cassidy: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. To one of the previous speakers who talked about whether or not a teacher could handle complex subjects in a classroom of 30 kids, I couldn't agree more. Geometry, algebra, some of the more complex classics, require a lot of attention to detail. And many of us on this side of the aisle have worked really hard to ensure that they have adequate funding to have smaller class sizes. This is not a question of whether or not this should be taught in schools. For far too long, LGBTQ youth were either invisible or expressly stigmatized, and I remember that. It burned into my soul. I remember that, in sexual health education. Senate Bill 818 is a long overdue update so that all students in Illinois have access to the information and skills they need to make informed decisions that keep them safe and healthy. LGBTQ inclusive sex education is related to lower reports of adverse mental health, suicidal thoughts and suicidal plan... suicidal plans among all youth. And if... and experiences of bullying among sexual minority youth. In fact, according to the 2019 Youth Risk Behavior Study conducted by the CDC annually, youth who identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual experienced bullying at almost double the rate of heterosexual youth. And as a kid who didn't understand why I didn't fit in, who couldn't define why I felt different, and whose parents were not an option to go

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to, I wish I had had a teacher I could turn to. I wish I had 1 2 had a curriculum that didn't call me unnatural. Vote 'yes'." 3 Speaker Harris: "Representative Crespo." Crespo: "Thank you... thank you, Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?" 4 Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield." 5 6 "Representative, how... how many other states out there 7 actually use the National Sex Education Standards to rely on their curriculum?" 8 9 Lilly: "I'm not sure." "Okay. I believe that there are two. Washington and 10 11 Colorado. Do you know what standards they are using? Are they 12 using the new standards?" Lilly: "Again, I'm not sure." 13 Crespo: "So... so they're using the... the old standards, 2012. So, 14 15 there's a body of work out there that we can look at and... and get a sense of those standards, what type of product they 16 will produce. The new standards were adopted, if I'm correct, 17 18 in March of 2020. A little bit over a year ago. No other state has used those standards to put together their curriculum. 19 And... so, just for the record, it's only 2 states, they're 20 21 using the 2012 standards, not the 2020 standards. No other... 22 no other state is using the new standards. Now, to the Bill. And I voted for this in committee with the understanding that 23 I would do some more research. I want to thank the advocates 24 that got me some information and they took the time to talk 25 to me. And one of the questions that I asked, based on a 26 27 statement that they made, was that there was no evidence out there that this would increase sexual activity. I'm not taking 28

an issue with or it doesn't, but they haven't been able to

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give me any evidence that it does not. Now, I struggled with this. And I can only speak as a parent who raised 2 daughters with my wife. When I was growing up as a kid back in like 1898, things were different. When my girls were growing up, and they're 32 and 34, things were different then. And things are different today. And I do honestly believe that we need to teach sex ed in the schools. And I honestly believe that we need to take into account the things that we know today that we didn't know in the past. But here's what I struggle with. And... and folks have been talking about this book. I haven't seen this book yet. I think I'm actually afraid of seeing this book now. But one thing is certain, they're saying this is bad, and what I've heard on this side are folks saying, oh, we don't have to use said book. Implying that maybe it's not a good book. But it bothers me that these standards can actually come up with that kind of product. That bothers me a bit. The thing... Representative, that bothers me the most is that I know it's permissive, but we're telling schools that if you don't use these standards, you cannot teach sex ed. That concerns me a bit because I think we do need sex ed in our schools. I also believe that we need to take into account things that we know today. As of right now, I still don't know what I'm going to do. All this... I'll continue listening to the debate. But again, I'm very concerned that if school districts look at the new curriculum that we don't know what it's going to look like, and they say this is a bit too far, we can't do that, that we'll end up with no sex ed at all. Thank you for your work. I want to thank the advocates again for taking their time and meeting

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with me, and I'll continue to listening to the debate. Thank you, Speaker."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Evans."

4 "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. This Bill is about keeping our young people safe and healthy by giving them the 5 6 information to make good decisions and protect themselves. 7 We've already addressed that it's age appropriate. This means that the information that's given when students are able to 8 9 understand them. We've already addressed that. This is because this Bill is about arming our students with the 10 information and skills from trusted sources to make healthy 11 12 and informed decisions. Now, this is the key right here. If we don't provide this information to our students... and let's 13 be crystal clear, many of our... my friends on the other side 14 15 of the aisle would like to live in a world that they would like to live in, and I would too. I would like to live in a 16 world where we can talk about storks and dropping the baby 17 18 off and sunny days and wonderful things. I would like to live 19 in that world. I'm a father now and I would like to tell my son all of the stories and lies in which my grandmother told 20 me about where kids come from. I would like to live in that 21 22 world. And some of you all would like to live in a world that I wouldn't like to live in. But I'll tell you they will find 23 the information whether it's accurate or not. We live in a 24 technology society. We can't vote for data centers and 25 Internet and Amazon, but want to live in the past. It's not 26 our option to decide. This Bill does not an all or nothing 27 approach. We're going to arm our teachers and we're going to 28 29 listen to them. This Bill gives teachers the opportunity to

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- build on those lessons with clear quidance from the standards 1 2 to make sure that they're inclusive to all students in 3 Illinois and cover the full range of topics we know our students need to learn to stay safe and healthy. Ladies and 4 Gentlemen, I wish... it took my grandfather a while to stop 5 6 using his eight tracks, but he moved on to CDs, and now he's 7 on to streaming. It's the reality of life, we must move forward. My son is three years old and he's going to be on 8 9 the Internet. I want him to be prepared and informed. It's the reality of life we in. Stand strong, Representative Lilly. 10 11 I ask you to support this legislation."
- i don you to support this registration.
- 12 Speaker Harris: "Representative Willis."
- 13 Willis: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 14 Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 15 Willis: "Representative, thank you so much. You and I had similar Bills that we worked on that went hand in hand, and by the 16 request of many Members of this Body and the committee, we 17 18 decided to blend the two Bills together and this is the result of that. I think the most important thing to point out to 19 this is that this made it a... a non-mandate. And what it did 20 21 was it put some clear standards in there for those schools 22 that are going to teach sex ed, to make sure that they do it appropriately. So, I'm going to go over some key points with 23 24 that just to help stress to the Body and, hopefully, you can clarify this along with me. Does this Bill create standards 25 to teach students about personal health and safety in an age 26 27 appropriate manner on topics that are... on similar topics like 28 that from kindergarten to fifth grade?"
- 29 Lilly: "Yes."

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Willis: "In younger grades, like K through 2, is the focus more 1 2 on personal safety and what it means to be a good friend and 3 having to talk to adults or parents about something that makes you feel uncomfortable or unsafe?" 4 Lilly: "Yes, Representative." 5 6 Willis: "In grades 3 through 5, does the instruction mostly look 7 at covering healthy relationships and safety, but it also delves into what a children would be experiencing as their 8 physical, socially, emotional bodies change, specifically, 9 going into puberty?" 10 Lilly: "Yes." 11 12 Willis: "And then as we go older, in 6th through 12th grade, will students continue to focus on those lessons, but also 13 incorporate topics related to sexual health that are age 14 15 appropriate, stress again, age appropriate, like healthy relationships, digital media safety, and the prevention of 16 STIs and unintended pregnancies?" 17 18 Lilly: "That is correct, yes." 19 Willis: "Do the standards still discuss and promote abstinence?" Lilly: "Yes. Young people have all the appropriate age information 20 21 to make sure they can make the best decision possible, 22 including abstinence." "Is it true that decades of research has proven 23 Willis: 24 comprehensive personal health and safety and sexual health education to be effective?" 25 Lilly: "Yes. As I mentioned before, 30 years of research have 26 shown that this education can highly effective in supporting 27 positive health outcomes in youth, such as substance abuse 28 29 prevention, delaying in initiating sex, increasing use of

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1	contraceptives and condoms, decreased rate in bullying,
2	increase quality of mental health, decreased gender-based
3	harassment, and decreased interpersonal and dating violence."
4	Willis: "Thank you. Is it true that sex education can help prevent
5	child sex abuse, create safer school spaces for LGBTQ youth,
6	and increase healthy relationships, reduce relationship
7	violence, improve social, emotional learning, and increase
8	media literacy?"
9	Lilly: "That is correct, yes."
10	Willis: "Is it also true that the National Sex Education Standards
11	were developed by a wide wide range of independent experts
12	throughout the fields?"
13	Lilly: "Yes."
14	Willis: "Is it also true that these standards are to prove
15	guidance on the minimum of information needed for age
15 16	guidance on the minimum of information needed for age appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?"
16	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?"
16 17	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative."
16 17 18	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local
16 17 18 19	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?"
16 17 18 19 20	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local
16 17 18 19 20 21	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local control to determine which curricula to use, who will teach
16 17 18 19 20 21	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local control to determine which curricula to use, who will teach the classes, and how to implement a written opt out, and
16 17 18 19 20 21 22	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local control to determine which curricula to use, who will teach the classes, and how to implement a written opt out, and materials for the community to review and process. Each school
16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local control to determine which curricula to use, who will teach the classes, and how to implement a written opt out, and materials for the community to review and process. Each school will vary in its in its implementation. It depends on the
16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	appropriate sex education in grades K through 12?" Lilly: "Yes, Representative." Willis: "Thank you. Finally, does this Bill take away local control from our school districts?" Lilly: "Representative, it does not. School districts have local control to determine which curricula to use, who will teach the classes, and how to implement a written opt out, and materials for the community to review and process. Each school will vary in its in its implementation. It depends on the district. Some may present the information at the beginning

cannot stress enough how many people have worked together on

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this. It is not a mandate. And to some of my colleagues on 1 2 the other side of the aisle that say that it should be a 3 parent's job, I agree, it should. But in a perfect world, that would be the way we'd go. We are not living in a perfect 4 5 world. Every child does not have a parent that is willing to 6 take the time or has the ability to have those hard 7 discussions. And we do see youth that are getting 8 misinformation. We need to make sure that we have it be the 9 correct and age appropriate information..."

- 10 Speaker Harris: "Representative, could you bring your remarks to a close?"
- 12 Willis: "...so that they can continue on. I will. And I strongly,
 13 strongly urge everybody in this room to look at this as being
 14 comprehensive education for healthy and safe relationships
 15 for all of our children. I strongly urge an 'aye' vote. Thank
 16 you."
- 17 Speaker Harris: "Representative Lilly to close."
- 18 Lilly: "Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for this robust debate. 19 Again, SB818 is about standards. It does not remove local control. It does not require a particular curriculum lesson 20 21 or classrooms. It's about creating standards that all school 22 districts can align with. It's about young people being able to get the information to keep them safe and to keep them 23 24 healthy. It's about age appropriate and medically correct information that allow them to use their own skill through 25 education to make sure their lives are whole and safe. Decades 26 27 of research and information has proven that positive outcomes 28 come from education of the students. We currently have 29 education in our schools. It will continuously have

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1	educations in the schools. We are expanding it to make sure
2	that there's national standards that that all the curriculum
3	would align with. I do appreciate, again, the debate. And I
4	ask for an 'aye' vote."
5	Speaker Harris: "Members, Representative McCombie has requested
6	a verification. All Members will be in their chairs and vote
7	their own switches. The question is, 'Shall Senate Bill 818
8	pass?' All in favor vote 'aye'; all opposed vote 'no'. The
9	voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who
10	wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, take the record.
11	With a vote of 60 voting 'yes', 48 voting 'no', 0 voting
12	present Mr. Clerk, please read the names of those voting in
13	the affirmative."
14	Clerk Hollman: "A poll of those voting in the affirmative.
15	Representative Ammons; Representative Andrade;
16	Representative Avelar; Representative Buckner;
17	Representative Cassidy; Representative Collins;
18	Representative Conroy; Representative Costa Howard;
19	Representative Croke; Representative Davis; Representative
20	Didech; Representative Evans; Representative Ford;
21	Representative Gabel; Representative Gong-Gershowitz;
22	Representative Gonzalez; Representative Gordon-Booth;
23	Representative Greenwood; Representative Guerrero-Cuellar;
24	Representative Guzzardi; Representative Halpin;
25	Representative Harper; Representative Harris; Representative
26	Barbara Hernandez; Representative Lisa Hernandez;
27	Representative Hirschauer; Representative Hoffman;
28	Representative Jones; Representative Kifowit; Representative
29	LaPointe; Representative Lilly; Representative Mah;

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1	Representative Manley; Representative Mason; Representative
2	Mayfield; Representative Meyers-Martin; Representative
3	Moeller; Representative Morgan; Representative Mussman;
4	Representative Ness; Representative Ortiz; Representative
5	Ramirez; Representative Robinson; Representative Slaughter;
6	Representative Smith; Representative Stava-Murray;
7	Representative Stoneback; Representative Stuart;
8	Representative Tarver; Representative Vella; Representative
9	Walker; Representative Walsh; Representative West;
10	Representative Ann Williams; Representative Jawaharial
11	Williams; Representative Willis; Representative Yang Rohr;
12	Representative Yingling; Representative Zalewski; and Mr.
13	Speaker."
14	Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie."
15	McCombie: "Hoffman? Oh, there he is. Okay. We're okay."
16	Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie withdraws her
17	verification. On this question, there are 60 voting 'yes', 40
18	voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'. And this Bill, having
19	received a Constitutional Majority, is hereby declared
20	passed. Ladies and Gentlemen, we are going to Supplemental
21	Calendar #2. On the Order of Concurrences, we have House Bill
22	2777, Representative Hernandez."
23	Hernandez, L.: "Thank you, Speaker. So, I'd like to concur with
24	Amendment #1 Senate Amendment #1 on House Bill 2777."
25	Speaker Harris: "Representative Welter, for what reason do you
26	seek recognition?"
27	Welter: "Mr. Speaker, the Republicans request an immediate caucus
28	in Room 114."
29	Speaker Harris: "How long will you be, Mr. Welter?"

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Welter: "We'll get back to you on that." 1 Speaker Harris: "We... Mr. Welter, we plan to resume in a... one hour. 2 3 Can you do your caucus in that time?" 4 Welter: "We'll get back to you on that. We'll try. Thank you." Speaker Harris: "Ladies and Gentlemen, the House shall recess for 5 6 one hour. We will reconvene at 5:56. I'm sorry, 6:56. 6:56. 7 Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. The Illinois House of Representative will please come back to order. We are on the 8 9 Order a... Supplemental Calendar #2, the Order of Concurrences, on House Bill 2777. Mr. Clerk. Representative Hernandez." 10 11 Hernandez, L.: "Yes. Thank you, Speaker. A Motion to Concur with 12 Senate Amendment #1 to House Bill 2777. So, we have had... this is the redistricting Bill. We have had a lengthy discussion 13 already on... on the content. But let me just... I want to make 14 15 a... some points before we go on. The legislation creates State House and State Senate Districts for the next ten years. As 16 you know, the Legislature has a constitutional obligation to 17 18 redraw Legislative Districts to substantially population every ten years. We all know the circumstances 19 that have complicated this process. COVID-19 has affected 20 every aspect of our lives and the federal census is no 21 22 exception. On February 12, 2021, the United States Census Bureau announced it would not release the 2020 Census Public 23 24 Law 94-171 population data to the states, including Illinois, until approximately September 30 of 2021. The Bill meets our 25 Constitution obligation to produce compact, contiguous 26 districts of substantially equal population and unprecedented 27 circumstances. It was produced with an unprecedented level of 28 29 public access. We have held a total of fifty hearings over

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every corner of Illinois. Virtual hearings offered everyone the opportunity to participate from the comfort of their own homes. For hearings that were held in person, a hybrid option was offered where available, or a subsequent virtual hearing was held to cover the same region. Our staff reached out to more than two thousand community groups, local leaders, and stake holders in advance of these hearings. And those who attended submitted written testimony or used our public drawing portal which provided valuable insight. Every form of public submission was analyzed by staff. As in any legislative process, we are required to balance diverse interest. Not everyone can get all they want. But all input is productive. On May 21, Democrats released full maps of proposed House and Senate Districts. We solicited further input on these plans. Through a series of additional hearings, as... as a result of this feedback, we have made a number of additional adjustments to this final version. Two of them happen to be the... the plan ... this plan would accommodate some of the requests from the Orthodox Jewish community while maintaining the integrity of surrounding districts and other requests. This plan also preserves parts of the North Lawndale that maintains the current configuration in the 9th District. Over the past decade, the Cook County lost population from the suburbs, mainly to the south and the west. The population in the City of Chicago remains steady with some significant shifts population increase in the city center and to the north. While population in the south and west sides decline. As a result, Chicago and suburban Cook keep the same number of districts, but district lines have been altered to adjust the changes in

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population. Many of our suburban area saw population gains and the reconfigurations in this plan reflect this with a course of districts remaining largely intact. Many of these districts will look substantially similar to their current configurations, with some adjustments for population. Downstate counties have seen significant population losses and that must be reflected here as well. Some districts have required significant reconfiguration to produce compact districts in areas with large population changes. All of this and more is outlined in the Bill. We have filed offerings ... offering a detailed description and data regarding each district. This, too, was a frequent... frequent request of witnesses of our hearing... at our hearings, which was... which we did fulfill. I have no doubt there will be differences of opinion on this map as we have ... have seen already. Different groups have offered different priorities and those had to be balanced. I do believe this map before us accomplishes the shared goal of Democrats to produce a map that reflects our state. I ask for your 'aye' vote." Speaker Harris: "Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chair is well aware

Speaker Harris: "Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chair is well aware
that this is a very important issue. We're going to have... any
Member who wants to speak will have an opportunity to speak.
We will keep a five-minute timer. I ask you to be as
respectful of that as you possibly can, please. We will not
have time sharing. Representative Batinick is recognized for
five minutes."

- 27 Batinick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 28 Speaker Harris: "She indicates she'll yield."

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1	Batinick: "Representative, I think we've all been educated about
2	what ACS data kind of is, but I want to delve into that a
3	little bit more, specifically, towards my particular
4	district. My understanding is that there is some sort average
5	of data between 2015 and 2019 that's used for population
6	counts, correct?"
7	Hernandez, L.: "That's correct. Yes."
8	Batinick: "Okay. I think you may have been aware, hopefully, if
9	you were doing the work on this, that my district, the 97th
10	District, was the largest district, had a lot of growth the
11	last decade."
12	Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
13	Batinick: "Okay. Well, the issue that I have with this, and why
14	we want to wait for the census data, is a lot of that growth
15	has occurred in just the last couple of years. And I mean,
16	you're throwing data into the mix that's actually six years
17	old. My my district is likely to be overweight based on that,
18	the day this Bill passes and becomes law. Is that a concern
19	of yours at all?"
20	Hernandez, L.: "Well, let me remind you that the report back from
21	the apportionment, the census, you know, we're only .3 of a
22	difference from last time."
23	Batinick: "Okay. So, you're .3 of a difference for the state.
24	It's like when you when you do a poll for a big area and you
25	try to break it down into a 118 little bits. My district I'm
26	going to go to the Bill. Look, guys, this is 6 year old data.
27	My district is booming. It's booming. The 97th is a great
28	place, you should come visit. I'll take you to Station One
29	Smokehouse, we'll have a great time. You can see what good

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leadership does to a community. And we are... there is literally thousands of homes that have been built in this district in just the last couple of years that aren't going to be fully reflected in this data. The people of the 97th District deserve... deserve full representation. And while the state can be off .3, I will not be surprised if when the census comes out... and this is on the record, when the census data comes out, that my district is going to be substantially heavy. And that's why we should wait for the census data. Look, besides the census data, we've all advocated for a fair mapping... for a fair mapping system. We need to wait for the census data. We need a fair mapping system. There's a lot of people on the other side of the aisle that made many speeches and talks about, we are going to use... they support a fair mapping system. And because of those promises of 30-plus Members on your side of the aisle, I'm going to call for a verification on this vote. Not before the vote, but after the vote, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have a verification on this... on this legislation. Thank you very much. I urge a 'no' vote."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Batinick has requested a verification. Representative Hoffman."

Hoffman: "Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I would just like to thank the Sponsor of the legislation for her hard work. I'd also like to thank her for her patience throughout this difficult day as we go through this process. So, I've listened all day from the other side of the aisle and the arguments that you have made, not only here, but also in the Redistricting Committees. And you talk about fair maps, you

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talk about ACS data, you talk about various talking points, official census numbers, but really... really this is all about the Illinois Constitution. You can talk about fair maps all you want. When we take an oath of office, the day we get sworn in to uphold the Constitution of Illinois. Now, what does that say? What does the Constitution of Illinois say about the General Assembly's obligation concerning redistricting? It's contained in Article 4, Section 3 of our Illinois Constitution. It's very clear. In the year following each federal Decennial Census year, the General Assembly... not a committee, not some outside group, the General Assembly by law shall redistrict. Shall redistrict. The General Assembly. It's our obligation. It's our Constitution that we swore to uphold and live by when we took our oath of office. So, what happens if we don't pass a Bill through the House and the Senate and make it into law by June 30? It's happened twice since I've been here in the Illinois General Assembly. Then what happens is there's four Republicans and four Democrats and they get put on a commission to try and draw a map. It's never been successful. That process has never successful. So, what happens under our Illinois Constitution when they don't draw a map, like they didn't in 1991 and they didn't in 2001? It goes two names. One Republican, one Democrat gets put into a hat, and the Secretary of State pulls the name out of the hat and that's the deciding vote. That's a heck of way to make fair maps. Brilliant. Brilliant. And all you've done this entire process is attempt to stall behind, 'fair map proposals'. That's not our Constitution. We may all agree. We may all agree that we want a fair map

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commission to help draw. The problem is... can I read you the Constitution again? It's our obligation under Section 3, Article 4 of the Constitution. The General Assembly's. So, we've tried to do this. We've attempted to do this. But what you want to do is you like to hide behind these talking points, not draw a map. This shouldn't be a game of chance. It shouldn't be a 50-50 chance that we're going to draw a map by Republicans or Democrats. What you really want, and you might as well just be honest about it, is you want to stall it out and you want to whim ... win the map making lottery. You want to have a Republicans name drawn out of that map. So, you push it off, you'll stall, but where's your map? Where's your proposal? You don't have one. You never made one up. You never put together a map. You spent \$500 thousand. You spent \$500 thousand on your map making procedure, but haven't produced a map. We went to over 50 hearings, there's no map from you. Nothing. Zero. Zilch. Zippo. You didn't draw a map. You spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on attorneys, yet you haven't produced a map that we can discuss on the floor of this House that is an obligation of yours under Article 3... Article 4, Section 3 of the Illinois Constitution. I have a 4-year-old grandson. He colors with Crayons. He's drawn a better map than you guys have because you don't have a map. You didn't even put one together. You spent \$1500 on a locksmith. I guess, because somebody got locked out of the map room. Couldn't ... couldn't make a map. Now, Nick Smith, we didn't give him a key to our map room. Now, he couldn't get in. But who had your key? Not many people because you decided not to make a map. Now maybe, maybe, you could've used the

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1	money and could've paid for an independent committee that you
2	talked so much about and you could've come up with a map, but
3	you chose not to do that. Even and we all know what this is
4	about. Even a Leader, a Leader of your party, posted on his
5	website that he supported a 'fair map' because it would elect
6	more Republicans. We know what this is about, so let's not
7	hide behind talking points. Let's not hide behind issues
8	concerning saying we want fair maps. Let's talk about what it
9	really is. What it really is, is you wanting to take back
10	control of the Illinois House of Representatives and the
11	Illinois Senate"
12	Speaker Harris: "Rep Representative, could you bring your remarks
13	to a close?"
14	Hoffman: "and do things like this. Do things like this. Because
15	none of you voted for it. Reduce the minimum wage from \$15.
16	You don't want to be for a there at least 8 of you who are
17	for a Constitutional Amendment that banned right to work in
18	Illinois. I applaud you for that, for those 8. But you want
19	to really move us back to the Rauner tyranny days where we
20	decimated work place safety. He tried to remove family leave.
21	He tried to take away health care benefits for workers. We
22	${ t don'}{ t t}$ want to go back there. We're not going to go back there.
23	So, we have lived up to our constitutional requirement and
24	obligation and we have drawn a map that we're going to pass
25	tonight."
26	Speaker Harris: "Representative Marron."
27	Marron: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. I'm happy that
28	Leader Hoffman brought up talk about fair maps because,

amazingly enough, Republicans aren't the only people in this

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chamber that have talked about fair maps. There are a lot of my friends and colleagues across the aisle that I am very proud of for taking a strong stand, making strong statements on fair maps, and it gets the kind of process that we are seeing play out tonight. And I assume at the end of the night, the vote totals will reflect those strong statements that we heard from those of you across the aisle. This statement, I'll quote, was from the Chicago Daily Harold on February 14, 2018. 'I support independent maps. Partisan politicians should not be responsible for redistricting, where they can tip the scales to keep entrenched party in power. Voters should be empowered to choose their elected officials not the other way around. This is a problem not only in Illinois, but throughout the country. Not only do I support a Constitutional Amendment that would create an independent redistricting commission in Illinois, but I support amending the U.S. Constitution to end partisan gerrymandering across the country, like we have, to take power away from the career politicians and put it back in the hands of the voters where it belongs.' I would like to thank my friend and colleague, Representative Daniel Didech, for making such a strong statement in support of fair maps."

Speaker Harris: "Representative Moeller."

Moeller: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I also want to thank our Redistricting Committee for their efforts to draw a fair map here in Illinois. But I also want to talk about what's at stake. I want to remind the Members of this Body about a couple of votes that we took in the past few years. I want to talk about House Bill 40. House Bill 40 passed in 2017. It

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repealed a trigger provision in Illinois law that would've criminalized abortion care if and when Roe v. Wade is overturned. Not one Republican in this chamber voted for it. The Reproductive Health Act, we passed that in 2019 to ensure that everyone has a fundamental right to use or refuse reproductive health care, including contraception abortion. Not one Republican in this chamber voted for it. Not one Republican in this chamber voted to ensure that women in Illinois would have access to abortion care in the event that Roe v. Wade is overturned. At the time when we passed these Bills, passage was important. But now, the stakes are even dire because of a Supreme Court that has swung far to the right. Former reliable supporters of reproductive health care have been replaced with Justices who are less inclined to uphold Roe. This fall, the Supreme Court will take up a case from Mississippi that would ban abortions after fifteen weeks, which many are saying will have a significant implication on the interpretation of Roe. Right now, in six states, abortion will be illegal, even in the cases of rape and incest, if Roe is overturned. Nine other states have introduced Bills to make abortion illegal when Roe is overturned. The vast majority of these states are controlled by Republicans. And in Illinois this year, in my own committee, we saw several Bills introduced by Republicans to make it incredibly difficult or to outright ban abortion care. Study after study has shown that when we deny access to reproductive health care and abortion, we put the health care and lives of women in jeopardy. This is what's at stake. The progress we have made for women and all people of Illinois

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would be in jeopardy if Republicans are successful in their 1 2 political strategy to draw a map slowly reflective of their 3 agenda. Despite hiding behind their talking points, I want to echo what Leader Hoffman just said. This is not about census 4 data. This is about pushing us past our constitutional 5 6 deadline of June 30 to force drawing a name out of a hat so 7 that a single partisan appointee can draw the map for our entire state. Vote 'yes'." 8

Speaker Harris: "Representative McCombie."

McCombie: "I'm not sure what that had to do with anything, but 10 11 just for the record, I am completely pro-life and will always 12 support our children and all babies. But, back to some other ... certainly not a talking point, I have much respect as well 13 for a many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. 14 15 I also have a quote from one our Members. 'I support a fair map approach. Members of the Illinois General Assembly should 16 not be drawing the Legislative Districts.' As quoted in the 17 18 Chicago Sun-Times, 9/25/2020, by Anthony DeLuca. I would like 19 to thank my colleague and fellow mayor for... not supporting this measure today. Thank you." 20

Speaker Harris: "Representative Zalewski."

22 Zalewski: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. First, to the 23 Sponsor. Representative Hernandez, I am so very proud of you. Throughout this process, you've handled yourself with grace 24 and poise and endured quite a bit, quite frankly, some of 25 which you didn't deserve. So, this caucus owes you a debt of 26 27 gratitude, and I hope after this everyone realizes the service you provided and we thank you very much. Only in this universe 28 29 would we be criticized for taking into consideration

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criticisms of a map, changing the map, and then be told that was the wrong thing to do. What you've heard from colleagues on my side of the aisle just now, is a vision of what we've accomplished over the last 10 years while having to overcome opposition driven by, and supported, and orchestrated by those who don't want working families in this state to succeed. We've chosen to lift up the middle class. We did it in the beginning of the last map when we fought against the fiscal crisis brought onto the great recession. We chose to fight a Republican administration in the last map that did everything it could to cripple this state into an economic collapse to bust unions. We pushed property tax relief and it was criticized as not enough. We tried your freezes, 14 times to be exact, and we didn't get one vote. During the last part of this map, in 2019, we had an historic General Assembly, and it would've been even better if the opposition hadn't joined with the richest 1 percent and helped us pass a fair tax structure. No matter what happens, no matter who draws the map, this is what we stand for. We are working to uphold our promises to the pipefitter, the grocery worker, the nurse. We had their backs then, we'll have our... their backs now, and we'll always have our... their backs. We have a duty to support the map that reflects how great this state can truly be. For the last 10 years, we've done everything we can to lift everyone up and we'll do it for 10 more. I urge an 'aye' vote."

- 27 Speaker Harris: "Representative Welter."
- 28 Welter: "Mr. Speaker, to the Bill. February 10, 2016, former
- 29 President Barack Obama, from that podium up there, told us of

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a better politics, a better way to do government. He talked about reforming how we draw our Legislative Districts. And I know some of you weren't here then, but many of you were. I quess you were not inspired enough about him to take action on that issue. There's a better way to do politics, and I agree with President Barack Obama on that. Politicians should not be drawing their own maps. You should not be picking your own voters. We should not be drawing maps without the most accurate data. This data is coming but you are not willing to wait. You want to rush this sham process. Another one of our Representatives, who made some pretty strong comments, and I applaud her, and I hope that she will keep her word here today, Janet Yang Rohr. Sun-Times, they ask the question, 'Everybody says gerrymandering is bad, but the party in power in every state. Democrats in Illinois resist doing anything about it. Or do we have that wrong? What should be done?' Her comment, 'The Democrat Party may be in the majority now in Illinois, but this might not always be the case. I support a process that provides equal representation to both Illinois major parties in redistricting decisions, ensuring that everyone must work together and make sensible compromise while upholding the Voting Rights Act.' The Chicago Sun-Times. At a candidate's forum, both candidates in that race said they support a fair process of drawing legislative maps in efforts to upgrade the state's cyber security and information technology infrastructure to protect voting and Illinois residents' personal information. In politics, your words mean everything. I sure hope you keep your promise to your voters."

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Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Hoffman in the 1 Chair. 2 Representative Cassidy."

Cassidv: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I want to echo the thanks that I've heard to the staff and the Members of the Redistricting Committee on both sides of the aisle and in both chambers. It was an extraordinary undertaking to try to get that many hearings scheduled and executed under the circumstances that we've had to operate under. So, I thank everyone who was involved with that for ... for putting in that ... that unbelievable effort. We've heard from some of the folks on the other side of the aisle about Member on this side of the aisle that have advocated for fair maps, and I have been probably one of the loudest and longest voices in that regard. I've also acknowledged throughout that unilateral disarmament is not 15 the right path. And I have had some friends on that side of the aisle agree with me as well, working on efforts to actually find ways to address that question of unilateral disarmament, going so far as to suggest that we partner with other states that are... with a red state and go into interstate compacts to show our good faith, to show that this not a hollow political statement. Let's not pretend that the folks on the other side of the aisle, if the roles were reversed, would be doing anything differently right now. They're not volunteering to unilaterally disarm. They're trying to run the clock and gamble on a random drawing. We are here now 25 with rules that we didn't get to change, and I'm sorry we 26 didn't get to change them. I wish we had. But we're here, 27 it's now, under these rules. All of us have options, including 29 the Minority Party, who is exercising their options to try to

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- slow this process down and get to their magical lottery. The 1 2 voters of the state elected the majority. Elections aren't 3 random drawings. I urge an 'aye' vote." "Leader Spain on House Bill 2777. Please 4 Speaker Hoffman: 5 proceed." 6 Spain: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. First, could you please excuse 7 Representative Severin for the remainder of the evening?" Speaker Hoffman: "Clerk, please excuse Representative Severin. 8 9 Please proceed." "Next, will the Sponsor yield?" 10 11 Speaker Hoffman: "Indicates she will." Spain: "Leader Hernandez, thank you for your work. I think you've 12 had a very tough assignment. And although I have great 13 14 disappointment with the way that we've preceded, I do offer 15 you my compliments because I think you've been giving a very difficult job to do. A couple questions for you though. The 16 Leader, who's now in the Speaker's Chair, from St. Clair, 17 18 made a couple of statements that I'd like to make sure I understood correctly. There was a statement that the 19 Constitutional Commission, that is spelled out in our State 20
- 23 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."

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24 Spain: "What about 1971? Did we go to a drawing of a hat in 1971?"

flip or a draw out of the hat. Is that correct?"

Constitution, has never yielded an outcome other than a coin

- 25 Hernandez, L.: "We did pass a map but it was struck down."
- 26 Spain: "And who is the 'we'?"
- 27 Hernandez, L.: "The commission."
- 28 Spain: "The commission. There was an agreement with the
- 29 commission, correct?"

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Hernandez, L.: "Yes." 1 2 Spain: "Okay. And the map was later corrected after a court 3 ruling. A question for you about the composition of districts. We discussed earlier in committee today, and I want to make 4 5 sure... this map has changed several times. I don't know if 6 it's changed since we saw it this morning. But you stated 7 that there would be, under this proposed legislative map in the House, 15 majority African American districts and 14 8 9 majority Latino districts. Is that correct?" Hernandez, L.: "Yes, it is." 10 Spain: "And what was the metric that you used to determine whether 11 12 these districts would be an effective majority/minority district under the Federal Voting Rights Act?" 13 Hernandez, L.: "So, these... these districts are... it simply 14 15 referenced to the population, these particular districts, the 15." 16 Spain: "So, as you know, under the Voting Rights Act, just a 17 18 population count is not a sufficient metric. Did... did you perform or did staff, I suppose, perform a racial block voting 19 analysis to determine whether these districts would vote 20 cohesively?" 21 22 Hernandez, L.: "No." Spain: "Okay. Thank you. Earlier in our discussions, you were 23 24 asked several times if this proposed map was drawn to create a political, partisan advantage. I'll ask that same question 25 one more time. Was this map drawn to create a political, 26 27 partisan advantage?"

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some areas."

Hernandez, L.: "I will have to answer the same. It is a factor in

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Spain: "And is there a good way to understand in which areas it 1 2 is a factor?" 3 Hernandez, L.: "It's throughout the map. There's just some areas 4 that it affects." Spain: "One of the things that you said in the earlier discussion 5 6 was that we should be referred back to the Resolution that 7 was adopted earlier this afternoon. And so, I took some time to go back and look through that Resolution. Having just 8 9 received it this morning, I haven't read all of it, but I will. And I was surprised to see that there are several very 10 11 explicit references to creating partisan advantage in this 12 map. One that I will refer to is the 98th District, where it states in the Resolution that additional areas were added to 13 this district to enhance the partisan composition of the 14 15 district. I don't know every district, exactly. What is the partisan composition of this district and how was it 16 enhanced?" 17 18 Hernandez, L.: "I would have to say that the Resolution will speak 19 for itself. It explains it there." Spain: "Is this district represented by Democrat or a Republican?" 20 Hernandez, L.: "It's a Republican." 21 22 Spain: "This would be the 98th Legislative District in Joilet." Speaker Hoffman: "Leader, your time has expired. We have not ... 23 Leader Harris had indicated we are not going to yield time, 24

27 Spain: "Mr. Speaker, I'm a Member of the Redistricting Committee.

ask your questions, we certainly would honor that."

I would like the opportunity, if you allow me, to have one

but if want a chance to close and then possibly have others

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speaker yield their time. I will finish my questions during 1 2 that time period." Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Meier yields his time." 3 "Thank you. So, this is a district that's currently 4 Spain: 5 represented by a Democrat, and according to the Resolution, 6 adjustments were made in this district to enhance the partisan 7 composition of the district. Is there any other way to read that to mean making it more Democratic?" 8 Hernandez, L.: "I don't think so." 9 Spain: "I would agree. Now, after this Bill is adopted, its next 10 11 step is to be sent to the Governor, correct?" 12 Hernandez, L.: "Yes." Spain: "And you are you hoping that the Governor will sign this 13 Bill or that he will veto this Bill?" 14 15 Hernandez, L.: "Sign it." Spain: "You hope that the Governor will sign it, but the Governor 16 has promised to the voters of the State of Illinois that he 17 18 would veto a map drawn by Legislators for partisan purposes. So, why we would send to the Governor a map that so blatantly 19 states that this District #98, but many others, have been 20 21 drawn in a way to enhance their partisan composition?" Hernandez, L.: "And your question is?" 22 Spain: "Why would we send to the Governor the very map that does 23 the one thing he said that he would not sign, that he would 24 veto a map that is explicitly stated in this Resolution doing 25 26 the things that he said would not be acceptable?" Hernandez, L.: "Well, there are a lot of districts that are 27

acceptable. And frankly, it's... it's a constitutional

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- obligation to send it to him right after it passes out of here."
- 3 Spain: "One more line of questioning, Leader Hernandez. Can you
- 4 just remind me, in this Body and in the Illinois General
- 5 Assembly, how much money, taxpayer dollars, did we invest in
- the U.S. Census for 2020?"
- 7 Hernandez, L.: "I believe it was 29 million."
- 8 Spain: "I believe you're right. And how much did we invest in
- 9 promoting the American Community Survey?"
- 10 Hernandez, L.: "I'm not aware of any."
- 11 Spain: "I agree. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill. There are a couple of 12 things that I am proud about in serving in this chamber. One of them I just mentioned, which was the census. And we worked 13 as a Body... and I took it upon myself as someone that had 14 15 worked on the census 10 years before in Local Government, that we needed to go all in on the census, and I'm glad we 16 did. I think the consequences for the State of Illinois 17 18 would've been even worse than what we see now had we not. But that was not an easy piece of activity to work on because a 19 former Representative had a different plan with how we would 20 21 move forward and we were able to collaborate together, uniting 22 Republicans and Democrats to invest in the census because it makes such a big difference for our state. That was good work 23 24 and that work should not be thrown away by moving forward with the wrong data that has never been intended to draw new 25 legislative maps. I'm proud of the census, but I'm even more 26 27 proud... and the one thing that was the most important thing to me upon entering this General Assembly 5 years ago now, was 28 29 that we had to change the way our state works. And the most

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important thing to me was that we would avoid this very moment on the floor. And that's why year, after year, I stood as the Sponsor for amending the Constitution of the State of Illinois so that we could deliver independent redistricting forum so that we would never again put ourselves in this situation where we're dividing people and creating maps based on partisan identity. It's wrong in the State of Illinois. It's wrong when it's done in other states. There is no state that is in as bad of shape as the State of Illinois. And I'm glad when we do things to help working people in the State of Illinois and generate economic growth. But I can tell you folks, it isn't working. It's not working. We're not living up to the expectations that a state, as grand as the State of Illinois, should be able to deliver. For the first time in all of our lifetimes we're navigating a redistricting process where our state has literally lost population over the last 10 years. And thank God for our investment in the census. It wasn't as bad as we thought. But it, more than anything else, has to be the wakeup call and the indication that our path forward is still continuing the wrong way. Vote 'no'. There is a better way forward for the State of Illinois. This is doubling down on the wrong strategy that has failed us time and time again. Thank you."

Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Harris is recognized."

Harris: "So, thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. You know, we had a very good debate here today about the pros and cons of different methods of drawing state maps, fair maps, commissions, and also the method that we're here to actually vote on tonight, the method that is in the law of

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Illinois and in our State Constitution. So, we need to focus on what's before us, and the Bill that's before us is House Bill 2777. And as the Gentleman from St. Clair said, this is the only map that is before us. There could've been other maps. Nothing prohibited folks from drawing other maps. People had map rooms, people had opportunities, people had lawyers, but they produced no maps. Folks are here tonight to try to get us to run out the clock and then hope for a coin flip so that they can get the electoral power that clearly they cannot get through the ballot box. And that's what we're here about tonight. If elections have consequences, Ladies and Gentlemen, and the Gentleman from Peoria who spoke just a moment ago talked about the sad state that our state was in. And said, we lived under our expectations for years. So, I just want to recall... bring people back to some of the years where we had a Republican Governor and folks on that side of aisle backed him up on everything he did. So, if you remember under Governor Rauner... and I'll never forget these days. I'll never forget these days because, as Chairman of the Human Services Committee at the time, you probably remember on World Autism Day when the Governor eliminated the autism program. Was there a peep from that side? No. Was there a vote in support of restoring that program? No. When he eliminated immigrant and refugee rights, was there a peep from that side? No. Was there any support to restore it? No. And actually... and votes have consequences. Votes have consequences. I've got some roll calls here from that time. If you remember, there was also a group of people that the Governor over and over and over again, attempted to throw out of services.

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Thirty-nine thousand senior citizens who he wanted to cut homemaker services for that was the only thing that allowed those people to stay in their homes, keep them out of nursing homes, and allowed them to live in the community with their families and with just a little shred of dignity. And he was ready to throw them out of their homes. And we had a Bill to protect them, it was House Bill 4351. Had every Democrat vote for it, not one Republican. Not one would stand up and even support keeping senior citizens in their homes. Not one. And it went down quick to the Governor and, of course, he vetoed it. And here came the veto override. Who stood for the seniors then? Not one of you. So, as we look at what are the consequences of elections and how we draw our maps, we gotta think that every one of our votes does have a consequence. When we come here, our votes are not only our voices, but they're the voices of hundreds of thousands of people back home. And these are folks who can't come to Springfield. They can't hire the lobbyists to come over and talk with you guys, can't take us to the fancy dinners. Some can't even make it into our offices. And these are the people who we're the voice of. And these are the people who have sent us back and they've made their decisions at the ballot boxes. And to try to take that decision away from folks with a name out of a hat, in the hope that perhaps you could attain power again, is just something that I think we need to address tonight. And our vote is our voice tonight. And I ask us to speak up for those, you know, the kids with autism, the seniors who cannot come out of their home, the immigrants and refugees who are really worried about how they're going to struggle through this

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pandemic. You know, the kids who need to learn about Asian 1 2 history and gay history and all the other folks who we've 3 stood up for this year. So, Ladies and Gentlemen, because I've been the master of the timer, I want to be sure that I 4 5 finish in my time so that I don't get called out by Jay 6 Hoffman. So, with twenty-five seconds left, I'm just go... ask 7 everyone in this chamber to vote 'yes' on this Bill and be the voice for the voiceless." 8 9 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Lewis." "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?" 10 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she will." 11 12 Lewis: "Leader Hernandez, again, I sympathize with you in this process and appreciate your Leadership on this. You're in a 13 tough spot. During our previous discussion, though, we talked 14 15 about House Resolution 359, which is the basis for the Bill we are now discussing, correct?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "Yes." 17 18 Lewis: "During that discussion you said that, very empathetically, with emotion, we are doing the right thing. That be accurate?" 19 Hernandez, L.: "That's something I would say." 20 21 Lewis: "To your credit though, that statement was made before we 22 actually looked at the Resolution and found factual errors. And those factual errors that are identifiable from all over 23 the state, we just named three or four of them through our 24 discussions. But as we looked further, we could find more. 25 And that could produce a map that could be much more fairer 26 27 if we took those factual errors into account. Having time, as asked, to reflect, knowing that there's factually 28 inaccurate data being used to develop the current map... I'm 29

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1	not I'm not talking census. I'm not talking some of the maybe
2	theoretical. This in this Resolution, there is factual
3	error. Having the time to reflect, are we still doing the
4	right thing now that we know the facts for the Bill we are
5	discussing right now are wrong?"
6	Hernandez, L.: "Representative, I would say it's a matter of
7	interpretation, but let me let me be clear that we are this
8	is the Bill, this is not the Resolution that were discussing."
9	Lewis: "Understood. Understood. But when there are statements
10	describing areas that we all know that are factually wrong,
11	as in my case, my area, that I know, it was developed because
12	we wanted to have less Rep or less Representatives
13	representing Bloomingdale Township and this does not do that.
14	Leader Mazzochi pointed things out. Leader Butler pointed
15	things out. Those are facts that are being used to develop
16	the maps that we have. Are we still doing the right thing?"
17	Hernandez, L.: "Representative, I'm always happy to to discuss
18	the map."
19	Lewis: "Okay. If I may go to the Bill. And thank you. Thank you,
20	Leader. If I may go to the Bill."
21	Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
22	Lewis: "When I ran, we talked about, as we are going to hear more
23	statements from colleagues who were on that same ballot here
24	in this aisle… who are in this chamber, about how we wanted
25	fair maps, how we wanted a process to go to the commission.
26	And I was very excited in doing this in my running because
27	I'm still excited to be here for those of who don't if I
28	haven't demonstrated that to you, because I went back to a
29	Constitutional Amendment when I was not here, proposal. I

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- believe it was House Joint Resolution Constitutional 1 2 Amendment 58 that looked to create a commission to draw maps 3 outside of this chamber. And guess what? That Resolution passed 105 to 7, in favor, and there are 28 of my fellow 4 5 colleagues across the aisle who voted 'yes' on this. And I 6 applaud them for voting 'yes'. Add our 45 who want the same 7 thing. Add the new Members who in their statements to the newspapers, to their voters. We are all almost unanimous in 8 9 wanting an independent commission. So, I just ask, as I am going to live up to my campaign promises, that I ask my 10 colleagues in this chamber to do the same thing and vote 11 'no'." 12
- 13 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Kifowit."
- 14 Kifowit: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 15 Speaker Hoffman: "Indicates she'll yield."
- 16 Kifowit: "Thank you, Leader Hernandez, for your tireless work and
- your poise during this whole process. A few decades ago, there
- 18 was a map that was drawn by the Republican Party. Is that
- 19 correct?"
- 20 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 21 Kifowit: "During that decade, which party maintained the most
- years in the majority?"
- 23 Hernandez, L.: "That would be the Republicans."
- 24 Kifowit: "That would..."
- 25 Hernandez, L.: "I'm sorry. The Democrats."
- 26 Kifowit: "The Democrats. So, under a Republican drawn map, only
- 27 two years was that party in the majority. To the Bill. This
- discussion is about smoke and mirrors by a party who has been
- losing market share for decades. They could not even maintain

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that market share under Republican drawn map. Let me be clear, 1 2 in 1934, that was the last time a Democrat was elected to a 3 county wide office until now. The maps are a snapshot in time. 4 The party is... is what is defined by its values and its policy 5 and its connection to the voters. It has been proven that a 6 lot of people are not straight party voters, but they vote 7 for the individual that is running for office. And that is what I think is getting lost in this conversation. The maps 8 9 are something we are statutorily required to do every 10 years. To represent the people is something that everybody in 10 11 this Body does. There have been seats that were held by 12 Republicans for many decades that are no longer being held by Republicans. There are some seats that were held by Democrats 13 that are now no longer held by Democrats. But the truth of 14 15 the matter is, is when the party is representing the people, the people are going to respect that and they are going to 16 vote for the group that best represents them. And at this 17 18 point in time, as evident by county races, state races, local races, it just happens to not be the Minority Party. So, 19 instead of putting up a smoke screen and talking that this 20 21 map is something, the map is just a snapshot in time. The 22 party is the one that connects with the voters, represents the voters and, therefore, gets elected by the voters. And 23 that is the true essence of being an elected official, not 24 who draws the lines on the back. Thank you, Mr. Speaker." 25 "Thank you, Representative. Representative Speaker Hoffman: 26 27 Reick."

28 Reick: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill."

29 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."

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Reick: "In all of this, we have a lot of freshmen on the floor 1 2 this ... this year, and I been trolling around the Internet and 3 I found a... the Web site for one Margaret Croke. And under the issues thing of ethics, she says that she supports fair maps 4 for state and local legislative districts so that politicians 5 6 don't choose their districts, but voters choose the 7 politicians. Not one to believe everything one reads on the Internet, I went and sought additional proof that this was in 8 9 fact the case and I get a Sun-Times questionnaire... question. It's been referenced several times saying gerrymandering is 10 11 bad. Democrats in Illinois resist doing anything about it. 12 Which... how do we fix this? I support a non-partisan redistricting process. Now previous speakers have said, yes, 13 this is the only map that we're going to vote on, and that is 14 15 true. But when we run for office, when we run for office, especially the first time, what we say to get elected is very 16 important. We're speaking to those who would send us here and 17 vote on issues under the dictates of our conscience. We're 18 not sent here to vote because some committee or some hierarchy 19 20 in the party tells us this is how you vote, that's how you 21 vote. Knee-jerk voting is not what our people... what our 22 constituents send us here to do. They send us here to vote our conscience. One of my favorite movies of all time is A 23 Man For All Seasons. It's the story of Saint Sir Thomas Moore 24 who gave his life because he wouldn't bend to the dictates of 25 a king who told him to abandon his conscience. And one of the 26 great lines... and I'm speaking to everybody on this floor, not 27 just to you, Margaret, I'm speaking to everybody on this 28 29 floor. One of the great lines in that movie is that when

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statesman forsake their private conscience for the sake of their public duties, they lead their country on a short route to chaos. We need but look around us now to see what kind of chaos has been wrought in this state by the kind of people who vote, who forsake their conscience, their personal conscience, for the sake of their public duties. The time has come for us to make a decision here. Yes, on this map, but on a whole lot of other issues that seem to get... seem to get decided along partisan lines instead of the ... the lines that are drawn by our constituents telling us to vote our conscience. If this is what is said in a... in a campaign Web site, if this is what you begin your legislative service saying, yet you come down here and you violate your conscience by voting the way the party tells you to vote, then you are helping lead this state on the short route to chaos. Vote 'no'."

- 17 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative McLaughlin."
- 18 McLaughlin: "Mr. Speaker, to the Bill."
- 19 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- McLaughlin: "And I'll be brief. I am new in this chamber, so for 20 21 the sins of the past, I am not quilty. I want to personally 22 thank Members from both sides of the aisle for their warm 23 reception and for their stated willingness to work together. What I witnessed today in the redistricting meeting when I 24 got up early this morning, and what I saw this afternoon, was 25 certainly not an example of bipartisan government at work. It 26 certainly was not inclusive. Or as the Governor has promised, 27 it certainly didn't appear fair. I am not new in public life, 28 29 however. I've served as a mayor for eight years. But in my

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short time here at the state, I have heard many promises regarding a new spirit and willingness to work together in Springfield. I personally had, and still will carry, high hopes that this Body would consider the 102nd General Assembly an absolute opportunity to change the course in the State of Illinois with our historic change in this Body's leadership. This is a prime opportunity, my friends on the other side of the aisle, to turn away and break from the failed methods and policies of the past to end the status quo. Now, am I indicting the methods and policies of the past? You're absolutely correct I am. And here's this unfortunate part, it is certainly much too easy to do. Many of you have stated you're proud of the past. As a taxpayer in the state, I certainly am not. State finances are in shambles, but don't take my word for it. I'm just a State Rep with one hundred and eight thousand people trying to make a living in this state. The bond rating agencies have us barely above a junk rating. We are hanging on by our fingernails. What does that mean for all of us, our constituents, and our businesses? We are paying millions of dollars of unnecessary interest cost, thanks to the failed policies of the past and the way that we are continuing to operate here in Illinois. Pension debt, something I know a little bit about for thirty years. Five and six years ago was estimated at a hundred and eighteen billion dollars, yet, we hardly have talked about it on the floor during this Session. Here's the bad news. It's now at three hundred billion dollars five years later. Property taxes are amongst the highest in the nation. And what does that do? It steals the wealth. Every time a property tax bill

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arrives at working families' homes, small businesses, and the middle class. Not much to be proud of there. Today, I sat in a presentation that was woefully lacking in detail, notice, regard for public witness testimony, for people that have spent years trying to assist this Body in this process. My father said to my brother and I forty years ago, and he's been gone twenty-nine years, sat us down, we were young men, fourteen and fifteen, and he said, nothing good ever happens after 2 a.m. in the morning. I never dreamed he was that wise, at fifteen, but looks like my old man was right again. At 3 a.m. we received data, we were asked to comb through it and give testimony, detailed analysis today. Almost impossible. It's a reason why people are so frustrated with poorly run government. Nothing good will come from these maps other than disenfranchising more Illinois voters, making them trust politicians even less than they do today. And it certainly is, my friends on the other aisle, if you'll listen for a minute, this is a huge missed opportunity to come together and do what we promised. We need to put Illinois back on track. And I urge this Body, for God's sake, change the direction of Illinois now before it's too late, and please vote 'no'. Thank you."

Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Andrade is recognized."

Andrade: "Thank you, Leader Hoffman. First of all, thank you very much for my Leader here for the job she's done in redistricting. I also want to add to Leader Hoffman's points, and all my other Leaders here who have spoken, about what's at stake if the Republicans obstruct the process to gain control of the map. I repeat, obstruct. Because of the

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diversity in this chamber... and when I say this chamber, it's clearly on my side. We have passed critical Bills to support and protect Latinos, immigrants who are not just Latinos, all across the board. I'm talking about the TRUST Act to prevent local law enforcement from sharing information to federal immigration forces to break our families. I'm talking about the VOICES Act to protect immigrant survivors of trafficking and violence. I'm talking about the RISE Act to make sure undocumented immigrants qualify for state student aid for college so they have a quality education and become productive residents of the State of Illinois. If a fair map only means more Republicans, then it's clear what's at risk here. This is what Republicans want to do. They want to undo everything we've done by pushing us past our deadline so they win a lottery. I'm not going to put my kids' future based on lottery and con... and control the maps for themselves for their own partisan gain. That's their goal. They are the ones with the partisan agenda and they are relying on obstruction, as usual, for their brand. So, I ask if there's anyone on my side that's thinking of not voting or voting the other way, I want you to look to your left and I want you to look to your right. There... you will see people of different color, different sexual preferences, and from different backgrounds. So, I ask you to not think otherwise. There's only one reason why they want to stop the map, and that's obstruction. So, thank you very much. And thank you, Leader Hoffman."

- 27 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Bourne."
- 28 Bourne: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 29 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."

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- Bourne: "Thanks. I would like to bring us back to the Bill. I would like to ask a question that we asked in committee today but there was a different answer in the Senate. So, I want to know if it's the same in your... on your side. Do you know if your caucus hired any consultants for data other than the ones that we heard in committee?"
- 7 Hernandez, L.: "No."
- 8 Bourne: "Do you know if your caucus hired Kim Brace?"
- 9 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."
- 10 Bourne: "Yes, you know? Or, yes, you hired him?"
- 11 Hernandez, L.: "Yes, we hired him."
- 12 Bourne: "Did he draw your maps?"
- 13 Hernandez, L.: "No."
- 14 Bourne: "Did he have a hand in drawing your maps?"
- 15 Hernandez, L.: "No."
- 16 Bourne: "In the... yeah, it makes you beg the question of what we
- 17 paid him for."
- 18 Hernandez, L.: "Advice."
- 19 "In the presentation... oh, good. Perfect. In the Bourne: 20 presentation that I have that he gave for NCSL, he admits 21 that he's working for Illinois and he's also been quoted in 22 articles that he worked for Illinois. And I heard that ... I was listening to this insightful presentation where he was asked, 23 24 have you said something about using this data, and I think you were talking about ACS data, for only the next few months? 25 Does that mean you're suggesting that people using ACS data, 26 27 that when the Decennial Census arrives, they should swap it out? Or could you just go back to that point again, please? 28 And he said, sure. Yes, that is my recommendation. What we're 29

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doing is we are using the data right now, meaning the ACS. 1 2 And in our instance, we're using both commercially available 3 data and ACS. We're looking at them both. We're using them recognize that come September, 4 both, but we 5 August/September, when we get the PL file, which for those of 6 you that may not know, it's the Decennial Census data, we're 7 going to need to swap them out. Was he speaking about the Illinois map, or the Illinois data when he made that comment? 8 9 Do vou know?" Hernandez, L.: "No. I believe he works for other... or he's worked 10 11 in other states." "Well, he said that his consulting firm was combining 12 Bourne: 13 both... both ACS data and commercially available data. Are you stating today on the record that there was no commercially 14 15 available data used in any of the advice, map making, any of his services that you paid for?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "No." 17 18 Bourne: "You're not saying that on the record, or you are? Was 19 there commercially available data used..." 20 Hernandez, L.: "No." 21 Bourne: "...in anyway in this map making process?" 22 Hernandez, L.: "No." Bourne: "No. Okay. In your map, are there any places where rural 23 24 counties or townships are split up?" Hernandez, L.: "Yes, there is." 25 Bourne: "I thought that was the case. In the same speech that he 26 27 gave, speaking about looking at the data, he said, for most of us dealing with smaller territory, smaller levels of 28 29 districts, he was talking about counties... something smaller

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- than counties or townships, the ACS estimates just don't get 1 2 them low enough. Meaning that he doesn't have a way with the 3 ACS data alone to divide small counties or townships. Did he give you advice on that?" 4 5 Hernandez, L.: "He gave his opinion there." 6 Bourne: "Did you take his advice on that?" Hernandez, L.: "That is not advice. That was an opinion of his." 7 Bourne: "Yes, I know that was his opinion, but did you take that 8 9 opinion and utilize it in your map?" Hernandez, L.: "It's not... it's not anything that he gave us." 10 11 Bourne: "Well, it's... I think it's publically available that he 12 gave this advice. You just said that he gave you advice. Did he advise you that the ACS data does not go to the granular 13 14 enough level that you would be able to split up rural counties 15 or townships?" Hernandez, L.: "Not that I know of." 16 Bourne: "He did not give you that advice? 17 Hernandez, L.: "No, not that I know." 18 Bourne: "Okay. So, how did you figure out how to break down the 19 ACS data into these smaller subdivisions?" 20 Hernandez, L.: "There was... I'm sorry, Leader Bourne. Can you just 21 22 repeat it? It's just... I'm really tired." Bourne: "Sure. I'm going to need a little bit more time if I..." 23 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader, so since you were on the Redistricting 24
- 26 Bourne: "Thank you so much."

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- 27 Speaker Hoffman: "From Representative Elik."
- 28 Bourne: "Thank you. When... how did you manipulate the ASC data

Committee, we will grant you additional time."

then, which your own expert has said does not go down to that

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1	granular enough level? How did you divide it into those
2	smaller subdivisions?"
3	Hernandez, L.: "I I wouldn't know. You would you would have to
4	ask him."
5	Bourne: "Well, you said that you didn't take his advice for it,
6	so how could we ask him? Who else did you listen to on how to
7	do this?"
8	Hernandez, L.: "He didn't offer us that advice."
9	Bourne: "He didn't offer that advice?"
10	Hernandez, L.: "I don't know where you got the I mean, he
11	interviewed, but that's not advice he gave us."
12	Bourne: "Okay. I'd like to go to his next recommendation then. He
13	said his advice was that the ACS is not a permanent solution.
14	I look at it as only temporary until the PL, or the Decennial
15	Census files, are released. Is it your intention, that after
16	the census data is released, you will revise these maps?"
17	Hernandez, L.: "You know, we're going to have to look at the
18	census data, but we're not going to make any commitment."
19	Bourne: "Is that an admission that these are not maps that are
20	workable?"
21	Hernandez, L.: "No, not at all."
22	Bourne: "To the Bill, Mr. Speaker."
23	Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
24	Bourne: "We've heard from the House Democrats who drafted this
25	Bill, apparently, that they hired data experts. Every time we
26	ask, how did you do this small data manipulation, how did you
27	determine these districts to be displayed this way, they say
28	we have our experts and advice. And then when you ask about

those experts and advice, with this specific, and I will say

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pretty damning condemnation of the ACS data being in the final map or being subdivided into small block level data, all of the sudden they didn't get that advice. They're not listening to their own experts, yet, they claim that this will be a national model. A lot of folks on the other side of the aisle want to say this isn't about the data. It is. People across this country, 55 advocacy organizations who don't have a partisan agenda for Republicans, are saying don't use this. Your own hired consultant is saying don't use this. The only reason you're pushing forward is a partisan agenda. We have said if you go to the independent constitutional commission, we'll put people on that commission who are dedicated to an independent commission process. We haven't heard that commitment from your side. The people who are forcing it to make it a draw from a hat is your side. You don't want to take the chance. We don't want to take the chance because we want it to be the independent commission that you all have promised in your editorial boards, promised to your voters. It's in alignment with what Barack Obama said on that pedestal, that's in alignment with what your own President, right now, says. He says that elections are being rigged through gerrymandering. It's pretty rich to hear how you all are justifying this map, because you can't justify it on the process, you could only justify it on the policies that you have passed in a gerrymandered Super Majority that are out of step with the majority of Illinoisans and you want to maintain that control. If you can't tell, we spent a lot of time with these maps. And we've spent a lot of time with people throughout this state who are very passionate about the fact

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- that they want every single person in Illinois to be counted.

 And that's what I believe in. Count the people, put them in fair districts so they can pick who's up here speaking on their behalf and you're not picking the people who are going to agree with your policies. You will listen to your constituents. And for Pete's sake, at least listen to the experts that you're paying a ton of money to justify your
- 9 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Brady."

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10 Brady: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill."

map. This is unbelievable. Vote 'no'."

- 11 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- 12 Brady: "Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, I wish to say thank you to those who have served on the committees, the 13 Redistricting Committee. I don't agree with the process, but 14 15 I appreciate those who have worked so hard. And it may have struck me a little different than anyone else in the chamber. 16 The very vehicle of this legislation is the Cemetery Oversight 17 18 Act. Now, I don't know about you, but to me that conjures up a visual of something dark, something shady, something 19 20 dismal. The very process that's been going on redistricting, the very vehicle for the Bill as it reads on 21 22 our board is used as formally the burial process. Think about that. It was said earlier by one of my colleagues that... be 23 the voice of the voiceless. Well, you can do that by voting 24 'no', and I intend to vote 'no'. Thank you." 25
- 26 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Swanson."
- 27 Swanson: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. First, I'd like to start off 28 with a discussion I heard earlier about obstruction. And it's... 29 it's amazing how we can talk about obstructionists of the

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Republican Party as that we're trying to delay this Bill. But in several committee hearings, I heard people, for example, Reverend Robin Hood... what a great name. I don't remember any other names, but I would like to talk about Reverend Robin Hood. Is he called an obstructionist because he wants to delay this Bill? Let's talk about the lady who rose for the Muslim community. Was she an obstructionist because she said, let's delay the Bill until we get all the information? Let's talk about the Representative from the Jewish community. Is that person an obstructionist because they want to delay the Bill? Let's talk about the lady from the Latinx community. Is she an obstructionist because she wants to delay this Bill until they get all the information they've asked for? And the Asian community who asked us to delay this Bill. From the black community, all these folks who came forward and said, we want the information. Do we consider them obstructionists also? And I'll leave that just a thought in those people who raised that about us over on this side of the aisle who are representing these communities for their voice as they talked to the committee. I'd also like to remind everyone of a Sun-Times question also. This goes back to September 2020. And the question's a typical one we've heard already. 'Everybody says gerrymandering is bad, but the party in power in every state. Democrats in Illinois resist doing anything about it. Or do we have that wrong? What should be done?' This individual from Bolingbrook said, and it's Representative Avelar, 'Voters should pick who represents them rather than politicians picking their voters. Districts should be drawn in a way that promotes equal representation. It is imperative

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that transparency and an equity centered approach is used in the process. If elected...', and that person is with us today, '...I would work hard to collaborate with my colleagues in the Black, Latino, and Asian Caucuses to try to unite all of us around a principle representation matters, redistricting should benefit everyone equitably.' Earlier, we heard reference to a former Governor. And in that reference, it was discussed about our actions in regards to a previous Governor. You know, we're just hours away from when we will celebrate Memorial Day weekend. Memorial Day weekend, as a veteran who's lost friends on the battlefield, is a very special day. It's a very moving weekend. But you know, where were those on the other side of the aisle as we watched 80 veterans die at our veterans' homes? Let's talk about obstructionist now of this? Where were the voices when those veterans needed them on upcoming Memorial Day weekend? This map dishonors their lives. This map dishonors their memories. This map dishonors the sacrifices they made on the battlefield for what they did for us. Thank you."

20 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Buckner seeks recognition."

21 Buckner: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

22 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she will."

Buckner: "First off, I want to thank Madam Chair Hernandez for your work on this process. And, Leader Hoffman, thank you for setting the table here tonight to talk about this in a real way. I want to add to some of your points to talk about what is really at stake with this map for my colleagues. If you look around this chamber, you see diversities. Specifically, as Leader Andrade said, on this side of the aisle. Because of

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this diversity, this Body passed bold legislation to address the systemic disparities that black people, people who look like me, face across a range of issues. We adopted a bold agenda to fix this. But unfortunately, my Republican friends across the aisle did not join on us on mass. But today, suddenly, it seems that they're very concerned with inclusion and fairness and they're summoning and conjuring the name of one Barack Obama. As we say where I'm from, welcome to the party, fam. Better late than never. If a fair map only means more Republicans, then we would not have passed the criminal justice pillar to make sure people aren't denied bond just because they are black with low income. We would not have body cameras to protect the public and police officers. We would not have passed legislation to move Illinois forward towards health care equity so that black and brown people would have access to the same medical care as everyone else. So again, I want to reiterate, this is what the Republicans want to erase. All this talk about equality and supporting communities all over the state, take a look at the voting record. My grandfather used to say, figures don't lie, liars figure. That's the real story and not the show that we're putting on for the cameras. Say cheese. The only goal that my Republican friends have is to push us past our June 30 deadline because our Constitution is very clear they will have a 50/50 chance, as we spoke about, at drafting a map, driven solely for their partisan agenda. I'll say that one more time. They will have a 50/50 chance of drafting a map that is driven solely for their partisan agenda and that will not reflect the diversity of Illinois. I urge a 'yes' vote."

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- 1 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Demmer."
- 2 Demmer: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 3 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 4 Demmer: "Representative Hernandez, this afternoon I asked many
- 5 times about whether these maps were designed to increase
- 6 Democratic partisan advantage and you didn't answer. And then
- 7 this evening in debate, you confirmed that many districts
- 8 were drawn to increase Democrat partisan advantage. I want to
- 9 ask you about a similar issue but not the same issue. In the
- 10 Resolution that describes the maps that are being offered
- 11 here this evening, on page 5, it lists a number of factors
- that were considered in drawing these maps. And one of them
- is, 'other incumbent requests'. And then in various places
- 14 throughout the description of the districts, we find that
- 15 certain things were included or excluded, 'at the request of
- 16 the incumbent'. There are places where you talk about
- 17 preserving incumbent preservation was a reason for a map. But
- these requests from the incumbent, I have to stop and think
- about those. And... my question to you is, when an incumbent
- 20 made a request, did you ask the incumbent why?"
- 21 Hernandez, L.: "I would say that the incumbent would be treated
- like any other request, whether interest groups request it so
- it would be..."
- 24 Demmer: "And did you ask the incumbents why? If they said, I'd
- like to represent this area, this community, did you ask why?"
- 26 Hernandez, L.: "I listened."
- 27 Demmer: "Did you ask why?"
- 28 Hernandez, L.: "I listened for their input. I heard it out. I
- mean, it's a... this whole exercise has been about receiving

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information and taking into consideration all information that's given."

3 Demmer: "Thank you. Mr. Speaker, to the Bill."

4 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."

"Reasons matter. The reason that an incumbent makes a Demmer: request matters. We have very recent examples of incumbents who participated in the last gerrymandering of a map, 2011, who, now we've learned, probably picked those communities that they'd like to represent for corrupt reasons. I'll give you a few examples. Former Senator Sandoval, who voted for the last gerrymandered map, only to then be found out to be squeezing red light camera companies for kickbacks in the districts and communities that he represented. He also had public relations contracts with communities in his Senate District and received payments of more than \$700 thousand from communities he represented as a Member and had side contracts with for public relation services. If a Member came forward and asked, per a Member request, to represent a community, perhaps it was because they thought they could get a \$700 thousand contract on the side because they were representing them, they had control over the agenda that could be advanced there. And they knew they could put the squeeze and turn the screws to get an ill-gotten gain and to further their corrupt enterprise. This is why politicians should not pick their voters. What's another example of this? A former Member of this chamber, former Representative Arroyo, who was caught on a wiretap talking to a sitting State Senator, saying, 'this is the jackpot'. What was he talking about? His work as a paid lobbyist for the city that he, as a

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Representative, represented. A city in his Legislative 1 2 District. He was on the side, being a paid lobbyist to lobby 3 that city. And he... boy, he had a jackpot. We know ethics 4 reform matters. No proposals have been enacted so far. When 5 incumbents get to pick their voters, when incumbents... when 6 politicians get to pick the communities they represent, it 7 opens the door for this kind of culture of corruption, of extortion. This cannot be allowed to be tolerated in the State 8 9 Capitol. This is why politicians shouldn't pick their voters. This is why an independent, citizen-led, initiative should 10 11 draw the maps that each of us has to go out and make the case 12 for why we should serve those folks under the dome, not the other way around. Empower the people over the request of the 13 folks in this room. Vote 'no'." 14

- 15 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Murphy."
- 16 Murphy: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill."
- 17 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- Murphy: "I, like others, going to share some remarks to the 18 19 chamber by one of our colleagues. These remarks were made September 7, 2020, during the last election cycle and they 20 21 were printed in the Chicago Sun-Times. The section I'd like 22 to share with you starts off, 'I support redistricting reform, both in Illinois and at the federal level. In terms of federal 23 24 representation, any change should happen on a nationwide level to equalize the playing field for all parties.' They go 25 on to say, 'In Illinois, I believe we need redistricting 26 reform at the state level as well. Since my first race, I 27 have always been a staunch supporter of the idea that a voter 28 29 should choose their elected officials, not the other way

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around.' I would like to thank Representative Gong-Gershowitz for those remarks 'cause I agree with her. And I also would like to say that... I would also like to say that, when reading those words, I was reminded of the times her seatmate has reminded this Body that words matter. I've thanked him on many occasions for making that statement and gone up to him and said I agreed with him. So, I hope that you will join us and vote 'no' and help us create a system that will remove the politicians from the process and maybe we can achieve the goal. Like you said, a voter should choose their elected officials. Not have the system that we have in place now where they are forced to accept elected officials that districts have been carved out for them. Please join me in voting 'no' and let's make Illinois a better state. Thank you very much."

Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Wilhour."

Wilhour: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And I got to say I, too, found the title of this Bill to be very, very peculiar for sure. Cemetery Oversight. I had a little bit different take on it then our distinguished Representative, or Leader Brady down there. I didn't know if it was a hat tip to your voting block or a premonition of Illinois' future under your leadership. So, just a thought that I had, just came to mind. But I'll go to the Bill. You know, you guys know me. I'm all about transparency, accountability, and consistency. And I know we say a lot of things when we run for office. Promises are made. You know, so I know that if I made an explicit promise to my voters, I would... I would want and I would expect my esteemed colleagues to remind me of my clearly stated commitments to ensure that I am being honest and consistent with those that

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elected me. So, on January 22, 2020, the Chicago Sun-Times asked the question, and it's been referenced before but we'll read it again here because I think it's important, 'Everybody says gerrymandering is bad, but the party in power in every state. Democrats in Illinois resist doing anything about it. Or do we have that wrong? What should be done?' Representative Delgado over there answered, 'In Illinois, we should make the effort to make the redistricting process more transparent and less partisan. One way to do that would be to institute an independent, non-partisan commission that would be tasked with reapportionment.' What... Rep Delgado, where are you at? Ah, well, that's no good. That's no ... 'cause that was good. That was really good. I actually liked that. The transparent, less partisan, independent, non-partisan commission. I was really impressed and she and I, we have something in common there. So, I thought that was great. And just as a courtesy, I wanted to remind... and I wish that she was here to do this but maybe she's... maybe she's listening. I wanted to remind the Representative of the district of Louis Arroyo, a district that I'm sure is longing and hungering for honest and transparent leadership of the honest and principled stand she took before her election in the hope that all principled stands are not abandoned when we have the opportunity to back up our words with actions. So, with that said, I appreciate your indulgence and I would appreciate that everybody would stand by their words and vote 'no' on these unfair maps."

27 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Mazzochi."

Mazzochi: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. In these past few months, we've seen several Democratic Party powerbrokers get

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indicted. Tim Mapes, the technician and engineer of your maps over the last 30 years was in court on his arraignment this morning. But the insider map makers, your politicians' hired guns, they're still there moving in the shadows. When the latest Speaker of the House is in front of a camera he smiles. He says this process is going to be open and fair and transparent. Chairman, you said today you were proud of this process. That's delusional. It's been a process of secrecy, deception, misdirection, and backroom deals that followed the Madigan plan to the letter. It's operating under a Resolution filled with a ton of narrative and plenty of lies in HR359. Over 12 million people in the State of Illinois had 76 minutes today to get their process on maps that dropped at 3 a.m. for a 9:30 a.m. hearing. That's not fair. That's an abuse of process that avoids accountability and it tells the public, in the context of this cemetery Bill that it originally was, to drop dead. House Republicans are used to this legislation game where promises Democrats make for the public turn into deals broken in private or on the floor where we debate important legislation that the Sponsors didn't draft, don't understand, and freely admit their ignorance on crucial details where the public deserves an answer. This map is no different and it's the people of Illinois who suffer. I felt horrible for Dr. Dilara Sayeed from the Muslim Civic Union this morning. She poured her heart out to you. She had hope that this Redistricting Committee was there to be an honest broker, who won't just go through the process of hearing, but who would actually listen to what the people had to say. She came before you in good faith and with honor. And like

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everyone like her, who wants an honest government where their voice matters, your sham process treated her with disdain and dishonor. But good for her on one thing, she called you out. She said what you're doing is all talk. So, what have you done? You've made your map drawing a farce. You're not striving for accuracy and evidence. You're not looking at communities of interest, you're splintering them. And for what? Most of you don't have the courage to say it because the folks in your district would skewer you for it. You're voting for one expressly stated purpose today, to gain partisan advantage to protect your political privilege, and your rationalizations that somehow that's okay because Democrats good, Bruce Rauner bad is not good enough. That's not good enough for the hundreds of independent advocates who want an honest process, an honest map, and who have walked away from you in disgust. The Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, the League of Women Voters, Reform Illinois, Change Illinois, the Latino Policy Forum, on and on and on. They're all opposed to this map. They've said, enough, this map is wrong. Kelly Cassidy, you said maps need to be drawn by an independent commission. You said, 'This is not a place for to the victor go the spoils. The party that wins shouldn't then be able to keep pushing that envelope.' You sure didn't stand by those words today. Terra Costa Howard, you said in public statements during your last election, statements designed for your voters to count on, 'I advocate strongly end to gerrymandering in Illinois.' You endorsements based on that position. Was it true or will your vote today show that promise to be a lie? Kathy Willis, you

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said on the record that when it comes to redistricting, we need the census numbers to give us a much better picture of our populationships, particularly, in DuPage County. You were also one of the DuPage Legislators who voted for the 99th General Assembly HJRCA58 calling for an independent commission to draw the maps. And other women with districts in DuPage County joined you on that vote. Deb Conroy, Stephanie Kifowit, Michelle Mussman. Was that for real or just for campaign mail? Many in this room finally have a chance to put their vote where their mouth is and keep their promises to their district. Say 'no' to a map that was written by the Democratic partisans for the Democratic partisans so that maybe, just maybe, we can have a process that finally works for the people of Illinois."

- 15 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Davidsmeyer."
- 16 Davidsmeyer: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill."
- 17 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- Davidsmeyer: "It's a new day in Illinois, right? We've got a lot 18 19 of new faces in here. A lot of you don't know me, right? It's 20 new. We went through COVID, we didn't get a chance to work 21 together a lot. But I've worked with a lot of you over the 22 years. And while we disagree, we've always remained respectful. The new day seems to hire the same people to do 23 24 the same hit job. We're getting the same outcome that we had before, but it's a new day. One of my colleagues on the other 25 side talked about districts and about how some districts have 26 27 gone from Republican to Democrat and some have gone from Democrat to Republican. I agree, they have. It changes. And... 28 29 and she spoke of individuals who vote for the person instead

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of the party. I agree. You guys have been really good today with talking points. You guys have not talked about the maps. You focused on trying to tell Illinoisans what Republicans stand for. Well, I'll tell you what we stand for. We've said it over and over. What do we stand for? We stand for the right data, waiting for the census data, and we stand for an independent commission, not politicians picking their voters. Now, I'm not going to sit here and put words in the mouths of my Democrat colleagues. Instead, I'm going to read directly from a press release. And I hate doing this because I appreciate the person that I'm going to be speaking about. 'Decades of one party control over the drawing of political jurisdictional lines may soon come to an end thanks to an initiative passed out of the Illinois House by State Rep Sam Yingling. Our current process... our current process for redistricting is archaic', Yingling said. 'For decades...' I know. I know. And you told me I didn't have to wear my mask to go to the bathroom. So, okay. 'For decades, party leaders have sliced and diced political lines for ... to favor candidates and office holders, severely handicapping our citizens' right to free and open election. This measure will put more power into the voters' hands.' And it goes on, 'Major reforms that can turn our state around are best achieved when people have a truly open and free say in state matters and work together.' You remember this? I know... I'm sure you do. This was when you voted for that and then you told your constituents, but I... when people say they vote for the individual, do people know who they're voting for? I think this is actually ridiculous. I feel completely disrespected and it's absolutely insane

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- that... not how the maps turned out because if they turned out like this, based on an independent commission, I would support the outcome. If it drew me in with a Republican, a Democrat, 10 different incumbents, I would support it because at least it was independent and it was done with the right information. But please remember what you say matters, and I hope you back it up with what you do. Vote 'no'."
- 8 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Chesney."
- 9 Chesney: "To the Bill."
- 10 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- 11 "You know, I understand why my colleagues talk about 12 independent maps. I really do. When we see lawmaker lobbyists, we all scratch our heads when we run for elections. We say, 13 there is no way you can go to the General Assembly, vote on 14 15 a Bill, and then get paid on the side. So, we run for office 16 and we say, yeah, we want an independent map. We want a fair process. And I've seen Members on the other side of the aisle 17 18 scratch their head. If we had the face masks off, it would be 19 a lot better. But they're wondering how the hell do we get tampons in male bathrooms? How's that happen? That's because 20 21 you don't have an independent map. Sex education today just 22 passed with 60 votes. It's like a mini HBO porno. How does that happen? It's because you don't have independent maps. 23 24 You need a little balance. Voting booths in county jails. How does that happen? How does happen? You need to have an 25 independent map. You need to have a fair map. You can't let 26 27 politicians... this is what happens when you let politicians 28 pick their voters. They get to vote in county jail. How about 29 for illegal immigrants, the right to vote for their college

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trustees? That's legal in Illinois, as well. But let's get to things that aren't quite as controversial because I know it's very controversial to keep tampons out of the males' bathroom. So, let's talk about things like property tax. Sometimes we run on things like that and we know they're the second highest in the country. You know, if we had a little balance, if we had an independent map, if lawmakers didn't pick their constituents and the constituents picked their lawmakers, maybe we'd be able to lower those property taxes. But we have had a lot of indictments. Lots of indictments, lots of people getting arrested, lots of controversy. And when I came in, I got a chance to be a freshman with the Lady from Downers Grove. And this side of the aisle when she first was elected, you damn near ran her out of the Assembly because she broke the cardinal sin. She voted against Speaker Mike Madigan. And really what she was saying... and I do appreciate her position on pets, but we don't agree much other than... we don't agree on much other than that. But really what she was saying is, is that even if we can disagree on issues, we at least have to have an independent and fair process. And your side of the aisle, for years, made her life absolutely miserable. Absolutely miserable. I saw it. They reported on it. But as the other side, you guys talk about how good you are, how you win elections, and how this is the peoples' voice. We talk about ethics reform. We're just saying, let's take a little bit of the money out of politics so people don't get indicted, so at least people can trust. They can trust this state. Y'all spent 40 million on your elections, we spent 4. It's not because you're good, you just got a lot of cash. So, then we

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say, well, let's forget about the cash. Let's not argue about money. Let's just talk about something we can all agree on, voter ID Mr. Speaker, do you know what? This is crazy. I actually needed an ID to get into the Assembly to do my constitutional duty, but you don't need one to vote. So, Republicans just say, can we just have an ID to vote? Because if you win election I have to have an ID to walk into the General Assembly. That would make sense. We can't even get an ID done. So, we lose on independent maps. And we say, okay, if we're going to lose on independent maps, you won't take money out of the elections, can we just have an ID to make sure people in Illinois are who they say they are? Y'all say, nope. But we got to agree on this, Mr. Speaker. How about dead people? Can we just agree to purge the roles of dead people? You guys don't want that either. And this is all why you run on independent maps. This is why in your first election you tell your voters... even if we disagree philosophically, you know it's wrong. You know when you go into your communities and you're hearing all the people rag about how bad Illinois is, even if philosophically we are in complete opposite ends of the issue, you know you're wrong. But you know if we could just get a little fairness, a little independence, take money out of politics, purge the roles, and just let people have one vote, not two and three, maybe we can get a little bit of fairness in this state. So, I plea to you on the other side of the aisle, it's not that you're good, it's not that this is the voice, it's the system is set up not to help the people like Downers Grove. It's set up to

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help the political classes that's ruled this place for 100 years. Please vote 'no'."

Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Guzzardi."

Guzzardi: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Motion. I really wasn't 4 going to speak tonight, man. I didn't have my light on, but 5 6 some of these last few comments, y'all are really on one 7 tonight. Whew. You've been over there saying that all of our talk about the policy achievements of Democrats is irrelevant 8 9 and immaterial to this Resolution. And then my friend, the Gentleman from Freeport, just describes your objective here 10 11 in seeking so-called independent maps as reversing the policy 12 gains of Democrats. That's your goal, to get more Republicans in this chamber and reverse the policy gains that we've made. 13 14 He said it. So, don't tell us that our comments about the 15 policy gains we've made are immaterial to this proposal and to your argument. And then this gotcha business you guys are 16 doing, reading people's quotes. They believe that the process 17 18 should be different and now here they are participating in that process. Gotcha. What are you guys talking about, 19 seriously? We can simultaneously hold these two ideas in our 20 21 head that we believe the process could be better and that the 22 process as it is now is one that we have an obligation legally to participate in. I believe we're sophisticated enough 23 24 thinkers to hold those two ideas in our heads simultaneously. Look, I wanted to change the process. I wanted to amend the 25 Constitution to get a fair tax in this state, to raise the 26 taxes on some of y'all, some of your friends, to fund our 27 public schools, to lower our property taxes, to make Illinois 28 29 Government work. I want to do it. I did. But you know what?

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That Constitutional Amendment didn't pass. It went to referendum, it didn't pass. Congratulations. Great. Your friends are paying their low tax rates again. But you don't see me sitting here voting against the budget, saying... refusing to participate in the budget making process because my chosen change to the system didn't work. No. participating in budget making anyway. I don't think it's so inconsistent to say, I believe the system should be different and, nonetheless, I'm participating under the rules that they are today. You guys have said words matter. You said words matter all evening. You read these words and you say words matter. Gotcha. Good one. You all said some words, too. You swore an oath of office. You said you solemnly swear or affirm that you'll support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Illinois. Those words matter too. The Constitution requires us to engage in this process, not some other idealized independent commission process. This process. The one that's on the board today. Your vote is on this process that we are legally obligated to participate in. Your words matter, too. I urge an 'aye' vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Caulkins."

Caulkins: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. We've heard a lot of talk about diversity. You know, if you didn't gerrymander diversity out of my district, there might be someone here different than me. We heard about us obstructing your agenda. And one of the issues was brought up about body cameras. I support body cameras. I support every police officer having a body camera and having it on. But it was stuffed in a Bill full of bad, bad ideas. We'll talk about the census. You know,

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I stood with Governor Pritzker in my hometown to support the census because that's the vehicle to get to a map. We talked about a partisan defeat for a fair tax Amendment to the Constitution. That defeat was not partisan. That was a bipartisan effort by the people of this state to turn back a money grab. Over the last 10 years we heard how great Illinois has been. I can't believe somebody would actually believe that. This state has the highest property taxes, or one of the highest property taxes in the nation. We have one of the highest number of people leaving any state in the nation. We are one of the most corrupt states in the country. There's rampant crime in our cities. And, yes, votes consequences. But when districts are gerrymandered to such an extent, voters lose confidence that their vote matters. And that's the important part of this. Everyone's vote should matter. And when we gerrymander our districts, disenfranchise people. This is what's happening here. Now, we hear we have to pass this. No, this doesn't have to be a signed in law until the end of June. There's another month left. We don't have to do this tonight. There's another month left to fix this problem. And I would urge you, I would urge you all who have promised your constituents that you are for a fair map, a process that puts people over politics, to reject this map tonight. Let's fix it. We've still got 30plus days to do it. And I urge a 'no' vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Ugaste."

Ugaste: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. We've heard quite a bit tonight about representing our constituents and the people of the State of Illinois. What's become very clear to me over the

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last decade, since the last remap, is that the people of the State of Illinois want an independent process and they want an end to politicians picking their voters. Instead, the voters want to pick their Legislators. That's very clear. There was a petition. Hundreds of thousands of people signed this petition in order to get that on the ballot so that they could pass a Constitutional Amendment. And that was thrown out. They're basically told the only way that's going to happen is we're going to have to start it in the Legislature and we're going to move it that way in order to make it work. Now, we've heard about a couple of Constitutional Amendments tonight and it's amazed me that in my very short time here, we've been able to bring two Bills that bring Constitutional Amendments onto the ballot. The first one dealt with the graduated tax, which the people of the State of Illinois, not the 45 of us, or 44 that were here last term, kept off and said they did not want. The people of the State of Illinois overwhelmingly rejected that. Now, we have Constitutional Amendment. that's But not the only Constitutional Amendments that have been considered since the last time we had a remap. I'd like to remind the General Assembly that in May of 2016, House Joint Resolution Constitutional Amendment #58 was passed through the House with 105 'yays', 7 'nays', and 0 'present'. And many of the people who voted for that are still here. Representative Batinick always tells us go back and look and see who it was. Well, for anyone who was here in 2016 on my side of the aisle, you voted for it. So, remember that. On the other side of the aisle, Representative Andrade, Representative Burke, Cassidy,

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Conroy, Crespo, D'Amico, DeLuca, Flowers, Ford, Gordon-Booth, Guzzardi, Harris, Hoffman, Hurley, Kifowit, Lilly, Manley, Moeller, Moylan, Mussman, Rita, Scherer, Walsh, Welch, Williams, Willis, Yingling, and Zalewski. You all voted for it. You said you wanted an independent map process. Yet, here we are again, doing it in a very partisan manner. You say we're trying to delay and obstruct. There's no delay and obstruction here. What we're trying to guarantee is that the people of the State of Illinois get what they've made very clear to us that they want. Now, I don't know exactly why this Bill never got on the ballot as a Constitutional Amendment. I wasn't here and I certainly wasn't anyone in power who kept it from going to the other chamber to be voted on, or whatever happened with it. But as many of my colleagues have read, there have been statements made. Statements made by many Members who have since joined this Body, that they want a fair an independent process. It says... I have a quote here from Representative Collins. 'We must get to a place where voters are choosing their elected officials, not the other way around. I support an independent commission drawing legislative maps so that we have balanced districts that makes sense geographically, but we also must make sure that we are preserving minority representation across the state.' I think everyone on this side of the aisle agrees with you, Rep Collins. We'd be happy to work on that with you. We don't have time to pass a Constitutional Amendment and get it on the ballot in order to have voters allow us to have an independent commission this time around. We don't want to delay and obstruct. I don't want to, I can guarantee you that

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right now. But what I don't want you to do is vote for a bad Bill. How's about that? And you have our commitment... I've spoken with Leadership that we will... if we go to a commission, we will appoint four people that will work with four people from your side to get a fair map we can all live with and that the voters in the State of Illinois will be happy with. Because it will have been fairly drawn by both sides and they will feel that they get to pick their Legislators again. I urge you to vote 'no'."

10 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler."

Butler: "Thank you, Speaker Hoffman. And if you would indulge me, I'll try not to take my five minutes but you never know how long this will go. First of all, I just want to say thank you. I want to say thank you, first, to the staff. I want to say thank you to the staff on both sides, very honestly. Justin, and John, and Craig, and all you guys on the other side. Obviously, as has been testified, I think you guys drew the map, that's what I heard, but thank you for your work 'cause I know it's been long hours. Our guys on this side, Dan Weber. Dan, raise your hand over here. Dan sat in a lot of those virtual hearings. Ryan Tozer, way back here. Derek Persico over there. Eleni Demertzis. I don't know if she's on the floor. There you go, she's probably crushing somebody right now. So, there you go. Mike Mahoney, thank you for the work that you all have done. And I'd like to thank the fellow Members of the committee, especially, Chair Hernandez. This has not been easy on you. I know that. We vehemently disagree on this process and many things, but you have handled this with grace and I appreciate that. Vice Chairman Tarver, Leader

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- Bourne, Mayor Burke, Representative Gordon-Booth, Speaker 1 2 J.C. Hoffman, Representative Mah, Representative Severin, 3 Representative Spain, we spent a lot of time together the last two months and I appreciate everything that you've done. 4 So, I just want to say thank you to all of you. And lastly, 5 6 I'd like to say thank you to Leader Durkin for giving me this 7 opportunity, a once in a decade opportunity, honestly. Not a lot of people get to do this, to be Chair of the committee, 8 9 Redistricting Committee or the spokesman of the Redistricting Committee. And it will be something that I always remember 10 11 from my time in the General Assembly. And so, thank you, 12 Leader Durkin, for the honor of doing this. So, I'd like to start with an inquiry of the Clerk, if you don't mind, Speaker 13 Hoffman." 14 Speaker Hoffman: "State your inquiry." 15 Butler: "Could the Clerk tell me what time that House Floor 16 Amendment 1 to House Bill 1980 was filed today?" 17 18 Speaker Hoffman: "It's my understanding there's no time stamp on 19 the filing, Representative." Butler: "That's 'cause nobody was awake. So, a few questions of 20 21 the Sponsor, Mr. Speaker." 22 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield." 23 Butler: "Thank you. Madam Chair, what is before us on the cemetery 24 oversight sunset Bill is Amendment 1. Is this the exact same language, exact same language, that was in House Floor 25
- 27 Hernandez, L.: "Yes."

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Amendment 1 to HB1980?"

- 28 Butler: "Okay. And is... does the language from the Resolution that
- we passed earlier, the language that we passed in the

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- 1 Resolution exactly match what is defined in House Bill 2777,
- 2 Amendment 1?"
- 3 Hernandez, L.: "That is the intent of it, yes."
- 4 Butler: "That is the intent, or does it... does it match?"
- 5 Hernandez, L.: "Yes, it does."
- 6 Butler: "Well, I think I pointed out earlier today it doesn't
- 7 match in our town here of Springfield. So, I think the
- Resolution is off, which is what you're going to be basing a
- 9 lot of things off. The Resolution does not match up with the ...
- the legislation that is before us. To the Bill, Mr. Speaker."
- 11 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."
- 12 Butler: "Thank you. You know, today, there was a quote attributed
- to the Speaker's office. We spent a lot of time over these
- last few months talking about the Decennial Census and ACS
- and as you all probably know, the full Decennial Census data,
- which we have used every time on this Constitution to help us
- draw the maps, will not be out until August 15. And the
- 18 Speaker's office said today, we intend on taking a close look
- 19 at the census data, as well. So, I'd like to know what the
- intention is of the Speaker when the census data comes out.
- 21 Are we going to remap? Is that your intention today, to remap
- 22 after the census data comes out? I'd like to also point out
- the importance of that census. As has been stated, this state
- spent \$30 million of our treasure to make these masks that
- 25 I'm wearing or get the word out to the people of Illinois
- that all of us, I literally think all of us participated in
- 27 making sure we got a full and complete census because we all
- 28 know the importance. We all know the importance of the census.
- 29 We all talked about it."

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1 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Butler, as courtesy to your position on

2 the Redistricting Committee, we will give you additional

3 time."

4 Butler: "I appreciate that, Leader Hoffman."

5 Speaker Hoffman: "Please continue."

6 Butler: "So, I came across a little story that was on the Illinois 7 Department of Human Services Web site about the work that the 8 Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund did for 9 the complete count. And as many of us know, MALDEF opposes this legislation in its current form. They slipped in 10 11 opposition today, I believe. MALDEF worked hard to get the 12 complete count going. And it says here on this story I'm reading that they made census presentation at Chicago area 13 Legislators town halls, including appearing with State 14 15 Representative Chris Welch in Maywood to underscore the importance of the census. Because we know one of the most 16 important things about the census is getting the count right 17 18 so we can redistrict every 10 years. The Governor made this 19 a very big issue, as well. In Executive Order 29... or excuse me, 2019-10, under the executive authority, it says here, of 20 21 the Governor. 'A complete and accurate count of the Illinois 22 population is essential for the redistricting of the State 23 Legislature.' It's an Executive Order from the Governor talking about the importance of an accurate census to get the 24 population so we can redistrict. In fact, he goes on to say, 25 26 'The best interest of Illinois families and communities will only be served by a complete and accurate 2020 census.' 27 28 Governor, I agree with you. We've heard tonight about 29 elections matter, and words matter, and reasons matter. But

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what I know around here is your word is your bond. That's a 1 2 phrase that gets used a lot. And that means promises matter. 3 The Governor made one, many, very large promises about redistricting, fair mapping process, about vetoing 4 partisanly drawn map. As has been testified on the floor here 5 6 today, this is a partisanly drawn map. So, Governor, keep... 7 keep your word. Make it count. That's on this mask, right? Yeah, Dan's got one on right there. Make it count. Make the 8 9 census count, make your words count, and make your veto pen count, Mr. Governor, because that is what you said you would 10 do. Thank you, Speaker Hoffman and everyone. I urge a 'no' 11 12 vote."

Speaker Hoffman: "Thank you, Leader. We'll proceed... we'll proceed to Leader Gordon-Booth, then Leader Durkin, then Speaker Welch, and finally Rep... Leader Hernandez will close. And then we will go to a vote. Leader Gordon-Booth."

Gordon-Booth: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Amendment. My colleague, Representative Buckner, was right. Not only would we not have criminal justice reform or health equity, but we would not have addressed the disparities in education or economic growth. Now, thanks to the diversity of this Body, we have set the stage for more students of color to be in advanced courses. Because of the diversity of this Body, we have more students of color eligible for admission to our public universities in the great State of Illinois. Because of the diversity of this Body, we have a better pipeline of diverse talent in education. Because of the diversity of this Body, we are combating predatory financial loans by capping interest rates at 36 percent. Again, because of the diversity

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- of this Body, we require pay equity certifications for all 1 2 employers. And again, because of the diversity of this Body, 3 the state has higher goals for contracting to minority businesses. If a fair map only means the Republicans, as 4 5 suggested earlier, would make this map more fair, many of the 6 things that I just stated would not have happened. It's 7 actually quite appalling to suggest that anyone else other than this Body better represent the interest of communities 8 9 of color in this state. And, Ladies and Gentlemen, please don't be fooled. We all know what the goal is here and it 10 isn't to be more representative of the... of the diverse 11 12 communities of this state. It's not about waiting for the census data. It's about missing our constitutional deadline 13 14 so that they get a chance to single handedly draw the map for 15 an agenda that would not have prioritized any of the items that I have stated previously. I please ask for your 'aye' 16 vote." 17
- 18 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Durkin."
- 19 Durkin: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will Leader Hernandez yield?"
- 20 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she will."
- 21 Durkin: "Thank you. Leader, I assume you're aware of Governor
- 22 Pritzker's firm position and commitment to Illinoisans on the
- 23 legislative map making while he was a candidate. Yes or no?"
- 24 Hernandez, L.: "I remember."
- 25 Durkin: "Okay. And I just want to... for the Assembly's attention,
- I'd just like to remind everybody of the following exchange
- between the Governor... it was candidate JB Pritzker and a news
- outlet in 2018. The question, 'Will you pledge, as Governor,
- 29 to veto any state legislative redistricting map proposal that

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is in any way drafted or created by Legislators, political 1 2 party leaders, and/or their staff or allies.' Answer from... 3 candidate Pritzker. 'Yes, I will pledge to veto.' Remember 4 that?" 5 Hernandez, L.: "I don't recall but..." Durkin: "It's true." 6 Hernandez, L.: "Okav. Yeah." 7 Durkin: "All right. So, here's a simple question I ask of you. Do 8 9 you believe a pledge is a firm commitment, particularly, for 10 public officials? A firm commitment, which they make to their constituents. What do you think?" 11 Hernandez, L.: "I think it's up to the Governor." 12 Durkin: "I ask you, if you make a firm commitment to your 13 constituents, do you believe that is a pledge which you must 14 15 fulfill?" 16 Hernandez, L.: "I will try to represent my community the best I can, yes." 17 Durkin: "Okay. All right. All right. Now, since the Governor has 18 19 previously pledged to veto a legislative drawn legislative 20 map, I have every reason to believe he will exercise his veto 21 pen. And for that, I want to thank the Governor in advance 22 for living up to that pledge. All right, here's a question 23 for you. Knowing that the Governor has pledged to veto this map because it was drawn by you and your colleagues, will you 24 override the Governor's Veto? It's very simple. Yes or no?" 25 Hernandez, L.: "It's a hypothetical question..." 26 27 Durkin: "Not quite. He's only got one of two options. It's not so hypothetical because you know this is going to pass out of 28

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- the chamber tonight and it's going to go to the Governor's 1 2 desk. Will you override his veto? Yes or no?" 3 Hernandez, L.: "Once again, I'm just going to say it's a 4 hypothetical question."
- 5 Durkin: "It's not a hypothetical question. This is as narrow a 6 question as you can get. It's a simple question, 7
- Representative. Yes or no?"
- Hernandez, L.: "I don't know what the Governor is going to do." 8
- 9 Durkin: "Well, I'm giving you the opportunity to tell everyone in
- this chamber and everyone in Illinois of what your intentions 10
- 11 are when the Governor lives up to his pledge and vetoes this
- 12 map."
- Hernandez, L.: "Have to wait and see." 13
- Durkin: "Wow. Okay. All right. I'd like to, right now, remind you 14
- 15 of an often used term spoken in society, also in government.
- One which rings true more today than ever, and it is as 16
- follows. Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely. 17
- 18 Representative Hernandez, this is not a hypothetical. Do you
- agree with that quote? Yes or no." 19
- 20 Hernandez, L.: "I don't know. I have no context to answer that
- 21 question."
- 22 Durkin: "Okay. Let's start again. Power corrupts; absolute power
- 23 corrupts absolutely. Do you agree with that guote?"
- Hernandez, L.: "I've... I've heard that before." 24
- Durkin: "Pardon me?" 25
- Hernandez, L.: "I've heard it before." 26
- 27 Durkin: "And the question is whether you agree with it."
- Hernandez, L.: "I've heard the quote before." 28

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Durkin: "Okay. I'll ask you again. Could you answer the question? 1 2 Do you agree with it? It's not whether you heard it. Do you 3 agree?" Hernandez, L.: "I don't understand what this has to do with the 4 Bill." 5 6 Durkin: "It has to do with everything. All right. So, you'd rather 7 not answer that question and you would like to avoid it, 8 correct?" 9 Hernandez, L.: "I would answer any relevant question." Durkin: "That is a relevant question. All right. And here's how 10 it's relevant. A lot of you have talked about the past and 11 12 I'm glad to join you, but I want to talk about the present, also. Today, multiple former Democrat Legislators, and more 13 to come, and now a high ranking House Democrat staffer and 14 15 many private citizens stand before federal judges in Chicago with their liberty at stake due to their blind and corrupt 16 allegiance to one man, the former Speaker, Michael Madigan, 17 18 due to his absolute power and control over the Illinois Legislature. So, I'll ask you again, do you agree with the 19 following proposition and statement? Power corrupts; absolute 20 21 power corrupts absolutely. Do you agree based on what I just 22 said?" Hernandez, L.: "The former Speaker is no longer here, so I don't 23 even know why you bring him up." 24 25 Durkin: "Wow. Well, he's done all right by you, hasn't he? All 26 right. So, I plan to live up to my commitment to my 27 constituents and all Illinoisans who are desperate for honest government. I will vote 'no'. But I'd like to offer one last 28 29 thought. We talk about words mattering. We've talked at length

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on our side of the aisle about the value of an independent 1 2 commission, which you all summarily reject tonight. I'm going 3 to go back a few years and reference an op-ed which states, 'Why redistricting ensures minority representation.' 4 going to quote a few sentences from this. 'The redistricting 5 6 or remap of State Legislative Districts that's mandated by 7 law to occur after the U.S. Census Bureau, every 10 years, is very important. Unfortunately, the process has often been 8 9 criticized as too political and one where voters are left without a voice.' Those are not my words. 'To address these 10 11 issues, I am supporting House Joint Resolution Constitutional 12 Amendment 58, which is a comprehensive bipartisan measure that will put an independent commission in charge of drawing 13 State Legislative District boundaries and protect minority 14 15 representation. This proposal is a win, win for Illinois.' Again, those are not my words. 'This measure will ensure that 16 Illinois meets federal requirements under the Voting Rights 17 18 Act to protect minority representation. These are important protections that will prevent minority populations from being 19 20 unfairly lumped into as many... into as few Legislative 21 Districts as possible as а way to dilute 22 representation.' And again, these are not my words. These are 23 the words of Speaker Emanuel 'Chris' Welch on April 26, 2016. Thank you." 24

- 25 Speaker Hoffman: "Speaker Welch."
- 26 Speaker Welch: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"
- 27 Speaker Hoffman: "She indicates she'll yield."
- 28 Speaker Welch: "Thank you, Representative. To the Bill."
- 29 Speaker Hoffman: "To the Bill."

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Speaker Welch: "I come to the floor, today, to support my 1 2 colleagues in dispelling much of the misinformation about who 3 has the best interest of Illinois residents, particularly 4 related to the diverse interest here in this great state. We just heard several examples over these last 2 and a half hours 5 6 of how we have supported everyday residents from labor, to 7 health care, to social justice, to women's reproductive rights. We have heard from a leading national expert that our 8 9 current map is a model for the nation when it comes to giving minorities the opportunity to choose a candidate of their 10 11 choice. A model. Take a look around this chamber. Take a look. 12 Take a good look. Look at the diversity in this chamber. Take a look. We represent the State of Illinois. Diversity is the 13 strength of this great state. Now, some Members on the other 14 15 side of the aisle compared the 2011 map with this proposed map as a criticism. But again, you're looking. Look. Look at 16 our diversity. Look at the voices represented in this chamber. 17 18 Ella Jarmer, the daughter of our budget director, Mark Jarmer, 19 and his wife, Christine Jarmer, a 6th grader at Grant Middle School here in Springfield, came to visit me a couple of weeks 20 21 ago and she brought a gift. And that gift had a simple message 22 on it. It said, 'Diversity is beautiful.' Diversity is 23 beautiful. You can learn something from a 6th grader every now and then. Thank you, Ella Jarmer. As Leader Hoffman said, 24 don't be fooled. The Republican's goal isn't about making 25 sure every person is counted. It's not. The Republican's goal 26 is gridlock. Gridlock the process, have us miss our June 30 27 28 deadline, which is in the Constitution. Have us miss our June 29 30 constitutional deadline all so that they can ultimately

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have a 50/50 chance at drawing a map solely for their political interest. Not only do our friends on the other side of the aisle want control to draw maps, but we know they want to control who is allowed to vote. How do we know that? Just look at their record. Look across this country at what the Republican Party is doing state by state. That is where the real disenfranchisement begins. I heard one of my Republican friends talk about disenfranchisement. It begins with the Republican Party. Let's look at what we see nationally with voter suppression efforts by your party. They want... they want 5 hours, 6 hours, 7 hour waits to vote. And while you wait for 5, 6, and 7 hours, don't allow them to eat, don't give them any water. If you do, charge them with a crime. They want to limit mail-in and early voting. They want to close voter registration venues in diverse communities. Remember Texas? Remember Georgia? Alabama? Missouri? Republicans at all levels of government have historically done everything possible to stifle voting rights. And they want us to think they're the voice of the voiceless? In other states, we even see them cramming communities of color into one or two districts, in clear violation of the Voting Rights Act. We are not... I want to look at you when I say this. We are not going to do that in Illinois. Period. We are not going to violate the Voting Rights Act. We are not going to abandon our constitutional responsibility. Period. We are not going to let Republicans gridlock the process solely for political gain. It's not going to happen. Not here. Period. We have had more than 50 public hearings across the entire state. We have heard from more than 200 witnesses and reached out to over 2

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thousand potential witnesses soliciting their participation. Our proposed maps comply with Federal and State Law, and they ensure the broad racial and geographic diversity of Illinois is reflected in this General Assembly. I can't thank Leader Hernandez, Representative Tarver, and the members of the redistricting staff, Redistricting Committee, and our staff enough. I know you gave them a round of applause earlier but I think we have to give them another round of applause. Leader Hernandez, you may not have felt the love from that side tonight, but we appreciate you very much. What you did here to get us here tonight took long hours but it was in service to the public, to the people of the State of Illinois. You have been, always have been, not just tonight, a voice for the voiceless and I thank you every day for it. I am proud of the progress we made for everyday people. And with this proposed map, we can continue to build on that progress for all of Illinoisans. I ask you tonight to continue to vote 'yes'. Vote 'yes' for progress. Thank you, Leader Hernandez." Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Hernandez to close."

Hernandez, L.: "I just want to take the moment to thank the Speaker for those words. Yes, it has been tough and I really want to extend my appreciation for some of the words on the other side that were said. If there's anything I've learned through this process that there is commitment, there is service here, because I saw a lot of hard work, a lot of hours, countless hours put into this. Those virtual hearings on Sundays, in the evening as well, affecting our families. You know, we couldn't be there for them many times. I've missed out on a lot. I know you have. But it's... it was work

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and it was service for the people. We may not agree on how we 1 2 do the process but I think we can appreciate the kind of 3 engagement, 'cause I certainly did. This was a new way of working with the public, engaging, learning. I think the fact 4 that there was the ability to submit maps and just making it 5 6 so much more available for the public to engage. It's a new 7 way and it is going to be pretty interesting in the next 10 years. I see more engagement based on what we went through in 8 9 this process. I truly believe that this map does reflect the diversity of this state. And for those reasons, I think that 10 11 there is going to be true representation. And people, this 12 state is going to reflect the population of these people. That's been the goal. And with that, I ask for an 'aye' vote, 13 that we pass a map that will reflect the population, the 14 15 diversity of this wonderful state. So, thank you. I ask for an 'aye' vote." 16 Speaker Hoffman: "Members, Representative Batinick has requested 17 a verification. All Members will be in their chairs and vote 18 19 their own switches. The question is, 'Shall the House concur in Senate Amendment #1 to House Bill 2777?' This is final 20 action. All those in favor signify by voting 'aye'; all 21 22 opposed 'nay'. The voting is open. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Mr. Clerk, 23 take the record. On this question, there are 71 voting in 24 'favor', 45 voting 'against', 2 voting 'present'. Mr. Clerk, 25 26 please read the names of those voting in the affirmative." "A poll of those voting in the affirmative. 27 Clerk Hollman: 28 Representative Representative Ammons. Andrade. 29 Representative Avelar. Representative Buckner.

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1	Representative Burke. Representative Cassidy. Representative
2	Collins. Representative Conroy. Representative Costa Howard.
3	Representative Crespo. Representative Croke. Representative
4	D'Amico. Representative Davis. Representative DeLuca.
5	Representative Didech. Representative Evans. Representative
6	Flowers. Representative Ford. Representative Gabel.
7	Representative Gong-Gershowitz. Representative Gonzalez.
8	Representative Gordon-Booth. Representative Greenwood.
9	Representative Guerrero-Cuellar. Representative Guzzardi.
10	Representative Halpin. Representative Harper. Representative
11	Harris. Representative Barbara Hernandez. Representative Lisa
12	Hernandez. Representative Hirschauer. Representative
13	Hoffman. Representative Hurley. Representative Jones.
14	Representative Kifowit. Representative LaPointe.
15	Representative Lilly. Representative Mah. Representative
16	Manley. Representative Mason. Representative Mayfield.
17	Representative Meyers-Martin. Representative Moeller.
18	Representative Morgan. Representative Moylan. Representative
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20 21	Mussman. Representative Ness. Representative Nichols. Representative Ortiz. Representative Ramirez. Representative Rita. Representative Robinson. Representative Scherer.
20 21 22	Mussman. Representative Ness. Representative Nichols. Representative Ortiz. Representative Ramirez. Representative Rita. Representative Robinson. Representative Scherer. Representative Slaughter. Representative Smith.
20212223	Mussman. Representative Ness. Representative Nichols. Representative Ortiz. Representative Ramirez. Representative Rita. Representative Robinson. Representative Scherer. Representative Slaughter. Representative Smith. Representative Stava-Murray. Representative Stoneback.
2021222324	Mussman. Representative Ness. Representative Nichols. Representative Ortiz. Representative Ramirez. Representative Rita. Representative Robinson. Representative Scherer. Representative Slaughter. Representative Smith. Representative Stava-Murray. Representative Stoneback. Representative Stuart. Representative Tarver. Representative
202122232425	Mussman. Representative Ness. Representative Nichols. Representative Ortiz. Representative Ramirez. Representative Rita. Representative Robinson. Representative Scherer. Representative Slaughter. Representative Smith. Representative Stava-Murray. Representative Stoneback. Representative Stuart. Representative Tarver. Representative Vella. Representative Walker. Representative Walsh.

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Representative Yingling. Representative Zalewski. And Mr. 1 2 Speaker." 3 Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Batinick." 4 Batinick: "I think we're good. I withdraw." "Leader Batinick removes his request for a 5 Speaker Hoffman: 6 verification. And on... on this question, there are 71 voting 7 'yes', 45 voting 'no', 0 voting 'present'. And this Bill... and the House does concur in Senate Amendment #1 to House Bill 8 2777. And this Bill, having received a Constitutional 9 Majority, is hereby declared passed. Under Orders of 10 11 Resolution, page 12 of the Calendar, appears House Resolution 12 216... 236, Representative Stuart." Stuart: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. This just is to recognize... today 13 is World Menstrual Hygiene Day and I wanted to recognize the 14 15 same thing in Illinois. That's all I have to say." Speaker Hoffman: "On the Resolution, Representative Cassidy." 16 Cassidy: "I yield my time to Representative Chesney." 17 18 Speaker Hoffman: "Representative Stuart moves for the adoption of 19 House Resolution 236. All those in favor say 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have 20 21 it. And the Resolution is adopted. Representative Kifowit, 22 for what reason do you seek recognition?" Kifowit: "Point of personal privilege, please." 23 Speaker Hoffman: "Please state your point." 24 Kifowit: "Thank you. Members, I would like to... I know it's been 25 26 a couple of years but tomorrow we will have a Fallen Service 27 Members Ceremony on the House Floor at 10 a.m. I wanted to inform the Body that we have the honor of Major General Neely 28

and Command Sergeant Major Ballowe from the Illinois National

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1	Guard to be participating to pay our respects to those that
2	gave the ultimate sacrifice for our country that came from
3	our state. And so, I am grateful to the Speaker for putting
4	this ceremony together that we honor those who never made it
5	home. So again, Members, it will be tomorrow at 10 a.m. We
6	will have our Fallen Fallen Service Members Ceremony
7	immediately after we begin Session. So, thank you, Members."
8	Speaker Hoffman: "Mr. Clerk, Agreed Resolutions."
9	Clerk Hollman: "Agreed Resolutions. House Resolution 354, offered
10	by Representative Mussman. House Resolution 356, offered by
11	Representative Nichols. House Resolution 358, offered by
12	Representative Brady. And House Joint Resolution 49, offered
13	by Representative Mazzochi."
14	Speaker Hoffman: "Leader Harris moves for the adoption of Agreed
15	Resolutions. All those in favor signify by saying 'aye'; all
16	those opposed say 'nay'. In the opinion of the Chair, the
17	'ayes' have it. And the Resolutions are adopted. Mr. Clerk,
18	committee announcements."
19	Clerk Hollman: "The following committees will be meeting tomorrow
20	morning. Tomorrow morning at 8:30 a.m., Labor & Commerce is
21	meeting in virtual room 3. Higher Education is meeting in
22	virtual room 2. State Government Administration is meeting in
23	virtual room 1. At 9:00 a.m., the Revenue & Finance Committee
24	is meeting in virtual room 1."
25	Speaker Hoffman: "And now, allowing perfunctory time for the
26	Clerk, Leader Harris moves that the House stand adjourned
27	until Saturday, May 29, at the hour of 10 a.m. The hour of 10
28	a.m. All those in favor say 'aye'; all opposed 'nay'. In the

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1	opinion of the Chair, the 'ayes' have it. And the House stands
2	adjourned."
3	Clerk Hollman: "House Perfunctory Session will come to order.
4	Second Reading of Senate Bills. Senate Bill 2800, a Bill for
5	an Act concerning appropriations. Second Reading of this
6	Senate Bill. This will be held on the Order of Second Reading.
7	Introduction and First Reading of Senate Bills. Senate Bill
8	667, offered by Representative Lisa Hernandez, a Bill for an
9	Act concerning immigration. First Reading of this Senate
10	Bill. Introduction and First Reading of House Bills. House
11	Bill 4096, offered by Representative Barbara Hernandez, a
12	Bill for an Act concerning finance. First Reading of this
13	House Bill. There being no further business, the House
14	Perfunctory Session will stand adjourned."