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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT FOR THE STATE OF ALASKA
FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT AT FAIRBANKS

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In Re 2011 Redistricting Cases)
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) Superior Court No. 4FA-11-2209-CI
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**POST-TRIAL BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE
BRISTOL BAY NATIVE CORPORATION**

Pursuant to the court's orders of December 27, 2011 and January 23, 2012,
Bristol Bay Native Corporation (BBNC) respectfully submits this brief as amicus
curiae.

I. INTRODUCTION

As BBNC is not a party – it has little access to documents, other than what
was posted on the Internet, and no access to exhibits or a trial transcript (if any) –
this brief may necessarily be deficient in proper citations and for that BBNC
apologizes. Moreover, BBNC does not have access to the numbered Board record
provided to the trial court and therefore could not ascertain whether documents
attached to the accompanying affidavit are in fact part of the official stamped Board
record provided to the court. None of the documents attached to the affidavit
should be new as all were made available to the Board, with the exception of the

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1 draft letter, which merely serves as a summary of what information was shared with
2 the DOJ via teleconference.

3 BBNC recognizes that redistricting is always a challenging process, to put it
4 mildly, and this cycle was perhaps even more so because of the often talked-about
5 migration from rural to urban areas. To that end, BBNC is grateful to the members
6 of the Redistricting Board for their tireless efforts both on behalf of the Native
7 community and on behalf of all Alaskans. To be candid, before the trial, BBNC
8 did not have a clear picture of this case nor “on whose side” we would come out but
9 now having listened to the entire trial and reviewed as much of the record as is
10 available on the Redistricting Board’s website, BBNC offers the following.
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12
13 BBNC agrees with the Redistricting Board on two issues. First, it is very
14 clear that the Voting Rights Act supercedes the requirements of the Alaska
15 Constitution. *See In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P.3d 141, 143 n.2 (Alaska
16 2002). The only question is whether a specific action was necessary to comply
17 with the VRA. *See Id.* at 143 (remanding to the Board to find whether the current
18 configuration is “required by the Voting Rights Act”); *see also Kenai Peninsula*
19 *Borough v. State*, 743 P.2d 1352, 1361 (holding that a district was not “necessary”
20 under to comply with the VRA). While we agree with that standard, BBNC takes
21 issue with the use of the devil-made-me-do-it “VRA excuse” as described below,
22 particularly in light of the fact that at least two plans the Board had before it (the TB
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1 and PAME plans) also met the benchmark. Second, BBNC agrees with the Board
2 and the court that the proper benchmark is 8 effective seats, 5 in the House and 3 in
3 the Senate. Influence seats no longer “count” toward the benchmark and both
4 experts agreed that benchmark 38 was effective with the exception of the unusual
5 2010 election. Having no evidence to the contrary, BBNC takes no issue with this
6 standard. Rather, as described below, BBNC’s concerns relate to (1) the fatally
7 flawed process that resulted in the Proclamation Plan and (2) the reliance on the
8 VRA excuse when other plans were available.
9

10 II. ARGUMENT

11 A. The Board should not be permitted to claim that no other plan 12 satisfied the benchmark. 13

14 As described briefly in its motion to participate as amicus, BBNC has a
15 history of being involved in redistricting and the 2011 cycle was no exception.
16 BBNC was a participant in the group referred to throughout the proceedings as
17 AFFR but BBNC also attended numerous meetings of the Redistricting Board and
18 submitted testimony and conducted a teleconference with the DOJ in its own
19 capacity. Contrary to what was suggested at trial, AFFR was not simply labor
20 unions but a diverse group including five Native corporations. Landreth Decl. ¶ 2,
21 Ex. A.
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23 Without a doubt, the proceedings of the Board did not allow for *meaningful*
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1 public participation. There are two reasons for this: (1) the complete lack of any
2 guidance as to a benchmark standard for almost the entire process; and (2) when the
3 Board finally did have their expert present the benchmark, she was wrong. The end
4 result was even sophisticated organizations like BBNC did not truly have a handle
5 on what was going on or the opportunity to craft and present plans that met the
6 correct benchmark.

8 This is highly relevant to the court's inquiry primarily because throughout its
9 briefing, and indeed throughout trial, the Board argued that no other plan met the
10 benchmark.¹ It reiterates this argument at page 36 of its Trial Brief. The court
11 should not consider this argument to be a defense, or evidence that the Proclamation
12 Plan was the only viable alternative, because the evidence has revealed that the
13 public was never told the correct benchmark. Thus, it would have been nearly
14 impossible for them to present compliant plans.

17 The relevant timeline is quite telling. The Census data was released on
18 March 15. Parties began submitting draft plans on March 31. Dr. Handley was in
19 Afghanistan for three weeks in April.² Dr. Handley was not hired until sometime
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22 1 Order on the Riley/Dearborn Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment on the Compactness of
23 Districts 1, 2 and 37 at p. 6 ("The Board argues that they looked at other private party plans for alternative
24 solutions, but they were all retrogressive."); ARB's Reply to Petersburg's Opposition to Board's
25 Cross-Motion for Summary Judgment at 16; ARB's Opposition to Plaintiff's Motion for Partial Summary
26 Judgment re:Compactness at 23 ("The Riley Plaintiffs' argument completely ignores the undisputed fact
27 that none of these alternative plans complied with the federal Voting Rights Act.");

28 2 Handley Depo. 10:18-22.

1 in late March or April.³ The available information, including census data, was not
2 sent to Dr. Handley until around April 8.⁴ Dr. Handley signed a contract with the
3 Board in late April or early May.⁵ Dr. Handley had a teleconference with the
4 Board around May 17.⁶ On or around that date, she informed the Board that the
5 standard for effectiveness had changed from 35 percent to about 42 percent.⁷ At a
6 public meeting on May 24, Dr. Handley delivered a powerpoint presentation
7 informing the public that the standard was four effective House districts and 2 equal
8 opportunity districts, and three effective Senate districts.⁸ At that same meeting,
9 third parties presented adjusted plans. Testimony was closed on that same day.⁹
10 The Board issued its Proclamation Plan on June 13.¹⁰ Dr. Handley did not finalize
11 her report until August 4. In late August or September, Dr. Handley learns from
12 the DOJ that the benchmark is 5 effective House seats and 3 effective Senate seats.¹¹
13 At the same meeting, she learned that the DOJ no longer considers influence
14 districts in the benchmark and that equal opportunity districts have no place in
15 Section 5 analysis.¹² She did not inform the Board or the public of this
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20 3 Bickford cross examination
21 4 Sandberg cross-examination
22 5 Handley direct examination
23 6 Handley Depo. 37:16-23.
24 7 Bickford direct examination
25 8 Ex. J-45.
26 9 Torgerson direct.
27 10 ARB 0006017.
28 11 Handley Depo. 96:11- 97:14.
12 Handley Depo. 144:16-22 and 146:2-16.

1 information.¹³

2 When the standard was finally revealed, it was wrong. This is no mere
3 mistake of nomenclature, despite the Board's and Dr. Handley's efforts to
4 downplay it. In fact, the error regarding the continuing viability of influence
5 districts meant that third parties submitting plans were creating an extra district.
6 Although this may be only a one seat difference, in a situation like Alaska's where
7 the geography and far-flung population make redistricting extremely difficult, one
8 seat can make or break a plan. The Board's own expert had given the Board and the
9 public a magic number of nine, when it was in fact eight.¹⁴ In fact, from the record it
10 seems that the Board and even the court were under the impression that influence
11 districts were still relevant in December 2011.¹⁵

14 BBNC itself and at least one person from AFFR (Kay Brown) told the Board
15 directly that influence districts were no longer required as a matter of law.
16 Landreth Decl. ¶3, Ex. B; see also Handley Depo. 83:12-21. Nevertheless, because
17 the Board insisted that an extra influence district was required, all plans attempted
18 to include it in order to comply with the Board's guidance.
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21 The second major flaw in Dr. Handley's analysis was the inclusion of the
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23 13 Handley Depo. 149:15-24 and 150:24- 151:5; Torgerson cross examination; Handley
cross-examination.

24 14 Handley Report at p. 2; Handley direct examination

25 15 Order Denying Petersburg's Motion for Summary Judgment and Granting the Board's Cross Motion
for Summary Judgment at p. 10 (December 12, 2011).

1 mysterious “equal opportunity” districts. She specifically instructed the public on
2 May 17 that the benchmark for the House was four effective and two equal
3 opportunity districts. Ex. J-45 (Handley’s Notes for May, 17 Presentation at p.
4 2-3). BBNC, like many third parties, was totally unfamiliar with this term in the
5
6 redistricting context and had no idea what percentage of Native VAP was required
7 to create an equal opportunity district. BBNC shared this concern directly with the
8 DOJ on a teleconference conducted in September 2011. Landreth Decl. ¶5. Thus
9 to the degree that any plan submitted after May 17 had two districts that were not at
10 the “effective” percentage of 42 percent, this is very likely due to the confusion
11 regarding equal opportunity districts. Much later, Dr. Handley admitted that she had
12 been wrong about her inclusion of equal opportunity districts.¹⁶

14 And although the Board has also attempted to downplay the significance of
15 this error, it is in fact important because using a different term created the
16 impression that a different percentages of Native VAP are required for these
17 districts; indeed, by definition influence districts have lower percentages that
18 effective districts, and *it was never made clear what percentage was required for an*
19 *equal opportunity district.* It was only after her discussion with the DOJ, long after
20 the public process had closed, that she determined the equal opportunity district was
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25 16 Handley Depo. At 70:10-71:11; 76:4; and 79:16-20 and Handley direct examination.

1 in fact an effective district.¹⁷ This begs the question, how were third parties
2 supposed to know they had to create plans with five effective districts if even the
3 Board and its expert did not know? Perhaps this explains why Kay Brown, then
4 Executive Director of AFFR, requested Dr. Handley's notes after the presentation –
5 because the information was not clear.¹⁸ Even now it is not clear if the Board
6 would have taken different actions if it had received correct advice.
7

8 Mr. Lawson testified to this very thing in both his direct examination and
9 during the Plaintiffs' rebuttal case. During his direct examination, he said that the
10 RIGHTS coalition plans he created probably did not meet the benchmark because
11 he did not know the benchmark at the time he was writing it. He explained this
12 problem in greater detail during the rebuttal case. Specifically, he said that before
13 May 17, the RIGHTS coalition had no information on what the benchmark standard
14 would be, and he described them as "sort of flying blind." (This incidentally
15 echoes a letter BBNC drafted to the Board on June 7, but which they did not
16 ultimately submit because it seemed too late to have any impact. Landreth Decl.
17 ¶4, Ex. C) He then explains that he had one week, or *four business days*, after this
18 new standard was announced to create a new plan. Mr. Lawson testified that the
19 first time he heard the standard was 5 effective House districts, that the total
20 benchmark was 8 and not 9, and that equal opportunity or influence districts did not
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25 17 Handley Depo. 76:5-24.

26 18 Handley Depo. 57:2-12.

1 count was in late fall at the earliest – and perhaps even as late as Dr. Handley’s
2 deposition. This comports with BBNC’s experience, as it only learned this
3 information in the pleadings filed in late December and during the trial.

4 Quite simply, the Board took what was supposed to be a ninety-day process
5 and turned it into a four-day process, four business days being the entire time
6 between the announcement of the (wrong) benchmark and the final due date for
7 third parties to submit plans. In effect, this took away the right of public
8 participation as all the numerous public meetings (with the exception of the May
9 24th one in Anchorage) were held *before* the announcement of the standard. It
10 strains credulity to think that the many communities across the state actually knew
11 what they were looking at, actually had the necessary tools to evaluate the different
12 maps, when no one had yet told the public the guiding principle, namely the
13 benchmark that had to be met. This should explain for the court why on earth third
14 parties were repeatedly submitting plans that did not meet the benchmark – they did
15 not know what it was. For a process like this one to be meaningful, the public has
16 to be told what the benchmark (and the percentages that help you meet it) is. When
17 this finally did occur it was too little, too late.

18 BBNC understands that Dr. Handley is a highly respected expert, but the
19 Board simply should not have hired someone who did not have the time to devote to
20 Alaska and who could not provide the necessary analysis in a reasonable timeframe.

1 Instead, there seemed to be little consideration of the fact that Dr. Handley could not
2 meet the deadlines, and that the public would not have access to the standard until
3 very late,¹⁹ despite the fact that BBNC expressed concerns about this in its public
4 testimony. Landreth Decl. ¶3, Ex. B. An eleventh hour report that provides the
5 public only four business days to develop a plan is hardly meaningful. When that
6 eleventh hour report is wrong, the error is fatal. As a result, this court should not
7 consider it in any way probative as to any claim or defense that no other third party
8 plans met the correct benchmark.
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11 **B. The “VRA excuse” is not blanket protection.**

12 Somewhat related to the first issue is the fact that the Board devotes
13 considerable efforts to relying on certain districts as being required by the VRA.
14 BBNC believes that the Board has taken this argument one step too far for two
15 reasons. First, as described above, there were other complaint plans available but
16 the Board seems to have rejected them due to unspecified “complaints from the
17 Alaska Native community.” While this is a factor to be considered in DOJ analysis
18 and BBNC in no way suggests that input from affected communities is not relevant,
19 to suggest that one region or one person has a kind of veto over a plan is
20 unsupported.²⁰ In fact, if this is the case, why were the Aleutian Pribilofs Islands
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24 ¹⁹ Torgerson cross examination.

25 ²⁰ It was not explained during trial who or what complained and on what grounds and BBNC does not
have access to the court exhibits to determine the basis.

1 Association's complaints about splitting the Aleutians not persuasive? Why were
2 the Association of Village Council Presidents' complaints about carving up the
3 Yup'ik regions not persuasive? The fact is that the Board's decision to adopt the
4 Proclamation Plan over the two viable alternatives (not to mention what other
5 alternatives could have been offered if the public had been apprised of the correct
6 benchmark in a timely manner) represents a choice. To be sure, Board members
7 testified that they adopted the plan they thought had the best chance of passing DOJ
8 muster, but it must still be acknowledged that they had other options.
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11 Second, and most importantly, BBNC takes issue with the Board's argument
12 that House District 1 is somehow justified by the "ripple effect" of complying with
13 the VRA.²¹ As the court is no doubt aware by now, District 1 is in the middle of
14 Fairbanks. It does not abut House District 38. While it is conceivable that a
15 district could be affected by a Native effective district, such a situation only arises if
16 the two districts meet or if both are rural and short on population. In that scenario,
17 a domino effect could be a justification. Here, however, the Board was creating a
18 district in one of the most populous areas of the State and could draw population
19 from any direction. There is no basis, in logic or in law, for claiming that House
20 District 1 was in any way required by the VRA. Such a holding that some direct
21 causal link was not required, merely a "ripple," is an unjustified expansion of the
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25 ²¹ ARB's Trial Brief at 25-27.

1 Alaska Supreme Court's holdings and would undoubtedly cause mischief. In fact,
2 on cross examination, Board member Holm seemed to indicate quite clearly that the
3 VRA did not require District 1; he suggested instead he was trying to minimize
4 population deviations. The Board seems to have little basis for asserting the "VRA
5 excuse" for House District 1.
6

7 BBNC is also not entirely persuaded that House Districts 37 and 38 are
8 absolutely required by the VRA. While BBNC understands that the Board had
9 legitimate concerns about pairing incumbents given the possibility of a DOJ
10 objection, and we share those concerns, we return to the fact that, according to
11 testimony at least, the "TB plan" did not raise incumbent pairing concerns and yet
12 passed the benchmark. To be clear, BBNC is not advocating any one plan over
13 another – *in fact BBNC has not seen the TB plan as it cannot be located on the*
14 *Board's website* (only Board Options 1 and 2 and third party plans are available) –
15 and we are not suggesting that this plan is the ideal or only viable alternative.
16 Rather, BBNC raises this to suggest that the Proclamation Plan was not necessarily
17 the only solution. At a minimum, the court should consider remanding to the
18 Board to explain in detail why the percentages in the TB plan were not satisfactory.
19 This plan does not appear in Dr. Handley's final report and since it was created at
20 the tail end of the public process, BBNC has no copy of it or memory of its
21 discussion. In the end, districts 37 and 38 may be the only option, but at this point
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1 it is not clear.

2 **III. CONCLUSION**

3 BBNC thanks the court and the agreement of the parties for allowing it to
4 contribute to this process. While there are points with which BBNC agrees with
5 the Board, namely the actual benchmark of 8 seats and the precedence to be
6 afforded to federal law, BBNC has had and continues to have very serious concerns
7 with the public process that resulted in no other plans meeting the benchmark. As
8 explained herein, that is largely due to the fact that the public only heard of the
9 Board's benchmark four business days before the close of public testimony and
10 opportunity to present plans. Even then, this benchmark contained an extra seat
11 which the public now discovers was not required. To those of us that attempted to
12 follow this process quite closely, this is not a "red herring." Given these
13 deficiencies, the Board should not be permitted to point to an absence of alternatives
14 as evidence of the true lack of alternatives. Finally, BBNC is not persuaded that
15 any precedent justifies the reliance on the VRA excuse for House District 1.
16 However, with respect to House Districts 37 and 38, the record remains unclear.
17 Therefore, BBNC respectfully requests that the plan be remanded to the Board to
18 examine these three districts and to allow for meaningful public participation in the
19 configuration of possible alternatives.
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1 Respectfully submitted this 23rd day of January 2012 at Anchorage, Alaska.

2
3 By: s/nlandreth

4 Natalie A. Landreth (#0405020)
5 Heather Kendall-Miller (#9211084)
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Certificate of Service

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The undersigned hereby certifies that the on the 23rd day of January 2012, a true and correct copy of the **POST-TRIAL BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE BRISTOL BAY NATIVE COPRORATION and AFFIDAVIT OF NATALIE LANDRETH** was sent by electronic mail to:

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By: s/jbriggs

Jonathan Briggs
Legal Administrative Assistant

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**IN THE SUPERIOR COURT FOR THE STATE OF ALASKA
FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT AT FAIRBANKS**

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In Re 2011 Redistricting Cases)
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) Superior Court No. 4FA-11-2209-CI
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AFFIDAVIT OF NATALIE LANDRETH

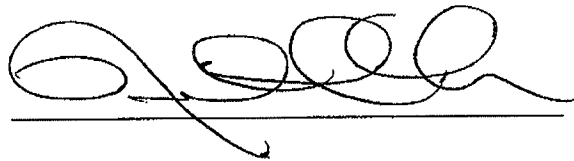
STATE OF ALASKA)
) *ss.*
SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT)

I, Natalie Landreth, being first duly sworn, state as follows:

1. I have personal knowledge of and can testify to the facts set forth below.
2. Attached hereto as Exhibit A is a true and correct copy of a webpage listing the members of Alaskans for Fair Redistricting.
3. Attached hereto as Exhibit B is a true and correct copy of testimony offered before the Redistricting Board by April Ferguson, General Counsel for Bristol Bay Native Corporation.
4. Attached hereto as Exhibit C is a true and correct copy of a letter drafted for BBNC to submit to the Redistricting Board after June 7, 2011. This letter was not submitted because the Board had already adopted its chosen plan and it was doubtful that the letter would have any effect at that time.

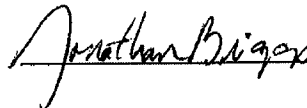
1 5. Along with April Ferguson, I participated in a teleconference with Arati Jain
2 from the Department of Justice in September 2011. During this call, BBNC
3 shared its concerns as outlined in Exhibit C as well as other concerns
4 involving equal opportunity districts.
5

6 FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NAUGHT.

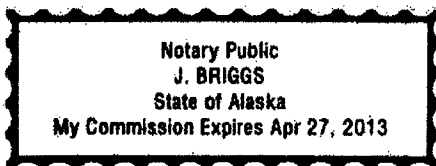
7 
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9 Natalie Landreth
10

11 SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me at Anchorage, Alaska this 23rd day of
12 January 2012.

13  113379
14

15 Jonathan Briggs Commission No.
16 Notary Public for the State of Alaska
17



Alaskans for Fair Redistricting

About AFFR

Alaskans For Fair Redistricting is a non-partisan group of Native organizations, unions, non-profits and individuals seeking a fair outcome for redistricting. AFFR is monitoring the Redistricting Board's process to ensure that it is open and transparent as required by law. On March 31, AFFR submitted a plan to the Redistricting Board for consideration.

AFFR co-chairs: Vince Beltrami, Alaska AFL-CIO, and Carl Marrs, Old Harbor Native Corporation.

Organizations participating in AFFR include the following:

Alaska AFL-CIO
Alaska Conservation Voters
Alaska Women for Political Action (formerly Alaska Women's Political Caucus)
Alaskan AIDS Assistance Association (Four A's)
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Alaska
Anchorage Central Labor Council
APEA/AFT
ASEA/AFSCME
Bristol Bay Native Corporation
Chugach Alaska Corporation
Doyon, Limited
Independent Pilots Association
Koniag, Inc.
NEA-Alaska
Planned Parenthood of the Great Northwest
Tanana Chiefs Conference
YWCA

My name is April Ferguson and I am Vice President and General Counsel of Bristol Bay Native Corporation. My comments will focus on the Board's two options and how it is determining which districts are Native.

Both board options 1 and 2 purport to have 4 majority Native House districts, 2 influence Native House districts, 2 majority Native Senate districts, and 1 influence Senate district. These have been called 4-2-2-1 plans. I understand that 4-2-2-1 is what we currently have. However, the current districts were based on pre-2006 law as well as on an analysis of electoral behaviors in the Native districts. In other words, not only has the population changed but so has the law and possibly the electoral behavior as well.

The Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act in 2006 specifically clarified that the "ability to elect" is the standard to be used in evaluating the proposed redistricting plans. They are also now called "effective" districts and the concept of "influence" districts is gone. Based on this directive, the Department of Justice has stated in its guidelines (and I am quoting here):

In determining whether the ability to elect exists in the benchmark plan and whether it continues in the proposed plan, the Attorney General does not rely on any predetermined or fixed demographic percentages at any point in the assessment. Rather, in the Department's view this determination requires a functional analysis of the electoral behavior within the particular jurisdiction or election district.

The DOJ then explains that this analysis often includes election history, voting patterns, voter turnout, registration, and crossover patterns, among other information. (page 7471 of the guidelines in the federal register).

In contrast this Board seems to have based its 4-2-2-1 plans on a fixed 50% majority district and 35% so-called "influence district." (I will call them "effective" as per the 2006 law.) This Board has not yet performed any analysis of what it considers to be Native majority or effective districts to make sure that they are in fact true majority and effective Native districts. In fact I understand the voting rights analyst hired by the Board will not return to the United States until April 24 and will not have an analysis completed until around May 12. Further, she herself testified in front of this Board on April 11th that 35% may not be the correct percentage to determine whether

a district is a Native "effective" district. Therefore, she will not finalize her report until the very end of this process and there may be no opportunity for public comment on her analysis.

Both board options 1 and 2 were created without truly knowing whether the districts you have labeled "Native" are in fact effective Native districts.

For example, why is proposed district 6, at 32.49% Native VAP an effective Native district? There is the same problem with Senate district C at 33.92%. One district you label as a majority Native district (37) only has 43.68% Native VAP. Why is this considered a majority?

If one assumes an effective district is 35% Native VAP and a majority is 50% Native VAP, then both board options 1 and 2 have only 7 Native districts not 9 (5, 37, 38, 39, 40, and S, T). This is less than the 9 we currently have and likely retrogressive.

In conclusion, BBNC makes two requests. First, that the expert you have retained determine what is the actual "floor" for an effective Native district so that we know for sure that we are creating a plan that is not retrogressive. Second, that public comment be opened for several days following your receipt of the expert report so that those with questions or comments about her methods or conclusions can include them in the record.

Thank you.

June 7, 2011

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL
Alaska Redistricting Board
411 West 4th Avenue
Anchorage, AK 99501

Members of the Board:

While the Bristol Bay Native Corporation greatly appreciates your service to the Board and people of Alaska in this very difficult process, we have some very serious concerns about the rural and urban areas of the plan you have adopted.

First, as our Vice President and General Counsel April Ferguson noted in her testimony on May 6, this process has occurred in somewhat of a vacuum because the Board's chosen expert was not available until almost the very end. As a result, those who submitted maps and comments did so without the benefit of knowing what the benchmark was and even the Board itself was without guidance. Even now, the expert has not submitted any written reports or detailed information to allow the public to analyze her methods or conclusions. We are not even sure what the minimum percentage of Native VAP is required for an effective district in different parts of the State. At best this process has been a moving target and this has made it extremely difficult for the Native community to understand what is going on, much less participate in a meaningful fashion.

With respect to the expert's conclusions, BENC does not agree with the benchmark (5-1-3-0). Specifically, we do not understand how there could be a third effective Senate seat created by combining two influence districts. This has been raised several times but never satisfactorily explained. Our analysis, shared by many others, is that the benchmark is likely 5-1-2-1, and if this is the case, alternative plans that would meet both the mandates of the VRA and the Alaska Constitution have been submitted. Information about how the Board's expert has reached this conclusion, including all data on which it has been based, should be made public. Instead, as this process as continued, the Board has shared less and less of the information provided by its expert and now it seems as though all discussions surrounding the benchmark are discussed in Executive Session. In fact, recently most discussions surrounding the VRA and its requirements have been conducted in private, likely violating the Open Meetings Act.

From what we know about the benchmark, it seems to have been applied inconsistently. For example, in testimony the Board's expert indicated she would not be comfortable with a Native VAP percentage below 35% in a particular Southeast district. However, that district is now at 33.9% which the expert approved in an email. Problems like this are why we do not understand the benchmark, the floor for an effective district, or the resulting plan in general.

Exhibit C

