

# family

n o r t h c a r o l i n a

Winter 2014

## The Marriage Wage Premium

The Financial and Personal  
Benefits of Marriage

[ncfamily.org](http://ncfamily.org)

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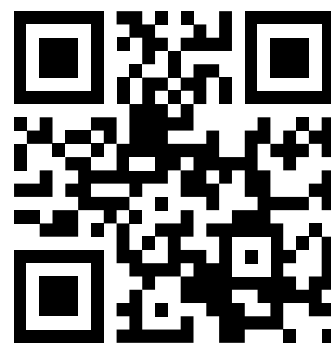


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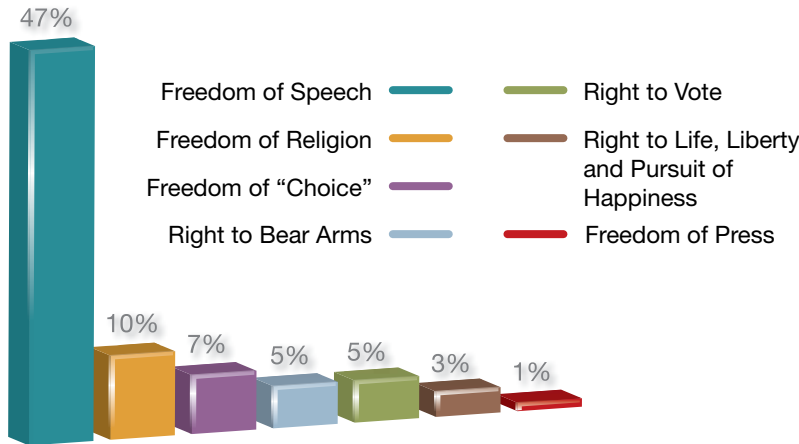
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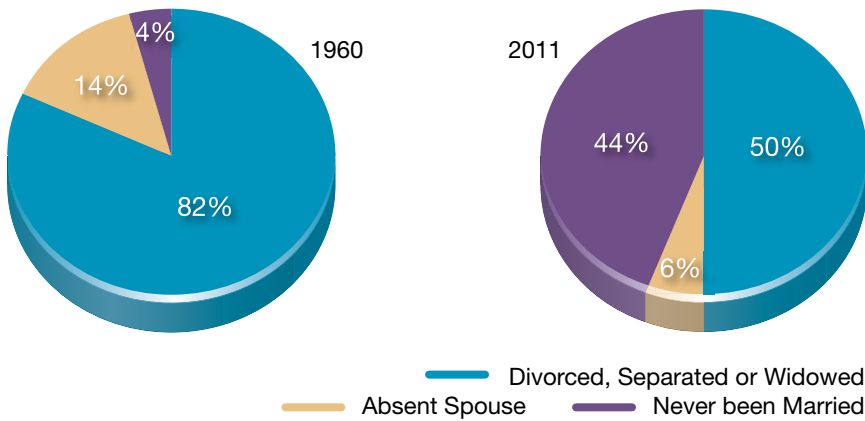
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“State of the First Amendment, 2013,”  
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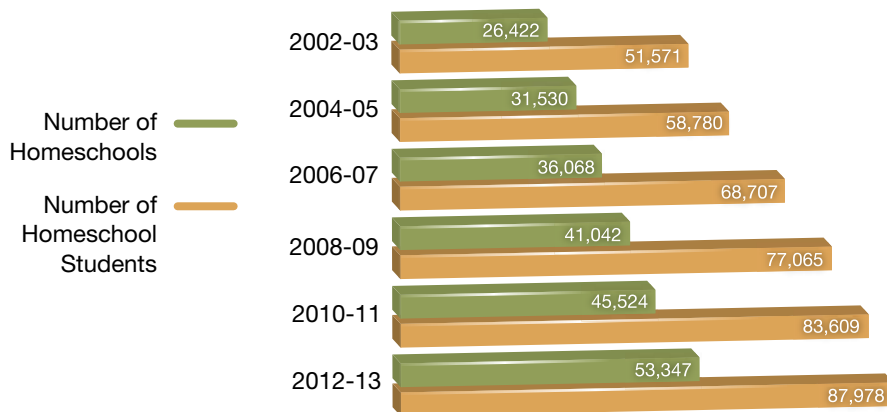
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## Thanks and Joy



Looking back on 2013, pro-family observers of North Carolina public policy have much for which to be thankful and to celebrate. Legislators, policy researchers, and citizens worked hard to put forward, adjust, and ultimately pass some of the most substantial pieces of pro-family legislation in decades.

The staff here at the North Carolina Family Policy Council is grateful and proud to have been able to assist in both large and small ways in these successes. We are especially grateful for the support and prayers of you,

our partners and supporters in this important work. This issue of *Family North Carolina* focuses on reviewing what has changed in public policy that matters to North Carolina families. Be assured, though, that these successes are not the end of the road, but merely the beginning. The bar has been set high. North Carolina must continue to make positive strides toward keeping the Old North State one of the best places to have, raise, educate, and support a family.

In his feature article, Dr. Mark Steckbeck, professor of Economics at Campbell University, dispels the myth that marriage breaks the bank. Compiling and analyzing an assortment of data from far and wide, his feature article reveals the real-world “wage premium” associated with marriage. Policymakers should take note of the undeniable tangible benefits of marriage for men, women, and children that provide some of the strongest antidotes to individual and societal poverty.

Arguably one of the most controversial and most exciting laws to be enacted in recent decades in North Carolina was the sweeping pro-life bill approved late in the 2013 session. This bill goes a long way toward protecting and supporting pregnant women and their children. In her thorough article, attorney Mary Summa analyzes both the successes and the opportunities for improvement in North Carolina’s largest piece of pro-life legislation in decades.

One of the most fundamental rights of parents is to direct the education of their children. As the primary educators of their children, parents are keenly aware of the widely varying educational needs of children. North Carolina is joining the ranks of

states that recognize this fact and are working to provide more opportunities for parents to procure the most appropriate education for each individual child. Education expert Dr. Terry Stoops outlines the benefits and logistics of North Carolina’s two new school choice programs, with the goal of families being able to determine whether they are eligible to participate in either program.

As this magazine has constantly chronicled, the gambling industry does not give up easily. As tribal casino gambling continues to dominate the news, Alysse ElHage offers a thorough roundup of the documented harms associated with increased gambling, beginning with the creation of more addicted gamblers.

In this issue’s Interview, NCFPC president John Rustin talks with renowned professor Dr. Robert George about issues from his latest book, *Conscience and Its Enemies: Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism*. Professor George especially addresses the need for Christians to stand strong and engage in today’s culture.

The North Carolina Family Policy Council was pleased to be present and engaged for so much of the important work done during the General Assembly’s 2013 Legislative Session. Now that the Legislature has adjourned, Brittany Farrell provides an overview of the session, and highlights many family-related bills that passed, failed, or remain eligible for further consideration in 2014.

Following the session wrap-up, you will find the 2013 Votes Paper. This valuable resource highlights votes by members of the General Assembly on some of the most important bills considered during the 2013 legislative session.

Finally, be sure to turn the page for one of the most powerful commentaries to be published in these pages. John shares a very personal story of the life and love that touches his family in a very special way during this holy season.

We hope that this issue of *Family North Carolina* provides you with both knowledge and encouragement. This is the season of family. We pray that each of you experiences the perfect love of our Heavenly Father both at this special time and throughout the whole year. ❖

*Brittany Farrell is assistant director of policy for the North Carolina Family Policy Council and editor of Family North Carolina.*

written by:  
**Brittany  
Farrell**

## Three Christmas Ornaments

written by:  
*John  
Rustin*

One of the things I love most about Christmas is visiting family and friends, and one of the things I love most about visiting family and friends is seeing how folks decorate for the season. In my family (and I'll refrain from naming names to protect the guilty), some go "all out" with multiple Christmas trees, countless strings of lights—both inside and out—colorful ribbons and bows, garland, and even decorative figurines that sing and dance when you walk by. Others of us tend to be a bit more reserved.

Despite our decorating differences, we all have something in common—an assortment of Christmas ornaments that tell a history of who we are as a family. Some of these ornaments were crafted by little hands years ago out of paper and popsicle sticks; some were bought during overseas travel; and some were given to us as gifts to mark a special occasion, a hobby, or an important milestone. Whatever the case, these ornaments seem to represent those things that matter most to us.

Each year, my wife, children, and I unpack these irreplaceable keepsake items with great care, and seek the perfect place to display them on our Christmas tree. We love to reminisce about where they came from, who made them and when, and what they mean to us. It's always an enriching time.

Once we finish decorating the Christmas tree, my wife Laynette and I have three very special ornaments we unwrap together. These three colorful glass globes are not displayed on our tree, but rather are hung in a place of honor on our fireplace mantel from three stocking hangers shaped in the letters "J" "O" "Y." These ornaments represent the three children we lost to miscarriage between the births of our daughter and our son.

I distinctly recall the excitement we shared as we watched the "tap, tap, tap" heartbeat of these precious young ones on the ultrasound monitor, only to feel the overwhelming despair of having lost each of them just a short time later. Why this occurred remains a mystery to me, but I do know that it has had a profound impact on our lives. The loss of these little ones has enabled Laynette and me to more fully grasp how fragile and fleeting life can be. It has allowed us to love each other and our daughter and our son more richly. And it has helped us to more deeply appreciate the miracle of Christmas—the birth of the Savior of the World, Jesus Christ.

God must have felt great joy and excitement when the tiny heart of His one and only Son began beating in rhythm inside the womb of the young Virgin Mary



months before that first Christmas morning in Bethlehem. At the same time, I imagine the Heavenly Father's heart was heavy, knowing the fate that awaited His Son years later on the Cross. For in 33 years, Jesus Christ would lovingly and willingly take the iniquities of the world upon Himself and serve as the atoning sacrifice for all of our sins in order to reconcile to God those who would believe in Him. Probably the best known verse of the Bible, John 3:16, speaks to this when it says, "For God so loved the world that He gave His one and only Son, that whoever believes in Him shall not perish but have everlasting life." This is the centerpiece of God's perfect plan for all of humanity from the beginning of time, and it offers hope, love, and everlasting life with God.

What an amazing gift, and what a reason to celebrate this Christmas!

As I reflect on these things, I grow in anticipation more and more for the day I will meet my Lord and Savior in person. I suspect when I do, three little ones will be at His side holding hands and welcoming me into the heavenly realms. Until that time, I will cherish my family; I will cherish the amazing gift of life; and I will cherish those three Christmas ornaments hanging on our mantel for all they represent.

All of us at the North Carolina Family Policy Council wish you great joy this Christmas season and pray that you will have a very blessed New Year! ❖

*John Rustin is president of the North Carolina Family Policy Council.*

## quotes, quips, and other items of interest

**“[I]ts leaders are correct and deserving of an ... attaboy.”**

—Rob Schofield, of the left-leaning group NC Policy Watch, in an August 23, 2013 post entitled, “Family Policy Council Gets One Right,” which applauds NCFPC President John Rustin for opposing the proposed expansion of casino gambling in North Carolina, a proposal Schofield calls “madness.”

**“The quickest way to shut down ... [abortion clinics] is to impose these standards across the board.”**

—Paige Johnson, spokeswoman for Planned Parenthood of Central North Carolina, as quoted in The Fayetteville Observer on August 8, 2013. Johnson was referring to the impact of provisions in *Senate Bill 353—Health and Safety Law Changes*, the new sweeping pro-life law that directs the State Department of Health and Human Services to review and update its rules regarding the regulation of abortion clinics in North Carolina.

**“These people want freedom from religion, not freedom of religion.”**

—Iredell County Commission Board Chairman Steve Johnson, as quoted by The Charlotte Observer in an August 5, 2013 article. Johnson was referring to groups like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) that are pressuring local governments across the nation, including in North Carolina, to end the long-standing tradition of allowing public officials to offer sectarian prayers before government meetings. Union County and Rowan County in N.C. are currently facing lawsuits over their public prayer policies, and a New York case involving a challenge to a town’s prayer policy is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

**“This is a burden we are unwilling to assume.”**

—The elders of Colonial Baptist Church in Cary, North Carolina in a summer 2013 statement, explaining why the church is closing its two scouting units, Troop 613 and Pack 613, effective December 31, 2013. The statement notes that the church will no longer charter troops with the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) because of the BSA’s controversial new policy of granting membership to openly homosexual boys, a decision that has caused churches to “now have the burden to make sure sexually attracted youth do not share tents.”



By David Fitzsimmons, [www.politicalcartoons.com](http://www.politicalcartoons.com)

The truth  
does not change  
according  
to our  
ability to  
stomach it.

— Flannery O’Connor





## The Life Battle

*Celebrating and Building on S353*

written by:  
*Mary  
Summa,  
J.D.*

“**T**HE FIRST THING SHE SAID TO ME WAS, ‘I KNOW IT’S A GIRL AND I NEED YOUR HELP TO GET IT OUT OF ME...’ WITH HER ARMS TIGHTLY CROSSED ALONG HER ABDOMEN, SHE EXPLAINED THAT HER HUSBAND AND HIS PARENTS EXPECTED A BOY, AND THAT CARPENTER’S HELP COULD CHANGE HER LIFE. ‘I HAVE A DAUGHTER,’ PRIYA SAID. ‘I DON’T NEED ANOTHER ONE.’”

“I FIRST HEARD OF THE MIFEPRISTONE ABORTION PILL, ON SEPTEMBER 17, 2003, THE WORST DAY OF MY LIFE. A NURSE TOLD ME MY DAUGHTER, HOLLY, WAS IN THE HOSPITAL AND IN VERY SERIOUS CONDITION. I ASKED, ‘WHAT IS WRONG?’ SHE RESPONDED, ‘MR. PATTERSON, WE’LL EXPLAIN WHEN YOU GET HERE ... COME AS QUICKLY AS YOU CAN.’ I SPED TO THE HOSPITAL ... FOUND HER IN THE INTENSIVE CARE UNIT BARELY CONSCIOUS ... AND STRUGGLING TO BREATHE.... THE DOCTOR CAME IN AND BRISKLY EXPLAINED, ‘WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN FOR HER BUT SHE MAY NOT MAKE IT. SOMETIMES THIS HAPPENS AS A RESULT OF THE PILL.’ HOLLY PATTERSON DIED LATER THAT DAY OF SEPTIC SHOCK, FROM AN INCOMPLETE CHEMICAL ABORTION.”

For years, efforts have been made to stop the holocaust of abortion. Yet, these two recent accounts, the first regarding a sex-selection abortion and the second a chemical abortion, show how much work still remains.

In the waning hours of the 2013 Legislative Session, North Carolina lawmakers passed what constitutes one of the few pieces of meaningful pro-life legislation enacted in this State in the past 100 years. Upon signing this bill into law, Governor Pat McCrory underscored that, in his mind, the law was about insuring safer conditions for women seeking abortion. While that is a laudable goal we should all support, we must also recognize that abortion directly impacts two lives: the life of the mother and the life of the unborn child.

With that in mind, this article examines Senate Bill 353—Health & Safety Law Changes, in order to understand exactly what the General Assembly accomplished through its passage in 2013 and what can be done in the future to further advance the health and safety of women and unborn children whose lives depend upon it.



## Evaluating Senate Bill 353

Senate Bill 353 accomplishes several very important things:

- It expands North Carolina's health care conscience protection clause to ensure that not only doctors and nurses, but "any other health care provider" who objects to abortion on moral, ethical or religious grounds cannot be forced to participate in an abortion;
- It prohibits city and county governments from using taxpayer dollars to fund employee health insurance programs that include abortion coverage, except in cases of rape or incest or when the mother's life is in danger. A similar provision applies to health insurance plans offered through a health insurance exchange under the federal Affordable Care Act, commonly referred to as "Obamacare;"
- It seeks to prohibit sex-selection abortions by providing certain civil remedies when the sex of the unborn child is a "significant factor" in the woman seeking to have an abortion;
- It requires a physician who is performing a surgical abortion to be "physically present during the performance of the entire abortion procedure," or to be "physically present in the same room as the patient" when the first drug or chemical is administered to the patient during a chemical abortion; and
- It directs the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services to amend its rules pertaining to abortion clinics to "ensure that standards for clinics certified by the Department address the on-site recovery phase of patient care at the clinic, protect patient privacy, provide quality assurance, and ensure that patients with complications receive the necessary medical attention, while not unduly restricting access."

Close examination of the bill shows that legislators and the Governor responded to the reveille to protect women's health, and while they made positive progress in that direction, more remains to be done. These new laws and regulations need to be properly implemented and vigorously enforced, and must be strengthened in the future in order to continue the efforts that were initiated in SB 353.

## The Danger of Chemical Abortions

In September 2000, the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) approved the abortion pill RU-486 (mifeprax) for use in chemical abortions for pregnancies of 49 days or less. Mifeprax has the effect of starving the unborn child by halting the growth of the uterine lining. Two days after administering mifeprax, under FDA protocol, misoprostol, an ulcer medication, is administered to the woman orally, in order to induce uterine contractions and expel the

dead baby. The patient is required to sign a Patient Agreement whereby the patient agrees to follow up with the doctor within 14 days to make sure the entire baby was expelled. Under FDA protocol, mifeprax should be administered only if the doctor has accurately assessed the age of the unborn child, has examined the patient to rule out an ectopic pregnancy, and has the ability to provide a surgical abortion or make arrangements to provide a surgical abortion if complications arise. According to the FDA protocol, the doctor, not the patient, should administer the second drug, misoprostol. Despite these protocols, the National Abortion Federation (NAF) has recommended allowing women to take misoprostol vaginally at home for up to 69 days and in stronger doses than that recommended by the FDA. The NAF recommendations are now commonly used in abortion clinics.

**Risk of Death.** Chemical abortions, even when the initial dose has been provided by a physician, have proven far more dangerous than surgical abortions. In October 2006, the U.S. House of Representatives Government Reform Committee issued a report finding that the risk of death by infection from chemical abortion is at least 10 times that from surgical abortion. Furthermore, the overall death rate for chemical abortions is 14 times greater than for surgical abortions. Moreover, a 2011 FDA report concluded that 16 women have died from chemical abortions, and 2,207 women have incurred complications, including infections, hemorrhaging, and ectopic pregnancies.

**Tele-med or Webcam Abortions.** Further jeopardizing women's health, in 2008, beginning in Iowa, Planned Parenthood abortion doctors and others began administering chemical abortions via the Internet. Termed "tele-med abortions" (or webcam abortions), an abortion doctor, potentially hundreds of miles away, conducts a brief online conference with the woman, and then, from a remote location, presses a button that opens a drawer containing abortion inducing drugs. In violation of FDA protocol, the physician has neither examined the woman to determine the age of the unborn child, nor has the doctor ruled out a diagnosis of an ectopic pregnancy. The woman takes the first pill at that

“The overall death rate for chemical abortions is 14 times greater than for surgical abortions.”

time and the second pill later, orally or vaginally at home. If problems arise, the doctor who conducted the online interview and administered the drug may not be available for follow-up or for assistance in the event of an emergency.

**Senate Bill 353 on Webcam Abortions.** Senate Bill 353 requires that a doctor in North Carolina be present during the entire surgical abortion procedure or for the initial dosage of medicine for a chemical abortion. While this provision intends to ban webcam abortions in North Carolina, it may not completely accomplish this goal. The reason is that the remedy for a violation of this law is a civil cause of action, as opposed to a criminal penalty.

Existing law, to which this provision was added, enables the woman “upon whom an abortion has been performed and any father of an unborn child that was the subject of an abortion” to “maintain an action for damages against the person who performed the abortion....” In addition, the law allows the woman seeking the abortion, her spouse or guardian, her parent (if the woman is a minor), her siblings, “a current or former licensed health care provider of the woman,” or the Attorney General to petition the court for injunctive relief. The practical likelihood of any of these parties bringing an action against the doctor seems remote, especially since anonymity is not legislatively guaranteed in a court action. In the circumstances where an injunction is granted, the physician would be enjoined from performing abortions in violation of the statute in the future. Injunctive relief, however, will not undo the harm already done.

## Suggested Improvements

To ensure women’s safety, the legislature should amend the law as follows:

- For webcam abortions:
  - Create penalties that the Department of Health and Human Services must impose for violation of the ban on webcam abortions.
  - Upon a finding by the court that a physician has engaged in such practice, mandate suspension of his/her medical license, not just the ability to perform abortions.

“Traditionally, abortion clinics have escaped intensive oversight by the states, and clinic regulations are often weak and rarely enforced.”

- For all chemical abortions:
  - Require abortion clinics to comply with FDA protocols, including but not limited to prohibiting chemical abortions after 46 days of gestation; requiring the doctor to administer the second drug, misoprostol, in person; and requiring the patient to return to the facility within 14 days for a follow up appointment. (At the time of publication, the issue of requiring doctors to follow protocols for chemical abortions is currently before the United States Supreme Court.)
  - Create mandatory penalties for non-compliance.
  - Require mandatory suspension of the physician’s license if it is determined that the doctor did not comply with FDA protocol.

## Sex-Selection Abortions

In addition to not fully addressing problems related to webcam abortions, S353 falls short of an all out ban on sex-selection abortions, because it only creates grounds for a civil action, and not a criminal action, for violations of the law. The bill gives to the woman who obtained an abortion, her spouse or guardian, her parent (if she was a minor at the time of the abortion), or a former licensed health care provider a right to stop the doctor from performing future abortions based on sex-selection and provides these parties, except for the health care provider, an opportunity to sue the doctor for monetary damages. While civil penalties may be awarded in a successful legal action, the physician’s license would not be in jeopardy of revocation.

In addition to North Carolina, there are at least five states that have enacted laws pertaining to sex-selection abortions. At least, four states—Arizona, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and North Dakota —have criminalized sex-selection abortion. The Arizona law, which requires a doctor to sign an affidavit that he/she is not aborting the baby due to race or sex and has no knowledge that the child to be aborted is being aborted because of race or sex, is under court challenge. Oklahoma’s law creates only a civil cause of action for injunctive relief, but it gives the State Attorney General and the District Attorney the authority to seek injunctive relief, provides statutorily guaranteed anonymity for the woman at trial, and upon a finding by the court that a doctor has performed an abortion based on sex selection, the law mandates suspension of that doctor’s medical license.

To truly ban sex-selection abortions, North Carolina’s law needs to be amended to:

- **Criminalize sex-selection abortions.** Kermit Gosnell and his house of horrors serve as an example of why we need to impose crimi-

nal penalties. Gosnell was an abortionist in Philadelphia who in May 2013 was convicted of manslaughter of a patient and the murder of three aborted babies who were born alive. Evidence for these charges was discovered as a result of a raid by the federal Drug Enforcement Agency for suspected *criminal* drug violations, not a civil suit. That investigation prompted a state grand jury to investigate Gosnell for murder.

- **Add the District Attorney and Attorney General to the list of individuals who have the right to seek injunctive relief.** Expecting the woman who sought the abortion, or the parent who consented in the case of a minor, to then turn around and pursue an action against the doctor seems highly unlikely.
- **Statutorily mandate suspension of an abortionist's medical license if the court finds that the doctor performed an abortion knowing that the sex of the child was a significant factor in the pregnant woman seeking the abortion.** Simply imposing civil fines on a doctor could be treated as a “cost of doing business” and may not deter an abortionist from ignoring the court order.

## Abortion Clinic Conditions

Traditionally, abortion clinics have escaped intensive oversight by the states, and clinic regulations are often weak and rarely enforced. As was the case with Kermit Gosnell's clinic, health departments may know of the deplorable conditions but turn a blind eye while the abortion industry continues their business.

North Carolina's abortion clinics have many of the same problems that have been chronicled in headlines across the country. Regulations have not been updated in almost 20 years and require only that abortion clinics be inspected as the Department “deems necessary.” According to one news report, abortion clinics are inspected only every three to five years. Other news reports have indicated even longer intervals between inspections.

In the shadow of impending legislation requiring updated regulations, the N.C. Department of Health and Human Services (NCDHHS) suspended the certificate of operation for three abortion clinics in North Carolina. One, the Baker Clinic in Durham, which was shut down for blood testing and lab violations, never reopened. The other two clinics were temporarily closed for flagrant safety and health violations.

One clinic, the Femcare Medical Clinic in Asheville, had not been inspected in seven years. Reportedly, inspectors found operating beds that were not properly cleaned, a dirty operating room, tape holding the anesthesia equipment together, no resuscitator available, no contract with an anesthesiologist or anesthesiologist, and no contract with a



registered pharmacist to assure appropriate dispensing and administering of drugs. Less than a month later, the clinic reopened.

Another clinic, the Preferred Women's Health Clinic in Charlotte has a very troubling track record. Reportedly, state regulators have documented over 40 problems at the clinic during the past 14 years. The clinic has been closed twice, only to be reopened a few days later. The latest closure on May 10, 2013 lasted only five days, and the clinic reopened on May 15 after its medical director promised state regulators the clinic would not continue dispensing a chemical abortion drug incorrectly.

The conditions at Preferred Women's Health Center in Raleigh were also shocking. The facility was investigated in 2010, and inspectors found 22 violations between 2008 and 2009. The State found the following:

- Several cases of the clinic failing to inform the patient of her risks in undergoing an abortion.
- Several cases where the clinic staff was not tested for tuberculosis.
- Staff members' required CPR certification had expired.
- Absence of emergency medications.
- Outdated medications.
- Several cases where the physician failed to insure that the abortion had been complete.
- Several cases where the clinic staff failed to properly monitor patients during recovery.
- One case where the patient returned three times because the first two “abortions” were incomplete.

This Raleigh clinic has never been closed for violations.

## Abortion Clinic Regulation

In the past few years, 26 states have legislatively mandated that abortion facilities meet the same standards as ambulatory surgical centers. Although,



# For over 60 years, the abortion industry has been the master of manipulation and control.

early versions of S353 would have added North Carolina to that list, the final version of the bill did not. Instead, the bill directs the NCDHHS to “promulgate regulations that address on-site recovery, provide quality assurance, protect patient privacy and ensure that the patient with complications receives the necessary medical attention.” This authority includes the ability to “apply any requirement for the licensure of ambulatory surgical centers to the standards applicable to” abortion clinics.

In compliance with the new law, DHHS should promulgate the following additional regulations:

- **Require annual inspections.** Currently, the regulations require only that the clinics be inspected as the Department “may deem appropriate.” North Carolina Animal Hospitals are inspected every two years. Some abortion clinics have not been inspected in seven years. North Carolina women deserve better than pets in this State.
- **Require the Department to investigate every complaint relative to the care, treatment, or complication of any patient.** Currently, the regulations give authority to the Department to investigate complaints, but does not require the Department to conduct investigations.
- **Require N.C. abortion clinics to have a written plan for the transfer of emergency cases to a nearby hospital for hospitalization.** Every abortion clinic should have a transfer agreement with a local hospital to accommodate these emergencies. Current regulations do not require a written plan or a transfer agreement.
- **Require the abortionist to have hospital privileges with a nearby hospital.** Currently, there is no such requirement.
- **Require the abortion clinic to have additional written policies and procedures for:**
  - storage, maintenance, and distribution of sterile supplies and equipment.
  - anesthesia services.
  - cleaning of operating and recovery rooms.
  - a schedule of preventive maintenance on all equipment and medicines.

*Mary Summa, J.D., is an attorney in Charlotte, North Carolina, who served as Chief Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Jesse Helms during the 1980s. For a footnoted version of this article, please visit [ncfamily.org](http://ncfamily.org).*

— obtaining, dispensing, and administering drugs.

- **Require every abortion clinic’s governing authority to establish a quality assurance program to evaluate compliance with facility procedure and policies.** The committee implementing this program should consist of at least one physician, and other licensed health care professionals.
- **Require every abortion clinic to file their policies and procedures with DHHS as a tool for auditing.** Currently, the regulations require some policies to be established, but they are not required to be filed with the Department.
- **Impose strict monetary penalties for non-compliance and a minimum 30-day closure period.** Currently, there are no penalties, and clinics have been closed for a few days and reopened with a promise to make changes. Currently, there is no financial incentive for an abortion clinic to comply with any regulations.

If the Department refuses to enact strong regulations on abortion clinics, the General Assembly should legislate such changes.

## Conclusion

Theologian Dr. J.I. Packer has been quoted as saying that myths are “stories made up to sanctify social patterns. They are lies, carefully designed to reinforce a particular philosophy or morality within a culture. They are instruments of manipulation and control.”

For over 60 years, the abortion industry has been the master of manipulation and control. It has created the myth that abortion is about freedom and a woman’s right to control her own body; that abortion is a simple procedure with very little risk; and that an unborn child is a “product of pregnancy,” and deserves to live only if the mother wants the child. The industry has poured millions of dollars into advancing these myths and they have successfully browbeaten policymakers into submission and controlled public policy, all to the detriment of women and their unborn children. These masters of manipulation have reaped the financial benefit as they have collected millions of dollars in revenue.

In truth, millions of boys and girls, living and breathing inside their mother’s wombs have been slaughtered. Women have been physically and emotionally abused, and stripped of their dignity. Tens of thousands of women have been injured. Hundreds have lost their lives.

A new day has dawned in North Carolina. The lies have been exposed and North Carolina’s legislators and Governor have listened. The only question remaining is whether lawmakers and our Governor will continue to reject these myths and win the battle to protect women and children, or fall prey, once again, to the manipulation and control of the abortion industry. North Carolinians are waiting and watching. ❖



## Expanding School Choice

### *New Scholarship Programs Expand Options for N.C. Families*

written by:  
**Terry Stoops, Ph.D.**

**A**S SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS CONTINUE TO INCREASE IN SIZE AND POPULARITY, THOSE FEARING THE LOSS OF POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL BENEFITS REAPED FROM THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL SYSTEM HAVE INTENSIFIED THEIR ATTACKS. INDEED, THE BIGGEST THREAT TO SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS ARE LEGAL ATTACKS BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THEIR SPECIAL INTEREST ALLIES, WHICH ARE WILLING TO GO TO GREAT LENGTHS TO ENSURE THAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MONOPOLY REMAINS THE ONLY BUSINESS IN TOWN.

For example, the U.S. Department of Justice cited concerns about federal desegregation orders in their effort to block the implementation of the Louisiana Scholarship Program, a private school voucher program for low-income students who attend failing public schools. Ironically, most of the voucher recipients would be racial and ethnic minorities, the very group that the Justice Department claims to want to protect.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) recently filed a lawsuit to stop Alabama's tax credit scholarship program. Citing a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, the SPLC contends that thousands of low-income

children in the so-called Alabama Black Belt will not be able to take advantage of the tax credit scholarship, thus creating "two classes of students assigned to failing schools—those who can escape them because of their parent's income or where they live and those who cannot."

This is also a precarious time in the life of North Carolina's newest school choice programs—Children with Disabilities Scholarship Grants and the Opportunity Scholarship Grants. Although neither scholarship program has been challenged in court, the North Carolina Association of Educators stated that they would "immediately pursue legal challenges [against] the constitutionality of taxpayer dollars to be used for private and for-profit schools." Expect other organizations—with even deeper pockets—to join their effort to litigate school choice out of existence.

Opponents of the state's school choice legislation suggest that the programs violate the State Constitution's "uniformity clause," that is, the requirement that the state provide all school-age children a uniform education. Uniformity arguments have been employed successfully in school choice lawsuits in Florida, Louisiana and Colorado.

In the end, the success of North Carolina's new scholarship programs depends on the willingness of families to champion, and if necessary defend, programs that promise to transform the lives of the state's most vulnerable children. Comparatively speaking, the process of securing passage of the voucher legislation was the "easy" part.

## Hard-fought Victories

For decades, the state and federal governments have provided vouchers and grants to subsidize pre-kindergarten schooling for at-risk children and postsecondary education for students who choose to attend private colleges and universities. This year, the North Carolina General Assembly added two new state-funded scholarship programs that serve low-income and special needs students in K-12 public schools.

For the Children with Disabilities Scholarship Grants, legislators set aside \$3.67 million for the current school year and \$4.34 million for next year to provide \$3,000 per semester or \$6,000 per year scholarships for students with a documented disability.

Families that meet income guidelines may qualify for a maximum \$4,200 per child grant under the Opportunity Scholarship Grants program. Due to logistical concerns, the \$10 million program will not be available to North Carolina families until the 2014-2015 school year.

The two programs became law in very different ways.

House members Jonathan Jordan (R-Ashe), Marcus Brandon (D-Guilford), Bert Jones (R-Rockingham) and Paul Stam (R-Wake) were the

primary sponsors of House Bill 269—Children with Disabilities Scholarship Grants. Bill authors introduced the legislation to replace the popular tax credit for children with disabilities that was approved in 2011. This year, the special needs tax credit was one of many state tax credits eliminated as part of the overhaul of North Carolina’s tax code. House Bill 269 received considerable bipartisan support in both the House and the Senate, and was signed into law by Governor Pat McCrory (R) on July 29, 2013.

The fight for the Opportunity Scholarship Grants was much more contentious. Not even Republican majorities in both chambers of the state legislature guaranteed passage.

House sponsors, Reps. Rob Bryan (R–Mecklenburg), Brian Brown (R–Pitt), Marcus Brandon (D–Guilford), and Edward Hanes (D–Forsyth) filed House Bill 944—The Opportunity Scholarship Act on Tax Day, 2013. Almost immediately, the mainstream media and well-funded public school advocacy groups began to exert enormous pressure on loyal Democrats and noncommittal Republicans to defeat the measure. In some respects, the N.C. Association of Educators, the N.C. Department of Public Instruction, and their ideological allies waged an effective advocacy campaign. With the exception of the Democrat bill sponsors, they ensured that the House Democrats formed a unified and vocal opposition. They also reached out to several Republican legislators with ties to the public school establishment. These legislators, which included Republicans in prominent leadership positions, appeared to slow the bill’s progress through the House.

After two dispiriting meetings of the House Education Committee, Republican support continued to waver. Democrats escalated their opposition in concert with the so-called Moral Monday protests. Concerned that the measure would not make it through votes in the House and Senate, legislative leaders took the controversial step of inserting the bill language into the state budget bill. When the

Governor signed the budget on July 26, 2013, the Opportunity Scholarship Act program became law.

Due to the efforts of a handful of courageous lawmakers and a diverse coalition of school choice advocates, thousands of families will now have the means to access these new home and private school opportunities.

## Implementation

Now comes the really difficult part—implementation. Outside of a legal challenge, nothing will undermine a school choice program faster than sloppy administration, weak demand, and apathetic participants. That is why the rules and regulations governing the Children with Disabilities and Opportunity Scholarship laws are essential.

As the state prepares to launch both voucher programs in 2014, families interested in obtaining a scholarship for their children must first determine if they meet specific eligibility requirements outlined in the respective laws. Those general guidelines are summarized for interested families below.

## Children with Disabilities Scholarships

Starting in the spring semester of 2014, these scholarships provide up to \$3,000 per semester or \$6,000 per school year for children who have a documented disability. The scholarships provide grants for tuition and special education and related services, including those services provided to home school students, at the school or facility of the parent or guardians’ choice.

The Children with Disabilities Scholarships program will replace the state’s Tax Credits for Children with Disabilities approved in 2011. This is a significant “win” for North Carolina families, as the tax credit was dependent on the tax liability of the filer. Under the previous tax credit plan, the typical family was able to claim an average of \$2,400, a sum that did little to meet the needs of most of the 700 families that claimed the credit in its first year. Those with no tax liability, which includes most low-income households, could not claim a tax credit because the credit was not refundable. State legislators were sensitive to these concerns and designed the new scholarship plan to resolve them.

### Eligibility

Scholarship recipients must have been enrolled in a North Carolina public school during the semester before enrollment at the nonpublic school, received special education services in an N.C. public preschool, received a special needs scholarship grant the previous semester, or will enter kindergarten or first grade. *Note that the child must meet one, not all, of the above requirements.*

All eligible children must have an Individualized Education Plan (IEP), receive special education ser-

“Outside of a legal challenge, nothing will undermine a school choice program faster than sloppy administration, weak demand, and apathetic participants.”



## Tentative Income Eligibility Guidelines for Opportunity Scholarships

vices regularly, and be under 22-years-old in order to qualify for a scholarship. In addition, the child does not qualify for a scholarship if he or she had been placed in a private or non-profit facility at public expense, graduated from high school, or attended a postsecondary institution as a full-time student.

### Administration and Regulation

The North Carolina State Education Assistance Authority (NCSEAA)—not the N.C. Department of Public Instruction or the Division of Non-Public Education—will administer and regulate the program for the state. The NCSEAA oversees a number of programs “designed to help North Carolinians meet the cost of higher education.” In addition to disseminating information about financial aid programs available for students who attend North Carolina colleges and universities, the NCSEAA also administers North Carolina’s “529” National College Savings Program and the state’s Federal Family Education Loan Program. Starting in 2013, the agency will add a K-12 education component to their work.

Each year, NCSEAA officials will make applications available no later than May 1 for the fall semester and October 1 for the spring semester. Parents or guardians will be notified in writing no later than July 1 for the fall semester and December 1 for the spring semester.

### Prioritizing Applicants

Families with a child who has received a scholarship or tax credit will receive priority for a scholarship the following years, so long as the child continues to meet all eligibility requirements. The NCSEAA will award additional scholarships in the order of eligible applications received until available funds are exhausted. The law requires the state to make any unexpended funds available to award scholarship grants to eligible students.

### Verification

The families of scholarship recipients are required to submit receipts to the NCSEAA to verify expenditure of the grant. The agency also requires verification of enrollment at the nonpublic school or, in the case of home school families, receipt of special education services for 75 days or more during the semester. Failure to provide this documentation may lead to the revocation of the scholarship.

The program requires the NCSEAA to ensure that the local school district reevaluates the child at least every three years to verify the child’s disability.

## Opportunity Scholarship Grants

Beginning in the fall of 2014, certain families across North Carolina will have access to a nonpublic (private) school scholarship of up to \$4,200 per year. The actual amount awarded cannot exceed the

Number of Persons in Household	Maximum Annual Income for First Year (2014-2015)	Maximum Annual Income for Second Year and After (2015-)
2	\$28,694	\$38,162
3	\$36,131	\$48,054
4	\$43,568	\$57,945
5	\$51,005	\$67,836
6	\$58,442	\$77,727
7	\$65,879	\$87,618
8	\$73,316	\$97,510

actual cost of the standard tuition and fees charged by the nonpublic school of choice.

As outlined below, year 1 and year 2 eligibility requirements differ in important ways. The goal of this design was to ensure that the program enrolled low-income families initially and then expanded eligibility to both low- and middle-income families in subsequent years.

### Eligibility: Year 1

The first year of the program (2014-2015) has eligibility requirements that may not apply to subsequent years. For the first year, all children must reside in a household that has an income that does not exceed the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced Lunch (See Table above, first column). For a family of four, the total annual household income cannot exceed \$43,568, for example. In addition, the child must be a full-time student at a public school during the spring semester of 2014 and may not be a high school graduate. If the number of applicants exceeds the number of scholarships available, the North Carolina State Education Assistance Authority (NCSEAA) may select students using a random lottery system.

### Eligibility: Year 2 and After

For subsequent years of the program (2015 and after), the program’s eligibility requirements have additional components. Similar to the first year requirements, the child may not be a high school graduate. Additionally, he or she must meet *one of five* additional requirements in order to be eligible for a scholarship. The applicant must be a full-time student at a public school during the previous semester, a scholarship recipient during the previous school year, entering kindergarten or first grade, in foster

## Summary of North Carolina's Voucher Programs

	<b>Children with Disabilities Scholarships</b>	<b>Opportunity Scholarship Grants, Year 1</b>	<b>Opportunity Scholarship Grants, Year 2 and after</b>
Amount	Up to \$6,000 per year	Up to \$4,200 per year	Up to \$4,200 per year
Begins	Spring 2014	Fall 2014	Fall 2015
Eligibility requirements	<p>Must meet one of the following requirements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Was enrolled in an NC public school during the previous semester</li> <li>• Received special education services in an NC public school as a preschooler</li> <li>• Received a scholarship grant or tax credit the previous semester</li> <li>• Will enter kindergarten or first grade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reside in a household with an income level not in excess of the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced Lunch</li> <li>• Be a full-time student who has not graduated from high school and attended a public school during the 2014 spring semester</li> <li>• Was a full-time student assigned to and attending a public school during the previous semester</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students must reside in a household with an income level not in excess of 133% of the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced-Price Lunch Program.</li> <li>• Received a scholarship during the previous school year</li> <li>• Is entering kindergarten or the first grade</li> <li>• Is a child in foster care</li> <li>• Is a child whose adoption decree was entered not more than a year prior to applying for the scholarship</li> </ul>
Other requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Must have an Individualized Education Plan and receive special education services regularly</li> <li>• Must be under 22 years old</li> <li>• Cannot have been placed in a nonpublic facility at public expense previously</li> <li>• Cannot have graduated or attended a postsecondary institution</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First priority will be given to eligible students who received a scholarship grant during the previous school year.</li> <li>• After scholarships have been awarded to prior recipients, the following priority guidelines will apply:</li> <li>• At least 50% of the remaining funds must go to students who live in a household with an income that does not exceed the amount to qualify for the Free and Reduced Lunch program.</li> <li>• No more than 35% of the remaining funds can be awarded to students entering either kindergarten or first grade.</li> <li>• Any remaining funds will then be awarded to other eligible students.</li> <li>• Students residing in a household with an income level between 100% and 133% of the amount required to qualify for Free and Reduced Lunch will be eligible to receive a scholarship of up to 90% of their tuition and fees at the nonpublic school.</li> </ul>
Applications available from the State Education Assistance Authority	May 1 for the fall semester and October 1 for the spring semester	February 1	February 1
Notification of eligibility from the State Education Assistance Authority	July 1 for the fall semester and December 1 for the spring semester	March 1	March 1
Reporting	Parents or guardians must submit receipts and documentation to the SEAA. No less than 75 days of that semester	Must authorize the SEAA to access relevant information held by other state agencies	Must authorize the SEAA to access relevant information held by other state agencies
Homeschools eligible?	Yes	No	No

care, or a child whose adoption decree was entered less than a year prior to applying for the scholarship.

**Income.** Most significantly, the income eligibility jumps to 133 percent of the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced-Price Lunch Program (See Table on page 15, last column). This raises the income eligibility significantly, allowing middle-income families to qualify. Under this standard, a family of four may have an annual household income of up to \$57,945. This is more than \$14,000 higher than the first year income limit.

While income eligibility becomes more generous in the second year of the program, there is a “skin in the game” requirement, depending on income level. The law mandates that only 90 percent of the standard tuition and fees of the school of choice (up to \$4,200) may be awarded to children who reside in families that have an annual income between 100 percent and 133 percent of the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced-Price Lunch Program.

### Administration and Regulation

NCSEAA officials will make applications available no later than February 1 for fall semester enrollment. Parents or guardians will be notified of their decision by March 1. Families who received a scholarship during the previous school year will receive priority, so long as the student continues to meet all eligibility requirements. After the NCSEAA distributes scholarships to prior recipients, the agency must award at least half of the remaining scholarship funds to students in households who have an income that does not exceed the amount required for the student to qualify for the Federal Free and Reduced Lunch (See Table on page 15, first column). In addition, the law caps the percentage of funds that may be awarded to students entering kindergarten or first grade at 35 percent.

The NCSEAA sends a check directly to the nonpublic school, but the nonpublic school cannot deposit the funds until a parent or guardian of a scholarship recipient goes to the school and endorses the scholarship in person. First and foremost, this requirement serves a legal purpose. But the symbolic significance of this act cannot be overstated.

### Verification

Similar to those who receive a special needs scholarship, families of Opportunity Scholarship recipients are required to submit receipts and documentation required by the NCSEAA. Failure to do so may lead to revocation of the scholarship.

During the school year, the agency will evaluate a random sample of scholarship households to ensure that income requirements are met. In addition, the NCSEAA may access relevant information held by other state agencies.



### The Future

The state legislature does not appropriate funds for the 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 school years until they meet to approve a new biennial budget in 2015. As a result, it is impossible to predict how much funding will be available for the second year of the Opportunity Scholarship Grants and third year of the Children with Disabilities Scholarship Grants. Even slight changes in party membership, composition, and/or leadership may lead to significant changes to funding levels, as well as program rules and regulations.

School choice supporters learned one important lesson during the debates over these voucher programs—even solid Republican majorities in the state House and Senate do not guarantee that any school choice measure will pass easily. Those fortunate families who receive scholarships, as well as those citizens and policy leaders who will fight to grow them, must not take any thing or any one for granted. North Carolinians must not allow these school choice programs to end before they begin. ❖

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## Breeding Addiction for Profit

### *The Social and Economic Harms of Casino Gambling*

written by:  
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**I**NCREASINGLY ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY IS SEEKING TO EXPAND ITS REACH THROUGH “REGIONAL CASINOS” THAT BRING LAS VEGAS-STYLE GAMBLING TO MAIN STREET—CREATING EASY ACCESS AND TEMPTATION FOR CITIZENS TO GAMBLE CLOSER TO HOME, OFTEN SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK. ACCORDING TO A RECENT REPORT, 23 STATES HAVE SOME FORM OF COMMERCIAL CASINOS, CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE “NEARLY EVERY ADULT” IN THE NORTHEAST AND MID-ATLANTIC STATES “NOW LIVES WITHIN A SHORT DRIVE OF A CASINO.”

North Carolina is no stranger to the efforts of the gambling industry to expand casino gambling. In 2011, then-Governor Beverly Perdue signed an “Amended and Restated Gambling Compact” with the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI), which was the first step in enabling the Cherokee Tribe to implement “Class III” Las Vegas-style table games (such as craps, roulette, blackjack, and poker) with live dealers in North Carolina. The General Assembly followed suit in June 2012 by enacting legislation that authorized the EBCI to conduct these Class III games, and allowed the Tribe to operate up to three casinos. The U.S. Department

of the Interior approved these changes in August 2012, and in October 2013, the Cherokee broke ground on a second casino near Murphy, N.C. that will reportedly hold up to 1,200 slot machines and 40-50 live table games. If that were not enough, it became public in August 2013 that the South Carolina-based Catawba Indian Nation is seeking to purchase land and build a 220,000 square-foot gambling casino and “resort” off of I-85 in Cleveland County, North Carolina (near Charlotte).

Regional casinos are sold to the public as a “sure” source of revenue for hurting economies, with the promise of more jobs and increased tourism. But a groundbreaking new report from 33 noted scholars and policy leaders shows that regional casinos are a “regressive source of income for states” that ultimately bring harm to the communities in which they are located. According to the report, casinos prey upon the most vulnerable citizens for the majority of their revenue, weaken other businesses, and harm property values. Released in September 2013 by the Institute for American Values’ Council on Casinos, the report, “Why Casinos Matter: 31 Evidenced-Based Propositions from the Health and Social Sciences,” differs from the majority of

other U.S. gambling studies by relying primarily on *independent* research that is not associated with or controlled by the gambling industry. The report argues that state-promoted casino gambling “is contributing to economic inequality,” and urges state governments to rethink their involvement in its expansion.

Following is a compilation of findings from the “Why Casinos Matter” report, along with additional research, that shows why the social and economic costs of casino gambling far outweigh any potential, short-term benefits for communities.

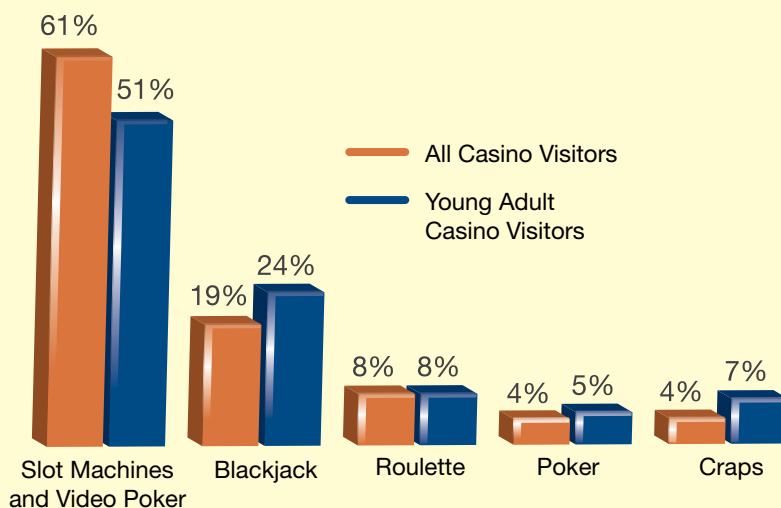
### 1. Today’s casinos are dominated by computerized slot machines, from which casinos derive the majority of their revenue.

- The number of legal electronic gambling machines, which include slots, has increased by more than five fold in the U.S. in less than two decades—from about 184,000 in 1991 to about 947,000 in 2010.
- There are 3,145 electronic gambling machines in North Carolina, according to the American Gaming Association (AGA).
- According to the AGA, 61 percent of casino-goers say that electronic slot and video poker machines are their favorite casino games.
- According to the “Why Casinos Matter” report, “The percentage of casinos’ total gambling revenue deriving from slot machines is estimated at 62 to 80 percent, with racinos (racetrack casinos) getting 90 percent of their take from slots.”

### 2. Slot machines are highly addictive electronic devices that are designed to induce gamblers to spend more time on the machine and to play until all their money is gone.

- Electronic gambling machines (i.e., slot and video poker machines) have been dubbed the “crack cocaine” of gambling by experts.
- According to MIT Professor Natasha Dow Schull, who spent over a decade researching machine gamblers in Las Vegas, “Every feature of a slot machine—its mathematical structure, visual graphics, sound dynamics, seating and screen ergonomics—is calibrated to increase a gambler’s ‘time on device’ and to encourage ‘play to extinction,’ which is industry jargon for playing until all your money is gone.”
- In her book, *Addiction by Design*, Dr. Schull quotes a gambling industry consultant as telling her, “The key [to machine gambling] is duration of play. I want to keep you there as long as humanly possible—that’s what makes you lose.”
- One major study found that people who play slot machines as “their primary form of gam-

## Top Five Favorite Casino Games



American Gaming Association, “State of the States, 2013”

bling are more likely to become problem gamblers,” and “to experience more rapid onset of gambling addiction than people who engage in more traditional forms of gambling.”

- According to gambling addiction experts, it typically takes one to three years to develop a gambling problem with modern slot machines, versus five to 10 years with traditional forms of gambling.

### 3. Areas where casinos are introduced and expanded experience significant increases in the number of problem and pathological gamblers.

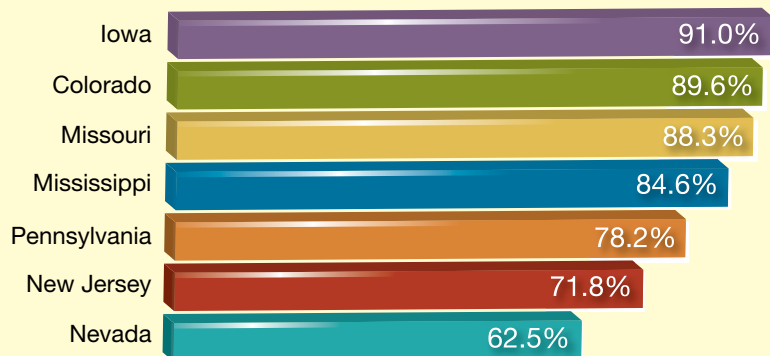
- Nationwide, it is estimated that over five percent of *the adult population* has exhibited the characteristics of pathological or problem gambling during their lifetime.
- The percentage of problem and pathological gambling among regular (or repeat) gamblers is estimated to be as high as 20 percent, according to Dr. Schull.
- According to the “Why Casinos Matter” report, “in some states, the rate of problem gambling rises three to four-fold after the initial adoption of a casino before leveling off at this higher level or declining modestly.”
- A 2004 study found that individuals who lived within 10 miles of a casino had twice the rate of pathological and problem gambling as individuals who did not.

### 4. Casinos are disproportionately dependent on problem gamblers for the majority of their profits.

- According to the “Why Casinos Matter” report, “problem gamblers account for 40 to 60 percent of slot machine revenue.”

## Gaming Machine (Slots, Video Poker) Revenue

As Percentage of Overall Gaming Revenue in Commercial Casino States



American Gaming Association, "State of the States, 2013"

- One Canadian study found that "casual players comprised 75 percent" of the number of people gambling in casinos, while contributing only four percent of net revenue. The majority of casino revenue came from problem gamblers.

### 5. Increasing numbers of addicted gamblers create significant burdens for gamblers, their families, and society.

- Individuals who have gambling problems are more likely to suffer from other addictive behaviors, and experience increased depression and anxiety.
- Addicted gamblers are more likely to get divorced, experience financial hardship (bankruptcy/debt), lose their home or job (or both), attempt suicide, and commit spousal abuse.
- Families of problem gamblers report increased physical and emotional abuse of spouses and children, divorce, child neglect, and alcohol and drug abuse.

### 6. In addition to increased gambling addiction, crime increases in areas where casino gambling is introduced.

- Addicted gamblers often resort to criminal activity to fuel their gambling addiction and/or to pay off large debts.
- A report by the Attorney General's Office in Maryland found that introducing casinos within the State would increase organized crime, child abuse, drug abuse, and domestic violence.
- In the first 15 years in Atlantic City after casinos were built, violent crime rose 199 percent and larceny increased 481 percent.
- In North Carolina, during the first five years of the Cherokee Casino, crime rates in that county were reported to have increased 25 percent, and the Jackson County police force increased by 40 percent, while the number of officers on the reservation increased by 33 percent.

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- A survey of nearly 400 Gamblers Anonymous members found that 57 percent committed theft that amounted to stealing \$30 million collectively to fund their gambling addictions (an average of \$135,000 per gambler).

### 7. Gambling addiction and its associated costs are expensive for society.

- A 2010 national evaluation of gambling costs by Focus on the Family estimated that pathological gambling in adults costs about \$12,205 per addicted gambler, per year in the United States. The report estimated that problem gambling costs \$3,478 per adult problem gambler, per year.
- According to the "Why Casinos Matter" report, a "2004 study estimated the social costs of problem gambling associated with a new casino between \$2,486 and \$2,945 per problem gambler, and \$5,143 to \$10,330 per additional pathological gambler.

### 8. Regional casinos negatively impact the economies of host and surrounding communities, and serve as a regressive form of revenue for states. According to the 2013 "Why Casinos Matter" report:

- Casinos "build their customer base by encouraging repeat visits from local residents.... Repeat players spend dollars in a casino that would otherwise be spent somewhere else in the local economy."
- Casinos hurt property values in the host community. For example, "research conducted for realtors in western Massachusetts, where a new regional casino is slated for construction, found that homeowners in the host community would experience from \$1,650 to \$3,300 in lost value." The same study estimated an additional 125 home foreclosures each year.
- Casinos weaken other businesses, such as restaurants and bars, while increasing gambling-associated businesses, such as pawnshops, check cashing stores, and payday lenders.
- "A study that looked at the spread of casino gambling in 300 Metropolitan Statistical Areas found that the presence of a casino reduces voluntarism, civic participation, family stability, and other forms of social capital within 15 miles of a community where it is located."
- Ultimately, "the fundamental economic dynamic of a regional casino is taking dollars out of the community, not bringing dollars into the community." ❖






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# The Marriage Wage Premium

## The Financial and Personal Benefits of Marriage

*by: Mark Steckbeck, Ph.D.*



*The views expressed in this article are the author's and do not represent official positions of Campbell University.*

**F**OR DECADES, YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL AND EARN AT LEAST A FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE DEGREE. THE IMPETUS FOR THIS ENCOURAGEMENT IS DATA SHOWING THAT COLLEGE GRADUATES WITH FOUR-YEAR DEGREES EARN HIGHER LIFETIME WAGES RELATIVE TO THOSE WHO NEVER ATTENDED COLLEGE OR THOSE WHO STARTED AND NEVER FINISHED. THIS “COLLEGE WAGE PREMIUM,” MEASURED AS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEDIAN HOURLY WAGES EARNED BY THOSE WITH AT LEAST A FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE DEGREE AND THOSE WITHOUT, IS SIGNIFICANT AND HAS BEEN GROWING STEADILY SINCE THE MID-1970S. ESTIMATED TO BE ABOUT 40 PERCENT IN 1980, THE WAGE PREMIUM HAS RISEN TO AN ESTIMATED 70 PERCENT TODAY.

Another opportunity exists for people to benefit from a wage premium nearly as significant as that enjoyed by college graduates. Unfortunately, while there are no socioeconomic and education requirements to participate in this activity, fewer people are doing so today relative to previous generations. As a consequence, many people—especially younger people—are missing out on an opportunity that not only provides a financial return, but also is likely to improve their mental and physical health, as well as enhance their overall life satisfaction. This activity is marriage, which requires little formal training in order to participate, yet participation has been retreating for the past 50 years. This means that a decreasing percentage of the population is enjoying the fruits of one of our most important social institutions.

## Marriage Trends

Americans between the ages of 25 and 60 from all socio-economic backgrounds view marriage favorably, with at least three-fourths of adult Americans professing marriage as either “very important” or as “one of the most important things to them.” According to a study by the Pew Research Center, 61 percent of adult Americans reported that they wanted to someday marry. Conversely, 27 percent reported they were “not sure” about marriage, and 40 percent viewed it as “an institution [that] is becoming obsolete.”

Despite a predominantly favorable attitude toward marriage, fewer Americans are choosing to marry relative to just 30 years ago. According to that same Pew Research study, in 1960, 72 percent of the U.S. population aged 18 and older were married, whereas less than 50 percent are today. For those age 45 and older, the percentage of never married men increased from about six percent in

1990 to just over 10 percent by 2010; and for never married women, it increased from 5.5 percent to eight percent.

This jump in the percentage of the adult population who never married, especially those younger than 40, is not necessarily due to their outright rejection of marriage. Instead, at least some of the decline in the rate at which people have been marrying is due to more people delaying marriage. As Graph 1 shows, the age at first marriage has steadily increased for more than half a century. In 1956, the median age at which both men and women first married reached a 120-year low of 22.5 and 20.1, respectively. By 2011, the median ages increased to 28.7 for men and 26.5 for women. So although the rate at which adults in their late 20s-30s marry has fallen, many will still fulfill their dream of marriage, just later on.

## Careers for Women

This trend of delaying marriage or choosing to never marry is not a recent phenomenon, nor is it totally a surprise. Marriage rates started trending downward in the late 1960s, and have continued to do so ever since. For example, in 1960, married couples made up 78 percent of all households, whereas today less than half consist of married couples.



**Marriage rates started trending downward in the late 1960s, and have continued to do so ever since.**

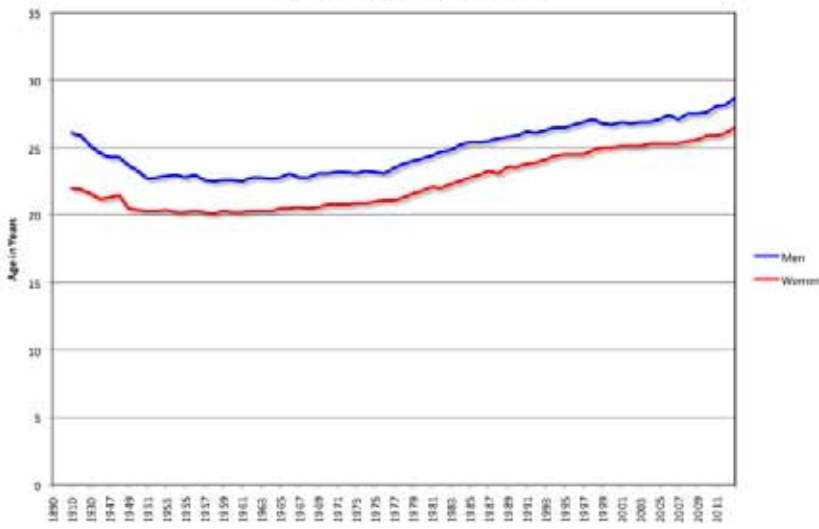


One reason for this downward trend was the transformation in the U.S. (and other developing nations) from an industrial economy to a knowledge and information economy. With labor at one time heavily concentrated in sectors like construction, manufacturing, mining, and other jobs that required physical strength, women found it difficult to participate and establish careers. Beginning in the late 1950s, the information and service sectors expanded, offering more career opportunities for women. The logical response was for women to delay marriage in order to establish careers.

Fewer than 38 percent of the females who graduated from high school in 1960 enrolled in college. Today, that number is 72.2 percent. In fact, females enrolled in institutions of higher education today outnumber males by a ratio of 1.35 to 1. It is no surprise that more and more females continue to delay marrying in order to invest in their human capital and pursue full-time careers.



## Median Age At First Marriage



Graph 1

Even for women without college degrees, the workplace has become far more welcoming over the past 40 years. Many service sector jobs like retail, data entry, transportation, and government typically require no formal education beyond high school. For other careers, a two-year associate's degree often suffices. This change in the skills required of labor for employment in the U.S. economy, from primarily brawn to primarily brain, provides more women career opportunities.

For the average female who delayed marriage in order to pursue a career, this investment appears to have paid off. As Kay Hymowitz et al. note:

Women with a college degree who waited to marry until at least thirty, and high-school-educated women without a degree who also waited until thirty, earn more than those who married at younger ages. In fact, this report finds that they earn \$18,152 and \$4,052 more per year, compared to their sisters who marry before twenty.

The financial rewards to females who delayed marriage indeed appear beneficial, but neither the benefits nor the costs have been felt equally across all socioeconomic groups. Other than for women with a college degree, the average woman has seen the costs of delaying marriage greatly exceed the financial rewards. This includes women who started college and later dropped out.

### Men's Marriage Wage Premium

For men, the financial rewards of marriage are unequivocally positive. Data consistently reveal significantly greater lifetime earnings for married men relative to men who never married, and to a lesser

degree, men who separated or divorced. Estimates of this wage premium range from a 10 percent to 50 percent increase in lifetime earnings, and are prevalent across all socioeconomic groups. So, for example, after controlling for the effects of age, education, job type, experience, and other demographic characteristics, a married male can expect to earn \$44,000 to \$60,000 per year, compared to an unmarried male with similar background and characteristics who earns \$40,000 per year.

**Correlation vs. Causation.** Although the rewards are great, some question whether the marriage wage premium is simply a matter of correlation: Do more productive men tend to marry, or does the act of marrying actually cause a male worker's productivity to increase? If it is the former, what economists call the selection effect, then whether a male marries or not has no influence on his productive capacity, and therefore no influence on his lifetime earnings. On the other hand, if marriage indeed causes males to become more productive, then it is marriage that causes wages for married males to exceed the wages of males who never married.

In one of the most highly regarded studies of the effects of marriage on the earnings of males, economists Sanders Korenman and David Neumark compared the hourly wages earned by married males to the hourly wages earned by males who had never married. They found that after controlling for age, education, years of experience, hours worked per year, and other factors, married males earn more than unmarried males. Furthermore, this wage premium was not from an abrupt increase in the earnings of married males immediately after marrying, which would indicate employer bias in favor of married males. Instead, their wages started to grow at a more rapid rate after marriage compared to the rate of growth before they married. This increase in the rate of growth of wages persisted throughout their marriage to where the hourly wages of married men in their 40s substantially exceeded the wages of their counterparts at age 40 who never married.

**Divorced or Separated Men.** The authors also compared the wages of married men to the wages of men who were divorced or separated. If marriage indeed causes male labor productivity to increase, then that should reveal itself in the higher wages earned by divorced and separated men as well. After all, given they were once married, their labor productivity should have increased relative to the productivity of males who never married. The additional skills acquired in some prior time period resulting from marriage do not simply vanish once the marriage terminates. They may, however, dissipate over time if the attributes of marriage that made the male worker more productive are no longer present.

Korenman and Neumark found that males who married and later separated or divorced earned higher wages than males who never married. So marriage mattered even among divorced and sepa-

## Unions and Children

rated males. More importantly, they found that the wages of males who divorced or separated did not immediately plummet right after their divorce or separation, but the rate of growth in their wages slowed shortly after dissolution of the marriage. Divorcing or separating from one's spouse does not immediately deplete a formerly married male's added productivity acquired as a result of marriage. But dissolution of the marriage does remove what once was the basis for that added productivity, causing a subsequent decrease in the growth rate of his wages.

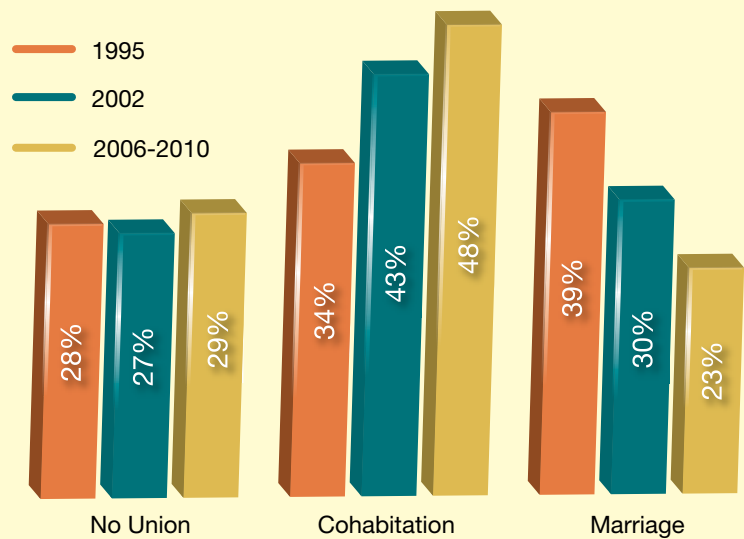
**Selection Effect.** Doubts still remain about the selection effect (whether highly productive males are more attractive marriage partners and therefore more likely to attract a female and marry her relative to less productive males) as a cause of the marriage wage premium, leading Donna Ginther and Madeline Zavodny, economists at the Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta, to come up with a creative approach to measuring the marriage wage premium. Using data from what were inferred to be shotgun marriages—marriages that were entered into out of obligation following an unplanned pregnancy—they further isolate the effect of marriage on increasing the productivity of married men, and therefore the cause of the marriage wage premium.

Just because couples are delaying marriage does not mean they are by default celibate. Graph 2 shows the transformation between 1995 and 2010 of first unions for women between the ages of 15 and 44. In 1995, 39 percent of women who moved in with a man for the first time did so after marrying him, while 34 percent did so without first marrying. By 2006, just 23 percent of women reported that their first union was by marriage, while 48 percent chose to cohabit.

Graph 3 shows the increase in the percentage of total births to unmarried mothers in the United States between 1985 and 2011. With the increase in the number of couples delaying marriage and choosing to cohabit, there has also been an increase in the number of women having children out of wedlock. For unwed teens however, those between the ages 10 and 19, the birth rate (out of 1,000 women) fell by more than a third between 1990 and 2011. This means that the increase in the percentage of all births occurring out-of-wedlock has been predominantly among women over the age of 20, with the largest increase occurring with women over the age of 24.

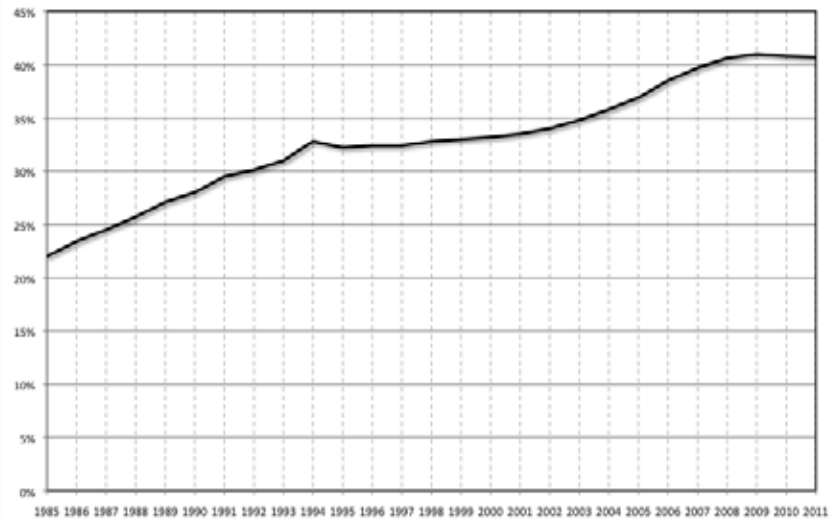
The rise in out-of-wedlock births notwithstanding, an unintended benefit of women delaying marriage may be an extended search period for finding a more suitable spouse. By taking longer to search, a prospective wife expects to lessen the probability of the mistake of choosing a less productive male to marry. But if a wedding is unplanned due to an unexpected pregnancy—a shotgun wedding—then maybe we can infer an increased likelihood of error

### Type of First Unions Among Women Ages 15-44



Graph 2

### Percent of All Births to Unmarried Mothers (1985 - 2011)



Graph 3

on the wife's part since she did not give herself a sufficient amount of time to vet the groom for suitability as a spouse.

This is the approach Ginther and Zavodny took in their study of the marriage wage premium. They sorted married men based on the birth date of their first child born *after* marriage and compared the wages across two groups. If a first child was born within six months of the father's marriage, then it is presumed that the marriage was unplanned. And if a marriage was unplanned, it is presumed that the marriage occurred out of obligation rather than from careful consideration by the prospective spouses. If, due to an unplanned pregnancy, a woman was pressured to marry the father, there is

a higher likelihood of error in her decision since she was unable to sufficiently vet her prospective spouse for his ability to financially support her and her children.

So the assumption is that males who married in shotgun weddings are likely to be less productive than males whose weddings were planned well in advance. If this is the case, then selection bias argues that only the latter would experience a marriage wage premium. *What these researchers in fact found was that even for males who married in shotgun weddings, their wages exceeded the wages of males who had never married.* Controlling for other factors, the average male who married in a shotgun wedding earned about 24 percent more after seven years of marriage relative to the average male who never married. By comparison, after six years of marriage the average male who married when his bride was not pregnant earned about 21 percent more than the average male who never married.

One final study confirms to an even greater extent the argument that marriage causes male productivity to increase and is therefore the cause of the marriage wage premium. Using a sample of 138 pairs of identical male twins, Kate Antonovics and Robert Town conducted a cross-sectional study, and once again affirmed the prevalence of a marriage wage premium. Consistent with the other studies, they found that the males who married earned 19 percent more than the males who never married.

They then separated out the 31 pairs of the twins consisting of one who had married and the other who had never married. After controlling for other factors, they compared the wages of these two groups and found that the married twin earned on average 26 percent more than his never-married twin brother. This means that the average unmarried twin brother was earning \$40,000, while his married twin was earning more than \$50,000.

Identical twins have the same genetic makeup and most are raised in the same household by the same parents. Any pair of monozygotic twins consists of two people likely to have similar, if not

identical, productive capacities. Consequently, any differences in wages between the two cannot be attributed to differences in productivity, since any difference is likely negligible, if any exists at all. *This study further reinforces that marriage is the cause of the marriage wage premium.*

## Costs of Cohabitation

Although earning a greater lifetime income is certainly preferred to earning less, a higher income is neither the sole benefit nor purpose of marriage. As discussed earlier, one reason for the increase in people delaying marriage is that a greater number of women are choosing to invest in their human capital. In its place, couples are choosing to cohabit, most with the intent to marry later, and the belief that by living together first they can better evaluate their partner as a future spouse. If cohabiting with a partner does not work, they split up and move on to a new partner, hoping to establish a relationship that survives to marriage. Unfortunately, cohabitation introduces a host of new problems.

**Women and Education.** Women who delay marriage can benefit in the form of higher wages, but that assumes that the reason for delaying marriage is to invest in human capital and establish their career. This has been primarily true for women who eventually go on to earn a college degree, but not so for most of the rest. As Graph 4 shows, women with less than a college degree are far more likely to have a child out-of-wedlock than women who earned a college degree.

**Eventual Marriage.** About 55 percent of cohabiting heterosexual couples do marry within five years of moving in with each other, but again, that is largely concentrated among the college educated. Those without a college degree were far more likely to break up before ever marrying, but not before having at least one child.

Kay Hymowitz and her colleagues at The National Marriage Project at the University of Virginia refer to this trend of women delaying marriage, yet having babies before they marry, as “The Great Crossover.” Historically, women who postponed marriage also postponed having children. But that trend changed, leading to the crossover in 1989, when for the first time the average age of first marriage for females exceeded the average age they gave birth to their first child.

**Costs to Children.** The costs to children born to parents out-of-wedlock, including to cohabiting parents, are significant. These children are far more likely to live in poverty, abuse drugs and alcohol, experience more emotional and physical health related issues, perform less well in school, including dropping out, and are three times more likely to observe their parents break up than are children born to married couples. As a consequence, when these children reach adulthood they lack the skills needed for employment in the information economy, and





they are likely to experience at least one divorce and have at least one child out-of-wedlock. This has been especially true for males raised in single-parent households and who grow up lacking the skills required to compete in today's economy compared to their peers raised by continuously married couples.

## The Cart Before the Horse

Not only is having children out-of-wedlock a cost of delaying marriage, other factors also make it a less attractive option. Marriage is a means of emotional, physical, and spiritual support for both husband and wife, allowing both to mature. Surveys show that people who marry by their mid-20s reported being happier with their lives compared to those who delayed marriage or were never married. Hymowitz et al. note that "Thirty-five percent of single men and cohabiting men report they are 'highly satisfied' with their life, compared to 52 percent of married men," and "Likewise, 33 percent of single women and 29 percent of cohabiting women are 'highly satisfied,' compared to 47 percent of married women."

In addition, married people tend to live longer and experience longer survival rates from health setbacks. For example, a recent study by the National Cancer Institute found that people diagnosed with cancer who were married at the time of diagnosis lived "markedly longer compared to unmarried patients." Doctors attribute this difference in outcomes to the emotional support and care a spouse provides.

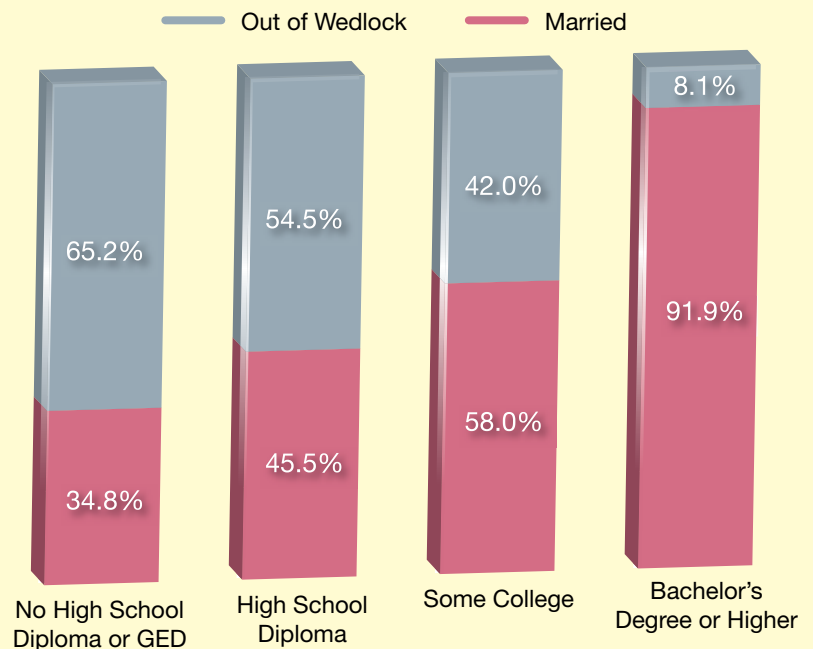
For people younger than 30 today, marriage has become something to which one aspires after achieving other objectives, such as an established career and financial stability, not something that helps them achieve these objectives with someone they love, support, and from whom they receive emotional, physical and financial support. By putting the cart before the horse, they are more likely to impede the very happiness they aspire to achieve.

## Social Trends

The social trends causing this decline in marriage include technical transformations in the workplace, availability of cheap contraceptives, easy access to abortion, reduced social ostracism for cohabiting and for having children out-of-wedlock, and the change to no-fault divorce laws. As the cost of engaging in premarital sex fell, the number and frequency of couples engaging in premarital sexual relations increased. Furthermore, no-fault divorce laws produced a surge in the number of terminated marriages for parents, creating a generation of younger people who now view marriage not as a foundation of support and comfort, but as something unreliable and oftentimes painful. And although career opportunities for females have expanded, for males they have contracted, especially for those raised by a single mother.

## Education, Marriage and Children

### 2007 Births by Mother's Education



Graph 4

Fifty years ago, males likely married a female with just a high school education regardless of whether they went on to college or not. We see more assortive mating today where a male doctor or lawyer or accountant now marries another doctor or lawyer or accountant. This leaves females who lack a college degree dwindling opportunities to find a potentially suitable spouse with the means to financially support her and a family.

The consequence of all of this is that cultural attitudes toward marriage and having children out-of-wedlock have shifted; behavior that was once proscribed is now considered normal. Fortunately, there has been an increase in the number of groups from all political and socioeconomic spectra speaking out against this trend and seeking ways to reverse it. Efforts to abate teen pregnancy have proven effective at reducing the rate of births to unwed teens over the past decade, so there is optimism that this trend of delaying marriage and having children out-of-wedlock, too, can be reversed. The obstacles are substantial and include improving the education system so that both males and females are better prepared for more information and knowledge based careers. In addition, we need to better educate younger people about the deleterious outcomes of cohabiting and having children out-of-wedlock. But as in the case of teen pregnancy, information spreading from both private and public sources is the key to turning back behavior that has proven to be both personally and socially destructive. ❖

*Mark Steckbeck, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor of Economics at Campbell University. For a footnoted version of this article, please visit [ncfamily.org](http://ncfamily.org).*

## On Air With Robert P. George



Robert P. George is McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, and the founding director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. Professor George is chairman of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, and has served on the President's Council on Bioethics, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He is the author of a number of books, including: *In Defense of Natural Law*; *Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality*; and *The*

*Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion and Morality in Crisis*. His scholarly articles and reviews have appeared in such journals as the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Yale Law Journal*, and the *Review of Politics*. He holds honorary doctorates of law, ethics, science, letters, civil law, divinity, humane letters, and juridical science. Professor George has been described by the *New York Times Magazine* as this "country's most influential conservative Christian thinker."

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Dr. Robert George, which was conducted by John Rustin, president of the North Carolina Family Policy Council. An edited version of this interview aired in two parts in July 2013 on the Council's weekly radio program, "Family Policy Matters." Dr. George discussed issues from his latest book, *Conscience and Its Enemies: Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism*. This interview can be heard at <http://www.ncfamily.org/radioshowarchives2013.html> or on iTunes® Podcast—Family Policy Matters.

**John Rustin:** Dr. George, you argue in the book that the secular liberal elite in our society is harnessing the power of the government to attack the conscience rights of those who disagree with them. Can you give us some recent examples of how liberal secularists are attacking the liberty of conscience?

**Robert George:** Yes, I'd like to begin with the odious Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) mandates, which have been imposed by the Obama administration and are now the subjects of litigation. These are mandates made by the DHHS pursuant to the Obamacare legislation—the Affordable Care Act—in which the employers—whether they are believers or unbelievers, people of faith or not, Christians, Jews, Muslims, you name it, including religious institutions that are employers—are compelled by force of law to provide insurance coverage that includes, not only contraceptives and sterilizations, which some religious people object to, but even abortion inducing drugs, which a great many, perhaps most, religious people of all different faiths object to. These mandates are coming despite the protests of the Catholic bishops, Evangelical leaders, and other religious leaders... and now the Obama

Administration is being sued. There are about 60 lawsuits around the country; they're in the lower federal courts headed for the Supreme Court of the United States, which will ultimately decide. The Obama Administration has been losing these cases far more than winning them in the lower courts, and I predict that at the end of the day, even the liberal-leaning U.S. Supreme Court will slap down the Administration because this time it has simply gone too far in trampling on the conscience rights of Christians and other believers. And that's just one area in which we see this happening.

**JR:** We certainly are aware of that in North Carolina, as we have seen efforts in the state legislature to restrict, at least to some degree, the scope of Obamacare, as it is called... We hear a lot from homosexual marriage supporters about "civil liberties" and "rights," so to speak, but very little about religious freedom. But you show in the book that religious freedom is central and even fundamental to other basic civil liberties. Why is this so?

**RG:** The very first right mentioned in our Bill of Rights—even before we get to the great rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of the people to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances—[is] the free exercise of religion. And that's no accident. It's because the free exercise of religion is not only historically foundational to civil liberty in our tradition, it is philosophically the very foundation of all other civil liberties, because it protects that aspect of our freedom, which is most intimate and essential to ourselves as human persons. [That is] our freedom to think for ourselves, our freedom to relate ourselves as best we can to the greater sources of meaning and value in the universe, as we in our best judgment perceive them. So when freedom of religion is under assault as it is by the left in this country, we have to fight back! We cannot take this lying down—we have to be the great defenders of our own liberty and the liberty of all of our other fellow citizens, irrespective of their particular tradition of faith.

**JR:** Dr. George, you have a great chapter in the book that explains why moral truth matters. This is a question that we as Christians need to be able to address in the current debate over marriage and human life and the other issues that we deal with on a daily basis. Can you help us understand why moral truth does matter, and why it is so important for Christians to be equipped to answer this question in the realm of public debate?

**RG:** Moral truth matters because morality is not some abstraction; it's not a set of arbitrary rules

handed down by God or by nature that are unrelated to the wellbeing or flourishing of human beings in societies. On the contrary, moral rules are specifications, entailments, of the integral fulfillment, the integral wellbeing of human beings and the communities they form. Why does God will what He wills by way of moral commands? Not arbitrarily, but because God wills the integral good of those of us who are His creatures. God made us in the very image and likeness of Himself. We're told that, of course, in Genesis 1. There's even a kind of philosophical affirmation of that in non-religious terms, and that's the idea that as rational and free creatures, we're possessors of a literally god-like quality—the ability to cause these things that we are not caused to cause. We are endowed, in other words, with reason and with freedom of the will. Of course that doesn't mean we're gods, but it explains a little bit about what it means to be made in the image of God, since that can't mean that God has hair on His head or two eyes, or five fingers on each hand, or a nose. No, it means that God is the causer of things He is not caused to cause. In other words, He is rational and free. And He has, in His wisdom and goodness, shared with us—His creatures [who are] made in His very image and likeness—rationality and freedom. That rationality and that freedom are to be directed toward the integral fulfillment of human beings, and the communities that we form. God wills our good; we should will our good and the good of our neighbor, but not our partial good—not the mere satisfaction of our desires, whatever they happen to be. Rather, our true good—our integral flourishing is what God wills and moral norms protect. So that's why morality matters; it's not an abstraction; it's linked to our flourishing as human beings.

**JR:** One of the key points that you make in the chapter on moral truth is that secular liberals often accuse Christians of trying to moralize and of making exclusivist “truth claims” on issues such as marriage. But you argue that even those who support the redefinition of marriage, or abortion, “make truth claims all the time.” Can you give us some examples of the truth claims the other side makes that are in contrast to what is real truth?

**RG:** Where to begin? How about “women have a right to control their own bodies”—there you go, there's a truth claim. How about “people who would discriminate against gays are bigots” now there's a truth claim, right? How about the view that “love makes a family,” there's another truth claim. Liberals can't get three sentences out of their mouths without making a truth claim, and I don't criticize them for that—that's reality, that's the human condition, we do believe things. Now, the question is, are our beliefs true beliefs? Are we willing to test our beliefs in the domain of reason?

“**[Christians] have to redouble our efforts; we have to stand fast; we have to speak out; we have to be unafraid!**”

I think those of us who are Christians ought to be in the forefront of saying “Yes, let's test our beliefs, especially our moral beliefs, on the plane of reason. Let's argue for our beliefs in the public square. Let's listen to the arguments that are advanced by secular liberals and those on the other side against our views, and let's ask them to listen to our arguments. Let's have a full and fair debate on the plane of reason.”

Let's just take again the abortion case: nothing would please me more than to get the pro-abortion side to agree that we're going to resolve the question of abortion by relying on a) the best scientific evidence as to when the life of a new human being begins, and b) the application of the principle that all human beings, irrespective of race or sex or ethnicity, and equally respective of age or size or development or condition of dependency, are equal in worth and dignity, and deserve therefore the equal protection of the laws. There's my invitation to those on the liberal side. Let's see if they're willing to take me up on it. We can leave the Bible out of it—we can leave the authority of religion out of it... I'm happy to do that. Let's have the debate.

**JR:** And speaking of the debate, Dr. George, I thought about your book the other day as I was reading through the U.S. Supreme Court's decision, which struck down a portion of the federal Defense of Marriage Act. In his dissent from the majority opinion, Justice Scalia pointed out that the majority opinion negatively portrays traditional marriage supporters, as, and I quote, “enemies of the human race.” Can you comment briefly on the high court's ruling in the recent DOMA case, particularly in terms of how it represents another example of the enemy of conscience that you talk about in your book?

**RG:** The Court got the decision wrong, that's for sure. There's nothing in the logic or structure, or original understanding of the Constitution that forbids the national government from having its own definition of marriage for purposes of federal law, so long as it doesn't attempt to impose a definition of marriage on the states. So they got the decision wrong, and that's bad enough, but what is



worse—what is truly disgraceful—is how Justice Kennedy in his opinion for the court handled the matter. He failed—quite shamefully—in two very important respects. One was he utterly failed to engage in any kind of serious way the arguments put forward by the side opposite to the one in whose favor he ruled. It’s an elementary obligation of judicial statesmanship, for a judge, especially an appellate judge, most especially a Supreme Court justice, to give sound reasons for his decision, and engage in a serious way the reasons put forward on the other side, and give his reasons for rejecting them. [Justice]Kennedy didn’t do that. And even worse—and here’s the second really shameful thing—is that Justice Kennedy resorted to the abusive tactic of suggesting that anyone who stands for marriage as the conjugal union of a husband and wife is essentially a hater, a bigot, someone who is simply out to demean other people, or to harm them.... That is a defamation of millions and millions of [Justice] Kennedy’s fellow citizens....

What it amounts to is an intimidation tactic; it’s trying to marginalize and stigmatize people of good will who disagree with the effort to redefine marriage. It’s really quite intolerable, and Justice Scalia was absolutely right to castigate [Justice] Kennedy for resorting to that tactic.

**JR:** Unfortunately, I think that the characterizations that were made in that majority opinion will have far reaching implications for not only the issue of marriage, but will serve as the basis for all kinds of lawsuits and challenges on all sorts of laws that have a basis in God’s moral law and His truth. And I think that we have just begun to see the beginning of that with respect to that decision. Do you have any thoughts about that?

**RG:** All I can say is that I share the worry. The left has for sometime been using this intimidation tactic. They’ve won some victories with it, and now they’ve won a big victory with the Supreme Court of the United States with it. Justice Kennedy has joined in that effort of intimidation, stigmatization and marginalization. And having had success with it, they will continue to do it. I mean they’ve... been encouraged to keep at it by a justice writing for a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States itself, so why would they give it up at this point?

But it’s important for Christians not to become disheartened. We have to redouble our efforts; we have to stand fast; we have to speak out; we have to be unafraid. If we’re Christians, if we’re believers, we realize that it’s not our job to produce the victory—that’s God’s job—but it’s our job to be faithful; it’s our job to stand up and fight, to speak the truth out loud, to refuse to be intimidated, to be willing to suffer any slings and arrows, any blows, any costs, that come for standing up for what is right and true and good. People shouldn’t think that, “Well, I’m entitled to remain silent because I don’t want people calling me bad names, I don’t want to be known as a bigot, I don’t want to be abused by friends or co-workers, I don’t want to put my career prospects or social standing in jeopardy.” Christians throughout history and down to this day have suffered martyrdom for what we believe to be the truth. Today in Africa and Asia and other places, there are people who are killed, often by methods of torture, for the Christian faith. They are willing to give up their lives for the truth. Are we unwilling to speak the truth for fear that someone will call us a bad name? That would speak very poorly for us, if in fact that is true. I’m with Pastor Harold Senkbeil who said, “Jesus has enough secret agents. He doesn’t need any more.” What Jesus needs are bold and courageous witnesses who are truly willing to speak moral truth to cultural and political power. ❖

Radio Stations Airing Family Policy Matters		
<b>Belmont/Gastonia</b>	WCGC1270 AM	Sunday, 11:45 PM
<b>Charlotte</b>	WHVN 104.3 FM/1240 AM	Sunday, 11:45 PM
	WOGF 1450 AM	Saturday, 3:45 PM
	WOGF 88.3 FM	Saturday, 3:45 PM
<b>Charlotte/Harrisburg</b>	WOGF 88.3 FM	Saturday, 3:45 PM
<b>Fayetteville</b>	WCLN 107.3 FM	Saturday, 7:00 AM
<b>Forest City</b>	WWOL 780 AM	Wednesday, 8:45 AM
<b>Gastonia</b>	WGAS 1420 AM	Saturday, 3:45 PM
<b>Greensboro</b>	WKEW 1400 AM	Sunday, 9:30 AM
<b>Greensboro/Winston-Salem</b>	WTRU 830 AM	Saturday, 6:00 AM
<b>Greenville</b>	WLQC 103.1 FM	Sunday, 11:06 PM
<b>New Bern</b>	WSTK 104.5 FM	Saturday 3:15 PM
<b>Newland</b>	WEGR 1130 AM	Saturday, 9:06 AM
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		Sunday, 9:30 AM
<b>Raleigh/Durham</b>	WDRU1030 AM	Saturday, 6:00 AM
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<b>Sanford</b>	WLHC 103.1 FM	Sunday, 11:06 PM
<b>Shallotte</b>	WVCB 1410 AM	Wednesday, 10:05 AM
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<b>Wilmington</b>	WMYT 106.7 FM	Sunday, 1:00 PM
<b>Winston-Salem</b>	WBFI 1550 AM	Saturday, 5:00 PM
	WPOL 1340 AM	Sunday, 9:30 AM
	WPIP 880 AM	Sunday, 5:00 PM



## Family Policy

### 2013 General Assembly Session

compiled by:  
**Brittany  
Farrell**

**W**ITH A FLURRY OF ACTIVITY, THE NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY WRAPPED UP THE FIRST PART OF ITS 2013-2014 LEGISLATIVE BIENNIUM ON

JULY 26, 2013, BRINGING TO A CLOSE A SOMETIMES FRANTIC SESSION THAT INCLUDED MANY IMPORTANT PRO-FAMILY POLICY INITIATIVES. THIS SESSION WAS HISTORIC IN THAT IT MARKED THE FIRST TIME A REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED LEGISLATURE HAS SENT BILLS TO A REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR SINCE RECONSTRUCTION. THIS ARTICLE OUTLINES SOME OF THE MAJOR ITEMS ADDRESSED DURING THE 2013 SESSION, WHETHER PASSED OR FAILED, AND SOME OF THE ITEMS STILL ELIGIBLE FOR CONSIDERATION IN 2014.

#### PRO-LIFE

The crowning achievement of the 2013 Legislative Session for pro-family advocates was the General Assembly's enactment of the most sweeping pro-life legislation the state has seen in decades. Overall, S353—Health and Safety Law Changes:

- Expands North Carolina's health care conscience protection clause to ensure that not only doctors and nurses, but "any other health care provider" who objects to abortion on moral, ethical or religious grounds cannot be forced to participate in an abortion;

- Prohibits city and county governments from using taxpayer dollars to fund employee health insurance programs that include abortion coverage except in cases of rape or incest or when the mother's life is in danger. A similar provision applies to health insurance plans offered through a health insurance exchange under the federal Affordable Care Act;
- Seeks to prohibit sex-selection abortions by providing certain civil remedies when the sex of the unborn child is a "significant factor" in the woman seeking to have an abortion;
- Requires a physician who is performing a surgical abortion to be "physically present during the performance of the entire abortion procedure," or to be "physically present in the same room as the patient" when the first drug or chemical is administered to the patient during a chemical abortion; and
- Directs the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services to amend its rules pertaining to abortion clinics to "ensure that standards for clinics certified by the Department address the on-site recovery phase of patient care at the clinic, protect patient privacy, provide quality assurance, and ensure that patients with complications receive the necessary medical attention, while not unduly restricting access."

S353 represents a combination of a number of individual life-related bills that were introduced earlier in the session along with other provisions that were added as the measure moved through the legislature. (For more details, see "The Life Battle" article beginning on page 8 of this magazine.)

Another important pro-life measure enacted during the 2013 Legislative Session was S117—Lily's Law, which codifies the common law by creating a murder charge for circumstances where a child is born alive but later dies as a result of injuries inflicted prior to the child's birth. Additionally, S402—Appropriations Act of 2013, the state budget bill, allocated \$250,000 to the Carolina Pregnancy Care Fellowship (CPCF), a private organization that provides funding, training, and support for the state's approximately 80 pregnancy resource ministries, and \$375,000 for maternity homes that provide free shelter, food, clothing, medical care, and adoption counseling for unwed mothers.

A pro-life measure that lawmakers failed to enact was S691—Unlawful to Assist Another To Commit Suicide, which would have made it unlawful for anyone to knowingly help someone commit suicide, defined by the bill as "the intentional and willful termination of one's own life."

#### HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Another major issue the General Assembly addressed was the trafficking of human beings.

Working to remove North Carolina from among the top 10 states for sex trafficking, legislators enacted two measures. The first, S122—Sex Trafficking/Sex Offender Registration, requires individuals who are convicted of human trafficking to register as sex offenders in North Carolina. The second, S683—Safe Harbor/Human Trafficking, increases the penalties for sex traffickers and purchasers, and ensures that minor victims of prostitution are treated as victims of sex trafficking, are immune from prosecution, and are eligible to receive state services and support. Additional legislation that would require education on human trafficking in schools and direct the State Department of Health and Human Services to “establish a central hotline for reporting suspected cases of human trafficking,” was included in H855—Human Trafficking. This bill was unanimously approved by the House in May and was referred to the Senate Judiciary 1 Committee, where it remains.

## CHILD SAFETY

Another measure seeks to protect children by strengthening the state’s child abuse and neglect laws. This bill, H149—Caylee’s Law/Report Missing Children, which was enacted into law, requires the disappearance of a child to be reported if a child has been missing for a 24-hour period. It also increases the penalties for concealing the death of a child, misleading law enforcement about a missing child, or failing to report maltreatment of children.

## EDUCATION

Lawmakers also acted on several important education-related bills to enhance opportunities for school choice in North Carolina and to help ensure quality curriculum in schools.

**Scholarships:** North Carolina now has two education scholarship grant programs in place. H269—Children w/Disabilities Scholarship Grants replaces an existing education tax credit program for disabled children that was enacted in 2011 by establishing “special education scholarship grants for children with disabilities.” This bill enables eligible students “to attend any nonpublic school and to receive special education and related services in a nonpublic school setting.” Additionally, the 2013 budget bill made North Carolina the 10th state in the nation to offer an opportunity scholarship program for children from lower income families. The budget appropriated \$10 million for the establishment of the “Opportunity Scholarship Act,” which enables eligible students to qualify for scholarship grants of up to \$4,200 per year to cover the costs of tuition and fees to attend a nonpublic school. (For more details, see the “Expanding School Choice” article beginning on page 13 of this magazine.)

**Homeschools:** Legislators also amended the definition of “home school” in S189—Amend Law Defining Home Schools to allow more flexibility with respect to curriculum and academic instruc-

tion. Lawmakers never considered a bill that would have established a tax credit of \$1,250 per semester for each eligible child who is homeschooled.

**Curriculum:** A handful of other bills dealing with curriculum matters were enacted into law, including S132—Health Curriculum/Preterm Birth and H146—Back to Basics. S132 requires North Carolina’s school reproductive health and safety education program to include education “about the preventable risks for preterm birth in subsequent pregnancies, including induced abortion, smoking, alcohol consumption, the use of illicit drugs, and inadequate prenatal care.” H146 directs public schools to provide instruction in cursive handwriting so students can write legibly in cursive and to require the memorization of multiplication tables.

## LEGAL STANDING

In the waning days of the session, lawmakers passed S473—Health Cost Transparency/Speaker and PPT Standing, a provision of which states “[t]he Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, as agents of the State, shall jointly have standing to intervene on behalf of the General Assembly as a party in any judicial proceeding challenging a North Carolina statute or provision of the North Carolina Constitution.” In essence, this measure clarifies that the legislative leadership may join together to defend state laws, such as North Carolina’s marriage statutes and Marriage Protection Amendment, when those laws are challenged in court.

## SEXUALITY

Pro-homosexual advocates introduced several bills that would have amended the State Personnel Act to include “sexual orientation” and “gender identity or expression” among the list of protected classifications under the state’s Equal Employment Opportunity Law. None of these bills were brought up for consideration.

Likewise, S658—UNC/Dormitory Rules, which would have prohibited the University of North Carolina System from assigning members of the opposite sex “to the same dormitory room, dormitory suite, or campus apartment unless the students are siblings or they are legally married,” did not receive a hearing. Instead, the UNC Board of Governors approved a policy in August that resolved this matter.

## GAMBLING

H156—Honest Lottery Act, which would require the state lottery to provide more transparency about the odds of winning in advertising and would prohibit lottery advertising at high school and college sporting events, passed the House and remains eligible for consideration by the Senate.

Two other bills that would have expanded gambling in North Carolina did not pass. These included H809—Game Nights/Nonprofit Fund-



raisers, which would have authorized nonprofit organizations to operate Las Vegas-style “game nights,” utilizing poker, blackjack, roulette, craps, keno, and merchandise wheel of fortune, as fund-raising events; and H844—Indian Tribe Recognition, which could have extended gambling rights to six state-recognized tribes in North Carolina.

## **DIVORCE REFORM**

In March, several senators introduced a pioneering divorce reform bill that gained national attention. S518—Healthy Marriage Act proposed five reforms to North Carolina’s divorce laws, including: extending the current waiting period for divorce from one year to two years; allowing couples to live together during the two-year waiting period; requiring the spouse desiring to end the marriage to give a notarized letter of intent to file for divorce to his or her spouse; requiring couples to complete “courses on improving communication skills and conflict resolution” during the two-year waiting period; and requiring married parents who have children and who are seeking divorce to first complete at least a four-hour course on the impact of divorce on children. Unfortunately, this bill was never considered in the Senate.

## **PARENTAL RIGHTS**

Another important measure introduced this session that saw some movement in the House but ultimately did not pass was H693—Eliminate Exceptions/Med. Treatment/Minors. This bill sought to enhance the rights of parents to be involved in decisions regarding the medical treatment of their minor children for “sexually transmitted diseases, abuse of controlled substances or alcohol, mental illness, and pregnancy.” The bill would have also fixed a loophole in North Carolina’s parental consent for abortion law by requiring the parent’s consent to be notarized. A similar bill, S675, was introduced in the Senate, but was never considered.

## **RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

A number of bills that would have clarified the religious freedom of citizens, including students at universities and colleges, failed to be ratified. H751—NC Religious Freedom Restoration Act sought to strengthen religious freedom in North Carolina by amending the law “to guarantee that a test of compelling state interest will be imposed on all State and local laws and ordinances in all cases in which the free exercise of religion is substantially burdened,” and “to provide a claim or defense to persons whose exercise of religion is substantially burdened by the State.” Although this bill passed a subcommittee, it was never voted on by the full House.

H735—Student Organizations/Rights & Recognition sought to clarify that religious or political student organizations may determine who is qualified to serve as leaders of their group

“in conformity with the organization’s established written doctrines expressing the organization’s faith or mission.” This bill passed the House, but was not considered in the Senate, while a similar bill, S719, passed the Senate unanimously and was referred to the House Education Committee, where it remains eligible for consideration.

S370—Respect for Student Prayer/Religious Activity attempted “to clarify student rights to engage in prayer and religious activity in school; to create an administrative process for remedying complaints regarding exercise of those student rights; and to clarify religious activity for school personnel.” Similar to S719, this bill passed the Senate by a unanimous vote, and remains eligible for consideration in the House.

## **VOTER ID**

North Carolina is now one of 34 states to enact a law requiring some form of identification to vote. H589—VIVA/Election Reform institutes a photo ID requirement for voting beginning with the 2016 elections. H589 also makes a number of other significant changes to North Carolina’s election laws, including: eliminating same-day registration and voting; eliminating straight-party voting; shortening the early voting period from 17 days to 10 days, while keeping the total number of early voting hours the same; and requiring all early-voting sites within a county to post the same days and hours of operation.

## **VETOES**

In September, legislators returned to Raleigh for a special veto session and overrode Gov. Pat McCrory’s vetoes of two separate bills: H786—RECLAIM NC Act, which made changes to the State’s immigration and E-verify laws; and H392—Warrant Status/Drug Screen Public Assist., which requires certain people who are applying for welfare benefits to pass a drug test.

## **2014 SHORT SESSION**

The General Assembly will reconvene for the 2014 “Short Session” at noon on Wednesday, May 14, 2014. The scope of that session will be limited primarily to tweaking the two-year budget that was approved this year and to taking up very select items of unfinished or necessary business.

## **RESEARCHING VOTES**

This report reviews a select portion of the numerous bills considered by the General Assembly this session and cannot, in this limited space, provide a complete account of the legislative session. For more information about a specific bill—or to see how your legislators voted on a particular measure this session—visit the North Carolina General Assembly website at [www.ncleg.net](http://www.ncleg.net). For further information about any of these bills, or to view “Votes” papers from previous legislative sessions, please visit [ncfamily.org](http://ncfamily.org). ❖

# Senate Votes 2013

## SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

Ref.	Bill No.	Vote Description	Vote #	Date	Final
1	S117	<i>Senate vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S117—Lily’s Law</i> S117 creates a new murder charge when a child “is born alive, but dies of injuries inflicted prior to being born alive.”	230	4/29/13	47-0
2	S122	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for S122—Sex Trafficking/Sex Offender Registration</i> S122 requires individuals convicted of human trafficking to register as sex offenders in North Carolina.	59	3/4/13	45-0
3	S132	<i>Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for S132—Health Curriculum/Preterm Birth</i> S132 would direct schools to teach “about the preventable risks for preterm birth in subsequent pregnancies, including induced abortion, smoking, alcohol consumption, the use of illicit drugs, and inadequate prenatal care.”	328	5/13/13	38-10
4	S132	<i>Senate vote on the motion to Concur with the amended SCS for S132—Health Curriculum/Preterm Birth</i> S132 requires the state’s reproductive health and safety education program to include instruction “about the preventable risks for preterm birth in subsequent pregnancies, including induced abortion, smoking, alcohol consumption, the use of illicit drugs, and inadequate prenatal care.”	710	7/2/13	32-12
5	S189	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on S189—Amend Law Defining Home Schools</i> S189 allows homeschoolers to utilize outside sources for academic instruction, including online resources, co-ops, and tutors.	209	4/25/13	45-0
6	S353	<i>Senate vote on the motion to Concur with the HCS for S353—Health and Safety Law Changes</i> S353 expands conscience protections to “any” health care provider, restricts taxpayer funding of abortions, bans sex-selective abortions, requires a physician to be physically present during a surgical abortion or when the first drug is administered in a chemical abortion, and directs the NC Dept. of Health & Human Services to update health and safety regulations for abortion clinics.	885	7/25/13	32-13
7	S370	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for S370—Respect for Student Prayer/Religious Activity</i> S370 would clarify the right of students and school personnel to engage in prayer and religious activity at school.	304	5/9/13	48-0
8	S402	<i>Senate 3rd Reading vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S402—Appropriations Act of 2013</i> S402 enacts a \$20.6 billion state budget for 2013-14, including funding for educational opportunity scholarship grants, a cap on the gas tax, compensation for eugenics victims, funding for pregnancy care centers and maternity homes, and makes other changes.	836	7/24/13	32-17
9	S473	<i>Senate vote on the motion to Concur with the HCSs for S473—Health Cost Transp/Speaker and PPT Standing</i> S473 authorizes the President Pro Tempore of the NC Senate and the Speaker of the NC House to jointly intervene on behalf of the NC General Assembly as a party in any judicial proceeding challenging state statutes or the NC Constitution.	914	7/26/13	34-7
10	S683	<i>Senate vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S683—Safe Harbor/Victims of Human Trafficking</i> S683 increases the penalties for sex traffickers and purchasers and ensures that minor victims of sex trafficking are immune from prosecution for prostitution and are eligible to receive state services and support.	850	7/24/13	49-0
11	S719	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for S719—Student Organizations/Rights &amp; Recognition</i> S719 would clarify that religious or political student organizations may determine their own leadership and prohibited public colleges and universities from discriminating against student groups “on the basis of the organization’s exercise of its rights.”	310	5/9/13	48-0
12	H146	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on H146—Back to Basics</i> H146 requires public schools to teach cursive handwriting and the memorization of multiplication tables.	416	5/30/13	46-3
13	H149	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for H149—Caylee’s Law/Report Missing Children</i> H149 requires missing children to be reported within 24 hours, increases the criminal penalties for concealing the death of a child or for making a “false, misleading or unfounded report” about a missing child, and creates a Class 1 misdemeanor for failure “to report neglect, dependency or death due to maltreatment of a juvenile, or to prevent another person from making such report.”	231	4/30/13	47-0
14	H269	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for H269—Children w/Disabilities Scholarship Grants</i> H269 establishes a \$3,000 per semester, or \$6,000 per year, education scholarship grant for qualified disabled students.	801	7/18/13	36-6
15	H522	<i>Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for H522—Foreign Laws/Protect Constitutional Rights</i> H522 prohibits the application of foreign laws in divorce, alimony, and child custody actions when such action would violate an individual’s fundamental constitutional rights.	815	7/19/13	31-2
16	H589	<i>Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for H589—VIVA/Election Reform</i> H589 requires voters to show a photo ID, eliminates same day and straight-ticket voting, and amends the early voting period.	882	7/25/13	33-14
17	H695	<i>Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for H695—Family, Faith &amp; Freedom Protection Act</i> H695 would prohibit the application of foreign laws in divorce, alimony, and child custody actions; expand conscience protections to “any” health care provider; restrict taxpayer funding of abortion; ban sex-selective abortions; require a physician to be physically present during a surgical abortion or when a drug is administered in a chemical abortion, and direct the NC Dept. of Health & Human Services to ensure its regulations for abortion clinics are similar to those for ambulatory surgical centers.	732	7/3/13	29-12
18	H998	<i>Senate 3rd Reading vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for H998—Tax Simplification and Reduction Act</i> H998 reduces personal and corporate income taxes, caps the state gas tax, eliminates the death tax and makes other changes to NC’s tax code.	770	7/17/13	32-17

(The letters “HCS” and “SCS” in the descriptions above stand for “House Committee Substitute” and “Senate Committee Substitute,” respectively.)

\* Angela Bryant was appointed on January 7, 2013 to replaced Ed Jones, who passed away on December 14, 2012.

VOTE KEY: “Y” = Yes “N” = No “EA” = Excused Absence “NV” = Not Voting

# SENATE VOTES

<i>Legislator/Party</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Home Co.</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>
Austin M. Allran (R)	42	Catawba	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tom Apodaca (R)	48	Henderson	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chad Barefoot (R)	18	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tamara Barringer (R)	17	Wake	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y
Phil Berger (R)	26	Rockingham	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stan Bingham (R)	33	Davidson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dan Blue (D)	14	Wake	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Andrew C. Brock (R)	34	Davie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harry Brown (R)	6	Onslow	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peter S. Brunstetter (R)	31	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Angela R. Bryant (D)*	4	Nash	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Ben Clark (D)	21	Hoke	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Daniel G. Clodfelter (D)	37	Mecklenburg	Y	NV	N	N	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	N	N
Bill Cook (R)	1	Beaufort	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
David L. Curtis (R)	44	Lincoln	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warren Daniel (R)	46	Burke	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Don Davis (D)	5	Greene	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	NV	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	N
Jim Davis (R)	50	Macon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Joel D. M. Ford (D)	38	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Thom Goolsby (R)	9	New Hanover	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malcolm Graham (D)	40	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	N	N	N
Rick Gunn (R)	24	Alamance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kathy Harrington (R)	43	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fletcher L. Hartsell, Jr. (R)	36	Cabarrus	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	EA	EA	EA
Ralph Hise (R)	47	Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Neal Hunt (R)	15	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brent Jackson (R)	10	Sampson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clark Jenkins (D)	3	Edgecombe	NV	EA	NV	EA	EA	EA	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	N
Eleanor Kinnaird (D)	23	Orange	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Floyd B. McKissick, Jr. (D)	20	Durham	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Gene McLaurin (D)	25	Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	N
Wesley Meredith (R)	19	Cumberland	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Martin L. Nesbitt, Jr. (D)	49	Buncombe	Y	NV	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	NV	N	EA	N	N	N
E.S. (Buck) Newton (R)	11	Nash	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Earline W. Parmon (D)	32	Forsyth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Louis Pate (R)	5	Wayne	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ronald J. Rabin (R)	12	Harnett	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bill Rabon (R)	8	Brunswick	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV	Y	EA	Y
Shirley B. Randleman (R)	30	Wilkes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gladys A. Robinson (D)	28	Guilford	Y	EA	N	EA	Y	N	EA	N	Y	Y	EA	N	EA	EA	EA	N	EA	N
Bob Rucho (R)	39	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y
Norman W. Sanderson (R)	2	Pamlico	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dan Soucek (R)	45	Watauga	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Josh Stein (D)	16	Wake	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	N	N	N
Jeff Tarte (R)	41	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jerry W. Tillman (R)	29	Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tommy Tucker (R)	35	Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Trudy Wade (R)	27	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michael P. Walters (D)	13	Robeson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	N
Mike Woodard (D)	22	Durham	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	N	N	N



# House Votes 2013

## HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

Ref.	Bill No.	Vote Description	Vote #	Date	Final
1	H146	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on H146—Back to Basics</i> H146 requires public schools to teach cursive handwriting and the memorization of multiplication tables.	207	4/4/12	107-0
2	H149	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for H149—Caylee’s Law/Report Missing Children</i> H149 requires missing children to be reported within 24 hours, increases the criminal penalties for concealing the death of a child or for making a “false, misleading or unfounded report” about a missing child, and creates a Class 1 misdemeanor for failure “to report neglect, dependency or death due to maltreatment of a juvenile, or to prevent another person from making such report.”	484	5/7/13	113-0
3	H156	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the HCS for H156—Honest Lottery Act</i> H156 would require the state lottery to provide more transparency in advertising about the odds of winning and prohibit advertising at high school and college sporting events.	244	4/11/13	99-12
4	H269	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for H269—Children w/Disabilities Scholarship Grants</i> H269 establishes a \$3,000 per semester, or \$6,000 per year, education scholarship grant for qualified disabled students.	1249	7/22/13	90-21
5	H522	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for H522—Foreign Laws/Protect Constitutional Rights</i> H522 prohibits the application of foreign laws in divorce, alimony, and child custody actions when such action would violate an individual’s fundamental constitutional rights.	1309	7/24/13	75-37
6	H589	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for H589—VIVA/Election Reform</i> H589 requires voters to show a photo ID, eliminates same day and straight-ticket voting, and amends the early voting period.	1337	7/25/13	73-41
7	H695	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS for H695—Foreign Laws/Protect Constitutional Rights</i> H695 would prohibit the application of foreign laws in divorce, alimony, and child custody actions when such action would violate an individual’s fundamental constitutional rights.	766	5/16/13	69-42
8	H716	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on HCS for H716—Clarify Law/Prohibit Sex-Selective Abortion</i> H716 would create a civil action if a person performs an abortion upon a woman knowing “that a significant factor in the pregnant woman seeking the abortion is related to the sex of the unborn child.”	517	5/7/13	79-40
9	H730	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS for H730—Insurance &amp; Health Care Conscience Protection</i> H730 would expand the state’s health care conscience protection law to cover “any” health care provider who objects to abortion on moral, ethical, or religious grounds, and limit taxpayer funding of abortion through health insurance plans offered through healthcare exchanges under the federal Affordable Care Act or by city and county governments.	769	5/16/13	73-39
10	H735	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the HCS for H735—Student Organizations/Rights &amp; Recognition</i> H735 would clarify that religious or political student organizations may determine their own leadership and prohibit public colleges and universities from discriminating against student groups “on the basis of the organization’s exercise of its rights.”	694	5/15/13	76-38
11	H998	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for H998—Tax Simplification and Reduction Act</i> H998 reduces personal and corporate income taxes, caps the state gas tax, eliminates the death tax and makes other changes to NC’s tax code.	1208	7/17/13	77-36
12	S117	<i>House vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S117—Lily’s Law</i> S117 creates a new murder charge when a child “is born alive, but dies of injuries inflicted prior to being born alive.”	378	4/30/13	118-0
13	S122	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for S122—Sex Trafficking/Sex Offender Registration</i> S122 requires individuals convicted of human trafficking to register as sex offenders in North Carolina.	287	4/16/13	110-0
14	S132	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the SCS as amended for S132—Health Curriculum/Preterm Birth</i> S132 requires the state’s reproductive health and safety education program to include instruction “about the preventable risks for preterm birth in subsequent pregnancies, including induced abortion, smoking, alcohol consumption, the use of illicit drugs, and inadequate prenatal care.”	1060	6/27/13	69-42
15	S189	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on S189—Amend Law Defining Home Schools</i> S189 allows homeschoolers to utilize outside sources for academic instruction, including online resources, co-ops, and tutors.	802	5/23/13	109-0
16	S353	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS for S353—Health and Safety Law Changes</i> S353 expands conscience protections to “any” health care provider, restricts taxpayer funding of abortions, bans sex-selective abortions, requires a physician to be physically present during a surgical abortion or when the first drug is administered in a chemical abortion, and directs the NC Dept. of Health & Human Services to update health and safety regulations for abortion clinics.	1159	7/11/13	74-41
17	S402	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S402—Appropriations Act of 2013</i> S402 enacts a \$20.6 billion state budget for 2013-14, including funding for educational opportunity scholarship grants, a cap on the gas tax, compensation for eugenics victims, funding for pregnancy care centers and maternity homes, and makes other changes.	1297	7/24/13	65-53
18	S473	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS2 for S473—Health Cost Transp/Speaker and PPT Standing</i> S473 authorizes the President Pro Tempore of the NC Senate and the Speaker of the NC House to jointly intervene on behalf of the NC General Assembly as a party in any judicial proceeding challenging state statutes or the NC Constitution.	1346	7/26/13	71-36
19	S683	<i>House vote on the motion to Adopt the Conference Report for S683—Safe Harbor/Victims of Human Trafficking</i> S683 increases the penalties for sex traffickers and purchasers and ensures that minor victims of sex trafficking are immune from prosecution for prostitution and are eligible to receive state services and support.	1272	7/23/13	104-0

(The letters “HCS” and “SCS” in the descriptions above stand for “House Committee Substitute” and “Senate Committee Substitute,” respectively.)

(Speaker Thom Tillis votes at his pleasure.)

# HOUSE VOTES

<i>Legislator/Party</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Home Co.</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>
Alma Adams (D)	58	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Kelly M. Alexander, Jr. (D)	107	Mecklenburg	EA	Y	N	NV	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Dean Arp (R)	69	Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA
Marilyn Avila (R)	40	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nathan Baskerville (D)	32	Vance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
John R. Bell, IV (R)	10	Wayne	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Larry M. Bell (D)	21	Sampson	NV	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hugh Blackwell (R)	86	Burke	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
John M. Blust (R)	62	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Jamie L. Boles, Jr. (R)	52	Moore	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marcus Brandon (D)	60	Guilford	EA	NV	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	NV	N	N	Y	EA	N	Y	N	N	N	NV
C. Robert Brawley (R)	95	Iredell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	Y
William Brawley (R)	103	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
William D. Brisson (D)	22	Bladen	Y	NV	EA	Y	NV	EA	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	EA	Y
Mark Brody (R)	55	Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brian Brown (R)	9	Pitt	Y	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Rayne Brown (R)	81	Davidson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rob Bryan (R)	88	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dana Bumgardner (R)	109	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Justin P. Burr (R)	67	Stanly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV
Becky Carney (D)	102	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	EA	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Rick Catlin (R)	20	New Hanover	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
George G. Cleveland (R)	14	Onslow	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	Y
Jeff Collins (R)	25	Nash	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Debra Conrad (R)	74	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tricia Ann Cotham (D)	100	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	EA	N	EA	N	N	Y	Y
Carla Cunningham (D)	106	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	EA	NV	N	N	N	Y
N. Leo Daughtry (R)	26	Johnston	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA
Ted Davis, Jr. (R)	19	New Hanover	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jimmy Dixon (R)	4	Duplin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA
Josh Dobson (R)*	85	McDowell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Jerry C. Dockham (R)**	80	Davidson	EA	Y	Y				Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	EA	Y	Y				
Nelson Dollar (R)	36	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beverly M. Earle (D)	101	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	EA	N	N	N	Y
Jeffrey Elmore (R)	94	Wilkes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
John Faircloth (R)	61	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV	Y	Y
Jean Farmer-Butterfield (D)	24	Wilson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	N	EA	EA	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Susan C. Fisher (D)	114	Buncombe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Elmer Floyd (D)	43	Cumberland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	NV
Carl Ford (R)	76	Rowan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Valerie P. Foushee (D)	50	Orange	Y	Y	EA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Jim Fulghum, M.D. (R)	49	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rosa U. Gill (D)	33	Wake	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Rick Glazier (D)	44	Cumberland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	EA	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Ken Goodman (D)	66	Rockingham	EA	Y	EA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	NV	Y

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Charles Graham (D)	47	Robeson	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	N	N	Y
George Graham (D)	12	Robeson	NV	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Mike Hager (R)	112	Rutherford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duane Hall (D)	11	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	NV
Larry D. Hall (D)	29	Durham	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Susi H. Hamilton (D)	18	New Hanover	EA	Y	Y	N	EA	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	EA	N	N	EA	Y
Edward Hanes, Jr. (D)	72	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Jon Hardister (R)	59	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pricey Harrison (D)	57	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Kelly E. Hastings (R)	110	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yvonne Lewis Holley (D)	38	Wake	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	NV	N	Y
Mark Hollo (R)	88	Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bryan R. Holloway (R)	91	Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV
D. Craig Horn (R)	68	Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Julie C. Howard (R)	79	Davie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y
Pat B. Hurley (R)	70	Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y
Frank Iler (R)	17	Brunswick	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Verla Insko (D)	56	Orange	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	N	EA	Y
Darren G. Jackson (D)	39	Wake	Y	EA	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Charles Jeter (R)	92	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Linda P. Johnson (R)	83	Cabarrus	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	NV
Bert Jones (R)	65	Rockingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jonathan C. Jordan (R)	93	Ashe	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Donny Lambeth (R)	75	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y
James H. Langdon, Jr. (R)	28	Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y
David R. Lewis (R)	53	Harnett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV
Marvin W. Lucas (D)	42	Cumberland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	EA	Y
Paul Luebke (D)	30	Durham	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chris Malone (R)	35	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grier Martin (D)***	34	Wake				Y	N	N					N			N		EA	N	N	Y
Susan Martin (R)	8	Wilson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y
Pat McElraft (R)	13	Carteret	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chuck McGrady (R)	117	Henderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deb McManus (D)	54	Chatham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	N	N	Y
Allen McNeill (R)	78	Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Henry M. Michaux, Jr. (D)	31	Durham	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chris Millis (R)	16	Pender	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Annie W. Mobley (D)	5	Hertford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	EA	N	EA	EA	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Tim D. Moffitt (R)	116	Buncombe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rodney W. Moore (D)	99	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Tim Moore (R)	111	Cleveland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tom Murry (R)	41	Wake	Y	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Garland E. Pierce (D)	48	Scotland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

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Larry G. Pittman (R)	82	Cabarrus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Michele D. Presnell (R)	118	Yancey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Joe Sam Queen (D)	119	Haywood	Y	Y	Y	NV	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Nathan Ramsey (R)	115	Buncombe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bobbie Richardson (D)****		Franklin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Dennis Riddell (R)	64	Alamance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deborah K. Ross (D) ***	38	Wake	EA	Y	Y				N	N	N	N		Y	EA		Y				
Stephen M. Ross (R)	63	Alamance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jason Saine (R)	97	Lincoln	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ruth Samuelson (R)	104	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA
Jacqueline Michelle Schaffer (R)	105	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mitchell S. Setzer (R)	89	Catawba	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Phil Shepard (R)	15	Onslow	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michael Speciale (R)	3	Craven	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Paul Stam (R)	37	Wake	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	NV
Edgar V. Starnes (R)	87	Caldwell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bob Steinburg (R)	1	Chowan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sarah Stevens (R)	90	Surry	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	Y	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	NV
Mike C. Stone (R)	51	Lee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
John Szoka (R)	45	Cumberland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Eveln Terry (D)	71	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	NV
Thom Tillis (R)	98	Mecklenburg	NV	NV	NV	NV	NV	Y	NV	Y	NV	NV	NV	NV	NV	NV	NV	Y	Y	NV	NV
Paul Tine (D)	6	Dare	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Joe P. Tolson (D)	23	Edgecombe	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
John A. Torbett (R)	108	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rena W. Turner (R)	84	Iredell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ken Waddell (D)	46	Columbus	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Harry Warren (R)	77	Rowan	Y	NV	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Andy Wells (R)	96	Catawba	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roger West (R)	120	Cherokee	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chris Whitmire (R)	113	Transylvania	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
W.A. (Winkie) Wilkins (D)	2	Person	EA	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Michael H. Wray (D)	27	Northampton	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	EA	EA
Roger Younts (R)**	80	Davidson				Y	Y	Y					Y						Y	Y	Y

\* Josh Dobson was appointed on January 29, 2013 to replace Mitch Gillespie, who resigned on January 6, 2013.

\*\* Roger Younts was appointed on July 15, 2013 to replace Jerry C. Dockham, who resigned on July 1, 2013.

\*\*\* Grier Martin was appointed on June 1, 2013 to replace Deborah Ross, who resigned on June 1, 2013.

\*\*\*\* Bobbie Richardson was appointed on January 9, 2013 to replace Angela Bryant, who resigned on January 4, 2013 to replace Ed Jones in the North Carolina State Senate.

VOTE KEY: "Y" = Yes "N" = No "EA" = Excused Absence "NV" = Not Voting

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