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IN THE SUPREME COURT FOR THE STATE OF ALASKA

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PATTON BOGGS LLP

In Re 2011 REDISTRICTING CASES

} Supreme Court No. S-14441

} Superior Court No.: 4FA-11-2209 CI

PETITIONS FOR REVIEW FROM THE SUPERIOR COURT
FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT
THE HONORABLE MICHAEL P. MCCONAHY, PRESIDING

PETITION FOR REVIEW
(Riley et. al)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Authorities	ii
Principal Constitutional Provisions Relied Upon	iii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. STATEMENT OF THE QUESTIONS [App. R. 403(b)(1)(B)].....	1
III. Statement of Facts [App. R. 403(b)(1)(A)	2
IV. Standard of Review	3
V. Argument	
1. The Court Erred in Not Invalidating the Plan Based Upon Process Claims.	3
2. The Court Erred in Holding That The City of Fairbanks Population Was Too Small To Give Rise To An Anti-Dilution Claim.....	9
3. The Trial Court Erred In Holding That The VRA Excused Violations of Borough's Rights To Proportional Representation/Split Borough Excess Population	15
VI. Conclusion.....	26

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

<i>Beer v United States</i> , 425 U.S. 130 (1976)	12
<i>Bush v Vera</i> , 517 U.S. 952 (1996)	7, 24
<i>Gaffney v. Cummings</i> , 412 U.S. 735 (1973)	10
<i>Groh v Egan</i> , 526 P.2d 863 (Alaska, 1974)	3
In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases, 44 P.3d 141 (Alaska 2002)	9- 11, 13, 17, 19
In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases, Case No. 3AN-0108914 CI (Memorandum and Order, 2/1/2002)	13
<i>Hickel v Southeast Conference</i> , 846 P.2d 38 (Alaska, 1992)	5-8, 10, 14, 17, 19-21, 24
<i>Karcher v Daggett</i> , 462 U.S. 725 (1983)	10
<i>Kenai Peninsula Borough v State</i> , 743 P.2d 1352 (Alaska 1987)	3, 10, 11, 14, 24
<i>Lawyer v Dept. of Justice</i> , 521 U.S. 567 (1997)	7
<i>Miller v Johnson</i> , 515 U.S. 900 (1995)	7-8
<i>Shaw v Hunt (Shaw II)</i> , 517 U.S. 899 (1996)	7-8
<i>Shaw v Reno (Shaw I)</i> 509 U.S. 630 (1993)	7-8
<i>U.S.v Hays</i> , 515 U.S. 737 (1995)	7

Statutes and Constitutional Provisions

42 USC 1973c (2006)

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AK. CONST. Art. VI, Section 6
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in

PRINCIPAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS RELIED UPON

AK. CONST. Art. VI, Section 6

The Redistricting Board shall establish the size and area of house districts, subject to the limitations of this article. Each house district shall be formed of contiguous and compact territory containing as nearly as practicable a relatively integrated socio-economic area. Each shall contain a population as near as practicable to the quotient obtained by dividing the population of the state by forty. Each senate district shall be composed as near as practicable of two contiguous house districts. Consideration may be given to local government boundaries. Drainage and other geographic features shall be used in describing boundaries wherever possible.

I. INTRODUCTION

George Riley and Ron Dearborn,¹ the Plaintiffs at trial below, seek partial review of the *Memorandum Decision and Order Re: 2011 Proclamation Plan*² issued by the Superior Court in *In Re 2011 Redistricting Cases*³ While the Superior Court invalidated four (4) House Districts in the 2011 Redistricting Proclamation Plan for violation of Art. VI, Sec. 6 of the Alaska Constitution, the Plaintiffs seek review of the Superior Court's decision to sustain that the violation of the Alaska Constitution

II. STATEMENT OF THE QUESTIONS [App. R. 403(b)(1)(B)]

1. Did the Superior Court err in not invaliding the plan based upon process claims?
2. Did the Superior Court err in holding that the City of Fairbanks population was too small to give rise to an anti-dilution claims?
3. Did the Superior Court err in failing in holding that the Voting Rights Act excused violation of borough's rights to proportional representation/ split borough excess borough population.

1 George Riley and Ron Dearborn were the Plaintiffs at trial below ("Riley Plaintiffs"). Riley and Dearborn are qualified voters who respectively reside in the Ester and Goldstream areas of the Fairbanks North Star Borough (FNSB).

2 Issued February 3, 2012.

3 Case No. 4FA-11-2209 CI (4th Jud. Dist., Alaska).

III. STATEMENT OF FACTS [App. R. 403(b)(1)(A)]

This case involves a challenge the 2011 Redistricting Proclamation Plan which was adopted on June 13, 2011 by the Alaska Redistricting Board. To a large degree, the facts as set forth in the Superior Court's Memorandum and Decision⁴ is a complete and thorough statement of the facts in this case. However, critical to the equal protection arguments presented by this petition are the proportional representation population numbers. In dividing Alaska into 40 house districts using the 2010 US Census, the ideal district size is 17,755 persons.⁵ The Fairbanks North Star Borough (FNSB) has a population of 97, 581⁶ This means that the Borough has sufficient population to comprise 5.5 house districts, not the 5.49 found by the Court.⁷ In dividing Alaska into 20 senate districts using the 2010 US Census, the ideal district size is 35,510 persons.⁸ The City of Fairbanks has a population of 31,535.⁹ This means that the City has sufficient population to comprise 88.8% of a senate district.¹⁰

4 See Joint Excerpt of Record (hereinafter referred to as Jt. Exc.)

5 Jt. Exc. 106

6 Jt. Exc. 108; ARB 6584 - 6586

7 The Court incorrectly rounded down. The exact percentage is 5.4959729. If this number is rounded to the nearest hundredth, the result is 5.50. Rounding up is actually more appropriate in any case because the the City Voting Age Population is relatively higher in the City than in the Borough at large. See Jt. Exc. 113 n 174 & 175

8 I.e. 17,755 x 2.

9 Jt. Exc. 112

10 Id.

IV. STANDARD OF REVIEW

In exercising this Court's jurisdiction to review redistricting plans, this Court employs a standard of review as it would review a regulation adopted under a delegation of authority from the legislature to an administrative agency to formulate policy and promulgate regulations. Specifically, this Court will review the plan to insure that the Board has not exceeded the power delegated to it, to determine whether the plan is reasonable and not arbitrary, and that the plan meets the requirements of the Alaska Constitution. The Court applies a *de novo* review as to the determination of facts developed in the Superior Court and the Board Record.¹¹

V. ARGUMENT

1. The Court Erred In Not Invalidating the Plan Based Upon Process Claims.

The Riley Plaintiffs sought to invalidate the Proclamation Plan because the Board followed an invalid process in drafting the plan.¹² Specifically, the Board did not attempt to draft a plan that complied with the Alaska Constitution prior to pursuing other alternatives. It is undisputed that the Board did not attempt to draft a plan complying with the Alaska Constitution.¹³ In deposition Chairman Torgerson

¹¹ *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, 743 P.2d 1352, 1357-1358 (Alaska 1987), *citing Groh v Egan*, 526 P.2d 863 (Alaska, 1974)

¹² Jt. Exc. 205

¹³ See Memo: Sum Jud. Invalid Process, at 4; See also accompanying Ex. 1 & 2

and Board-member Holm both admitted that the Board never attempted to draft a plan whose first priority was compliance with the Alaska State constitution.¹⁴ Rather, the Board's prime focus from the beginning of the process was to draft a plan that had sufficient Native effective and influence districts to meet the Voting Rights Act (VRA)¹⁵ benchmark.¹⁶ At trial, the Board's expert testified that they were trying to maximize Native voting strength in order to assure non-objection from the Department of Justice under the VRA.¹⁷ It is largely undisputed that race was "the predominate factor" motivating the drawing of district lines, and traditional, race neutral redistricting principles were subordinated to race.

As a result of this primal focus upon race and compliance with the VRA, the resulting plan had many problems. Specifically, HD 37 was found to violate compactness and contiguity requirements of the Alaska Constitution, which the Board did not seriously deny.¹⁸ Equally, HD 38 violated socioeconomic integration

¹⁴ Id.

¹⁵ 42 U.S.C 1973c (2006) For discussion of the VRA requirements see Jt. Exc. 43-44

¹⁶ Jt. Exc. 206. The Court noted that "The Board does not deny that it started by drawing the minority districts on the advice of their Voting Rights Act expert." Id. For a discussion of the "benchmark" see Jt. Exc. 4

¹⁷ Test. Of Dr. Handley (Log Nos. 10:47:45- 10:48:49 There were major problems with the VRA analysis which are discussed in the Bristol Bay Amicus Brief. See Plt. Exc. 5 et. seq.

¹⁸ Jt. Exc. 183; Jt. Exc. 186 et. seq.

requirements of the Alaska Constitution, which the Board did not seriously deny.¹⁹ Additionally, the Board split Fairbanks "excess population" between HD 38 and 6 giving rise to an inference of discriminatory intent, and impairment of FNSB voters rights to fair and effective representation.²⁰ The trial Court found that neither HD 37 nor HD 38, as configured, were necessary to comply with the VRA.²¹ Additionally, despite the fact that the Mat-Su Borough did not have significant excess population, that Borough boundary was also split twice.²² The Kenai Borough boundary was also split twice.²³ The Trial Court also found that HD 1 and 2 in the FNSB violated the Alaska Constitution,²⁴ and, upon information and belief, the Board is not seeking review of those decisions.²⁵

In *Hickel*,²⁶ this Court predicted such a result when a Board first tries to use race as "the predominate factor" motivating the drawing of district lines. In that case, the

19 Jt. Exc. 148

20 See discussion in subsection 3 below.

21 Jt. Exc. 121-133

22 See discussion *infra*, subsection 2.

23 *Id.* However, it should be noted that the splits in the Mat-Su and the Kenai did not result in a diminution of proportional representation in those boroughs.

24 Jt. Exc. 114-117

25 While the Trial Court denied the claims of Petersburg, the Trial Court has suggested that this Court review the matter *sua sponte* because at trial the Court learned that the analysis presented by the Board's expert in summary judgment practice was flawed, and the Southeast districts may be questionable. See Jt. Exc. 135-136

26 *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d 38 (Alaska, 1992)

Court invalidated Southeast Alaska Native effective districts which had Native VAP in excess of amounts needed to make the districts effective using a near identical process used by the Board in the present case.²⁷ This Court criticized this process as follows:

Our conclusion underscores the error in the Board's methodology in reconciling the requirements of the Voting Rights Act with the requirements of the Alaska Constitution. The Board was advised to expect that any challenges to the reapportionment plan would come under the newly amended section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Consequently, the Board accorded minority voting strength priority above other factors, including the requirements of article VI, section 6 of the Alaska Constitution. This methodology resulted in proposed district 3, a district which does not comply with the requirements of the Alaska Constitution. However, proposed district 3 is not required by the Voting Rights Act, either.

Article VI, cl. 2 of the United States Constitution provides that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof ... shall be the supreme law of the land..." This mandates that provisions of state law, including state constitutional law, are void if they conflict with federal law. To the extent that the requirements of article VI, section 6 of the Alaska Constitution are inconsistent with the Voting Rights Act, those requirements must give way. However, to the extent that those requirements are not inconsistent, they must be given effect. The Voting Rights Act need not be elevated in stature so that the requirements of the Alaska Constitution are unnecessarily compromised.

The Board must first design a reapportionment plan based on the requirements of the Alaska Constitution. That plan then must be tested against the Voting Rights Act. A reapportionment plan may minimize article VI, section 6 requirements when minimization is the only means available to

²⁷ *Hickel*, 846 P.2d at, 51 It should be noted that in the present case the Native VAP in all rural Native effective districts also exceeded levels necessary to comply with the VRA. *Jt. Exc.* 127-128

satisfy Voting Rights Act requirements.²⁸ (emphasis added)

This Court has provided specific guidance to the Board respecting the process to be used, and in this case the Board ignored that guidance and replicated the flawed process used by the Board in *Hickel*, with the inevitable result of great and unnecessary violence to the Alaska Constitution.

This Court's guidance in *Hickel* was an eery premonition of the U.S. Supreme Court's racial gerrymandering cases which followed shortly after *Hickel*. During the 1990 redistricting cycle, the Courts heard several "racial gerrymandering attacks in the federal courts for denying White voters their right to equal protection of the laws under the 14th Amendment."²⁹ The U.S. Supreme Court rebuked the Justice Department for its maximization policy in Georgia and held that a racial gerrymander must be subjected to "strict scrutiny" to determine whether it was "narrowly tailored" to achieve a "compelling state interest" in complying with the VRA.³⁰ Many of the racial gerrymanders were struck down by the federal courts because their drafters had not

²⁸ *Hickel*, 846 P.2d at, 51-52 n 22

²⁹ *Shaw v Reno (Shaw I)* 509 U.S. 630 (1993); *U.S. v Hays*, 515 U.S. 737 (1995); *Miller v Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900 (1995); *Bush v Vera*, 517 U.S. 952 (1996); *Shaw v Hunt (Shaw II)*, 517 U.S. 899 (1996); *Lawyer v Dept. of Justice*, 521 U.S. 567 (1997)

³⁰ *Miller v Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900, 924-25 (1995); See also *Shaw I*, *supra*.

followed “traditional districting principles.”³¹ The *Hickel* process which requires an Alaskan Redistricting Board to first focus upon compliance with Alaska’s Constitution is in accord with the U.S. Supreme Court’s direction that state redistricting authorities should follow “traditional districting principles” and serves as a powerful prophylactic to racial gerrymander claims experienced in the Lower ‘48 States. It should be presumed that when this Court states that “The Board must first design a reapportionment plan based on the requirements of the Alaska Constitution” that this Court is not offering causal advice. Compliance with the Alaska Constitution is no fools errand,³² particularly when such compliance insulates Alaska process from racial gerrymander claims. Moreover, the process assures a demonstrable record that when the strictures of the Alaska Constitution are minimized, such minimization is necessarily required by the demands of federal law.

To some degree, the Trial Court excused the need to comply with this process due to time constraints.³³ However, this court addressed this issue in 2001. While recognizing the short time-frames in redistricting, this Court made clear “...these great

31 *Shaw I, supra.; Miller v Johnson, supra.; Bush v Vera, supra.; Shaw II supra.*

32 At oral argument before the Trial Court the Board’s counsel explained that the reason that the Board did not first attempt to comply with the Alaska Constitution was that it was a “fools errand”.

33 Jt. Exc. 206

difficulties do not absolve this court of its duty to independently measure each district against constitutional standards."³⁴ The failure of the Trial Court to appreciate the wisdom of this approach was error.

2. Court Erred In Holding That The City Of Fairbanks Population Was Too Small To Give Rise To An Anti-Dilution Claim.

The Riley Plaintiffs alleged the plan violates Fairbanks City voters' right to fair and effective representation because the two (2) house districts principally comprised of City voters (i.e. Proc. HD 1 and 4) were divided between two Senate Districts (Proc. SD A and B), and that City voters do not comprise a majority of voters in either resulting Senate district.³⁵ It is undisputed that the City comprises 89% of an ideal Senate District.³⁶ In the previous plan adopted in 2001, city voters comprised two (2) house districts, which are paired to comprise a single Senate District.³⁷ Thus, the Proclamation plan splits the historic Fairbanks Senate Seat.

In denying Plaintiffs challenge, the Court held that the voters within the City of Fairbanks have "no right to strict proportionality, the anti-dilution rule cannot be

34 In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases, 44 P.3d 141, 147 (Alaska 2002).

35 Ex. J-46, at 18 (ARB Admissions)

36 See also, Memo Decision, at 112.

37 Memo Decision, at 112.

violated if the City cannot support a senate district based on its population. No further analysis is necessary."³⁸ In reaching this holding, the Court failed to cite any legal authority. In reaching this conclusion, the Court was in error.

The Equal Protection Clause of the Alaska Constitution guarantees voters 'fair and effective representation,³⁹ which guarantees the right to proportional geographic representation.⁴⁰ The right of fair and effective representation prohibits the Board from intentionally discriminating against a borough or other "politically salient class" of voters by invidiously minimizing that class's right to an equally effective vote.⁴¹

While the Trial Court made no finding as to whether the residents of the City of Fairbanks constituted a politically salient class,⁴² the Court held that the population of

38 Memo Decision at 113

39 *Hickel*, 846 P.2d at 48-49

40 *Kenai Peninsula Borough*, 743 P.2d, at 1369, 1372-73

41 *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P.3d 141, 144 (Alaska, 2002)

42 The Trial Court did not specifically rule on whether Fairbanks City residents constitute a "politically salient class" distinguishable from Borough voters residing outside the City. Generally, the first inquiry into a fair and effective representation claim is whether the voters in question constitute a "politically salient class". *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d 141, 144 (Alaska 2002), citing See also, *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, 743 P.2d 1352, 1370-73 (Alaska, 1987); *Karcher v Daggett*, 462 U.S. 725, 754 (1983) (Stevens, J., concurring); *Gaffney v. Cummings*, 412 U.S. 735, 754 (1973) However, this Court has generally held that voters having a common residence within the same municipality constitute a "politically salient class". See *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, 743 P.2d at 1370-73 [voters within the Unified Municipality of Anchorage a politically salient class]; *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d 38, 52-53 (Alaska, 1992) [Voters within the Mat-Su Borough constitute a politically salient class] This Court's analysis has generally focused upon the municipal status rather than the class of municipality involved. A City is merely one type of municipality authorized by Alaska

City residents was not sufficient to give rise to a cognizable claim for proportional representation under Alaska's Equal Protection Clause.

While the Trial Court offered no legal citation in supporting its ruling, this Court in *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, held that Anchorage residents constituting 51% of a district, was of a sufficient size to give rise to anti-dilution claims.⁴³ Similarly, in *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, this Court held that Anchorage residents constituting 60% of a district and Mat-Su's population equal to 80% of a district were of sufficient

law, which also includes Boroughs and Unified Municipalities. AS 29.04.010- .60.

The Court made several findings which define and distinguish the political interests of Fairbanks City voters vis-a-vis Borough voters outside the City. These findings were based upon the Plaintiffs uncontroverted evidence. Specifically, The Court found that the City of Fairbanks is a First Class Home Rule City inside the Fairbanks North Star Borough, a second class borough. *Memo Decision, @ 112 n 169*. The service levels differ between City and non-City residents of the borough. The City provides local police, professional fire, curbside garbage pick-up, building code & enforcement, and paved streets. Outside the City, services are more limited: Trooper coverage, but no local police; volunteer fire service; road-service areas generally maintaining unpaved streets, no local building codes and trash services through a system of dumpster transfer stations. *Memo Decision, @ 112-3 n 170*. The City has independent taxing authority and receives revenue sharing, operational and capital funding directly from the State, while FNSB residents receive state assistance through a complex system of borough pass-thru and non-profit copartnerships in cooperation with the FNSB. *Memo Decision, @ 113 n 171*. The City and Borough have experienced conflict over annexation issues that appear before the legislature as well as differing approaches to such issues as air quality regulation. *Memo Decision, @ 113 n 172*. While the Borough may be socioeconomically integrated as a whole, these differences in political interests clearly make the voters within the City a politically salient class of voters distinct from the non-City borough voters.

43 743 P.2d at, 1373

size to give rise to anti-dilution claims.⁴⁴ The court found that at these populations would be sufficient to control a district.⁴⁵ These holdings are in accord with established precedence that in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is presumed, as a matter of law, that a salient class of voters will have effective control of a district when the class constitutes over 50% of the district in question.⁴⁶ Thus, there is no question that the City of Fairbanks, with population equal to 89% of a Senate District, has the ability to control a Senate District, and is of sufficient size to give rise to anti-dilution claims.

Of course, it is possible that other factors such as voting turn-out between various groups, rates of cross-over; voting group cohesion and differential barriers to voting experienced by various groups may raise or lower the necessary VAP a group requires to be "effective".⁴⁷ While substantial evidence was presented at trial respecting the Native VAP levels necessary, in various parts of the state, to constitute effective Native control of a district, there was no evidence presented by the Board to

⁴⁴ 44 P.3d at, 144

⁴⁵ 44 P.3d at, 144 n 7

⁴⁶ *Beer v United States*, 425 U.S. 130, 141 (1976) It should be noted that as to this point, the opinion was unanimous. Cf. *Id.*, at 425 U.S., at 144 (White, J. dissenting) and *Id.*, at 425 U.S. 158-161 (Marshall, J. dissenting).

⁴⁷ See generally Trial Testimony of Dr. Arrington and Dr. Handley.

suggest that residents of the City of Fairbanks might exercise effective control of a Senate District with VAP levels below 50%. Thus, without any supporting evidence in the Board record or adduced at trial, the Court found that the City "effectively controlled" Senate District B, of which City residents comprised only 48.36%.⁴⁸ This was clear error, in that the absence of other evidence, the Court should have concluded that over a majority of City voters was necessary to provide effective control of a Senate District.

The only time that this Court has found that a municipal group had insufficient population to give rise to an anti-dilution claim is in the case of the Lake and Peninsula Borough in the *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*.⁴⁹ The population at issue in that case only comprised 11% an ideal district.⁵⁰ The Court in that case noted that "the Lake and Peninsula Borough falls far short of having enough population to support an election district."⁵¹ (emphasis added) Of course, the present case is clearly distinguishable from the circumstances of the Lake and Peninsula Borough in 2001. Specifically, at 11% of an ideal district, the Lake and Peninsula Borough could not control a legislative

48 *Memo Decision, @ 113.*

49 *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases, 44 P.3d at, 145*

50 In 2001, the ideal district size was 15,673, and the population of the Lake and Peninsula Borough was 1,823. *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases, No. 3AN-01-8914 CI (Memorandum and Order; 2/1/2002) at 21 and 111.*

51 *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases, 44 P.3d at, 145*

district, whereas at 89% of an ideal senate district, the City of Fairbanks has ample population to control a legislative district under any scenario. That distinction does not alter the general rule stated in *Hickel*, "The division of a borough (or a city) which otherwise has enough population to support an election district will be an indication of gerrymandering. There must be some legitimate justification for not preserving the government boundaries in such a case."⁵² (emphasis added) Since the Trial Court was mistaken respecting the sufficiency of population to give rise to an anti-dilution claim, the Court should clearly reverse and remand the matter.⁵³

⁵² *Id.*, citing *Hickel*, 846 P.2d, at 50 n 20

⁵³ Of course, the Trial Court never reached the issue of whether there was justification for the splitting the City of Fairbanks into two Senate Districts. Boardmember Jim Holmes never offered any justification for splitting Fairbanks City. Rather, he stated his priority was putting the farmers in Rosie Creek (HD 5) and Salcha (HD 6) together. (Log. 10;18:33-10:19:35. But, of course, he had no idea how many farmers were in these areas. See also Log No 10:28:37- 10:31:17. In any case, common sense would suggest that the number of Fairbanks area farmers would be less than the population of the Lake and Peninsula Borough, and, if he is taken at his word, Mr. Holmes was disenfranchising a large politically salient class (city voters) in favor of an improbably small group. It is more plausible, that Mr. Holm's "farmer justification" is pretextual, and that there is no justification for separating the City of Fairbanks into two Senate Districts.

In any case, "in the context of discrimination against a political group, the intent requirement is minimal." *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d 49 n 18. Rather, Senate districts which meander and ignore political subdivision boundaries and communities of interest will be suspect under the Alaska Equal Protection Clause." *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, 743 P.2d at 1365 n 19. "District boundaries which meander and selectively ignore political subdivisions and communities of interest are indicative of constitutional violation." *Id.* at 1369 n 32. As noted above, the Board offered no serious justification for splitting the City of Fairbanks. It should be noted that the treatment of Fairbanks was very different than the treatment of Juneau, whose population is slightly less than Fairbanks with 31, 275. The two Juneau House Districts (HD 31 and 32) were paired to form a single Senate District (SD P)

3. The Trial Court Erred In Failing In Holding That the VRA Excused Violation Of Borough's Rights To Proportional Representation/ Split Borough Excess Borough Population.

The Riley Plaintiffs also alleged the Proclamation Plan violates the guarantee of fair and effective representation contained in Alaska's Equal Protection Clause because it unnecessarily split the excess population of the Fairbanks North Star Borough in two districts (HD 6 and 38), thereby diluting the effective voting strength of borough voters.⁵⁴ In a pre-trial order, the Court agreed with the Plaintiffs and held that the splitting of the Borough's excess population indicated intentional discrimination against a geographic region (i.e. the FNSB)⁵⁵ and that the burden of

The Trial Court's inability to find partisan motivation for the Fairbanks configuration cannot be supported by the record. The plan, drafted by a Republican dominated Board, paired Fairbanks two democratic Senators. Memo Decision, at 53 And if the City had not been split into separate Senate Districts, the Democratic Senators could not have been paired, because Sen. Thomas lives outside the city in HD 3. Equally, a simple review of the map demonstrates that if HD 5 and 6 were not paired with each other, which was Mr. Holm's main concern, the Democratic Senators could not have been paired because HD 5 would have to be paired with either HD 4 (containing Sen. Paskvan) or HD 3 (containing Sen. Thomas). Additionally, Mr. Holm testified that he was very concerned about protecting Rep. Wilson and Sen. Coghill, both Republicans, and to insure that "they were not drawn out of their districts" Log Nos. 10:57:55l- 11:00:28. Mr. Coghill had not similar interest in protecting the Democratic incumbents. id. And finally, Mr. Holm only consulted Republicans regarding redistricting. Log Nos. 10:39:35-10:45:32. And of course, there was uncontroverted testimony that Chairman Torgerson intended to "pay back" the Democrats for the 2000 redistricting. Test. Of J. Hardenbrook, Log Nos. 12:19:45- 12;22:12 Taken together, the clear preponderance of the evidence supported a finding of partisan motivation rather than the more implausible goal of creating a Fairbanks Farmer District.

54Plt. Complaint, Para 19

55Jt. Exc. 211, at n 5

proof shifted to the Board to establish that such decisions were made for legitimate, non-discriminatory purposes.⁵⁶ In the same pre-trial order, the Trial Court held that its prior decision holding that HD 38 was not socio-economically integrated as required by Art. 6, Sec. 6 of the Alaska Constitution⁵⁷ also shifted the burden of proof to the Board to “provide legitimate non-discriminatory reasons for its configuration of HD 38.”⁵⁸ The Board asserted a “VRA excuse defense”: i.e. the need to comply with the Voting Rights Act was a “legitimate non-discriminatory” reason for both violations of the Constitution.⁵⁹ No other excuse was offered to justify the violations.

The Court's post-trial Memorandum Decision, however, found that the Board “did not violate the geographic proportionality rights of the voters of the FNSB by splitting its excess population,” because “the Board had valid, non-discriminatory reasons for splitting (FNSB's) excess population between two districts including compliance with the federal VRA and the population equality requirements for urban areas of Article VI, Section 6 of the Alaska Constitution.”⁶⁰ However, in that same decision, the Trial Court found that the VRA did not excuse HD 38's violation of the

56 Jt. Exc. 209, 212..

57 Jt. Exc. 148

58 Jt. Exc. 212

59 42 U.S.C. 1973C (2006)

60 Jt. Exc. 110. The Court also found that the configuration of HD 37 is not necessary under the VRA. Jt. Exc. 132.

socio-economic integration requirement of Art. 6, Sec. 6 of the Alaska Constitution because “the configuration of Proclamation House District 38 is not necessary under the VRA.”⁶¹

This Court has consistently held that the VRA excuses a violation of Alaska's Constitutional redistricting requirements only upon a showing that the violation was necessary to comply with the VRA.⁶² In particular, necessity is the applicable standard when considering whether the VRA excuses violations of the fair and effective representation requirements of Alaska's Equal Protection clause.⁶³ While the

61 Jt. Exc. 132

62 *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d, at 51—52; [Southeast Native Districts invalid for lack of compactness and socioeconomic integration where such configuration not “necessary” to comply with VRA]; *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d, 143 [An otherwise non-compact district may be justified upon a finding that the district's configuration is “required” by the Voting Rights Act.]; *Kenai Peninsula Borough v State*, 743 P.2d at, 1361. [Board failed to make showing that population deviation greater than 10% was “necessary” to comply with VRA]; See also, *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d, 146 [VRA does not require a state to avoid retrogression of minority voting strength if doing so would create a maximum population deviation exceeding ten percent]

63 *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d, 146-147 [Board proved “necessary” to divide Borough house districts between differing Senate districts to allow configuration of adjacent Native effective districts under VRA]

To some extent, the Trial Court was obviously trying to “harmonize” the Alaska Constitution and the VRA as the Court did in *In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases*. See Jt. Exc. at 43. However, the present case is clearly distinguishable. Splitting Mat-Su voters between two different Senate Districts in 2001 was necessary in order to configure adjacent rural areas in the Ahtna and Doyon into Native effective Districts. 44 P. 3d, 146-147. But in that case, Mat-Su population was not submerged into rural Native effective districts, and there was no underlying diminution of Mat-Su voting strength because the Mat-Su voters continued to effectively control an appropriate number of Senate Seats. *Id.* See *In re 2001 Redistricting*

Trial Court articulated the correct standard, it clearly misapplied the standard relative to its review of the split in FNSB population between two house districts on several points.

First, the Trial Court failed to make a findings respecting necessity when it considered the FNSB's split population issue. Specifically, the Trial Court merely held that "The Board added 5,5000 people into Proclamation House District 38 in order to comply with the federal Voting Rights Act."⁶⁴ The Court never found that this was "necessary'. Indeed, as noted above, the Court affirmatively found "the configuration of Proclamation House District 38 is not necessary under the VRA."⁶⁵ (emphasis added) It is axiomatic that if the configuration of HD 38 added 5,500 FNSB residents into the district, but the district was not necessary under the VRA, the addition of the

Cases, No. 3AN-01-8914 CI (Memorandum and Order; 2/1/2002) at 21 and 117. Thus, the 2001 Mat-Su Senate pairing issue was about "harmonizing" compliance with the VRA when there was no underlying violation of Mat-Su voters' right to fair and effective representation. In the present case, excess FNSB population is divided between two districts for the express purpose of diluting their vote. The majority of FNSB excess population is placed in a district that is designed to be a rural Native effective district, which necessarily means that it will not be controlled by FNSB voters, while the remaining FNSB excess population (approximately 2500) placed in HD 6 is "far to small" to exercise effective control of any district. While attempts to "harmonize" State Constitutional law and Federal law are laudable, that may only be accomplished where conflicts are indirect or inferential. In the present case, the conflict is direct and irreconcilable. In this circumstance, harmony is not a realistic goal.

64Jt. Exc. at 109

65Jt. Exc. 132

5,500 FNSB residents into the district was not necessary for any purpose.⁶⁶ The failure of the Trial Court to consider whether the addition of the FNSB population was “necessary” in the context of the split population issue was clear reversible error, particularly where the Court otherwise found HD was not necessary for VRA compliance.

Second, the Trial Court incorrectly applied the notions of rebuttable inferences resulting from the splitting of the FNSB's excess population. The Trial Court correctly stated that, as a matter of law, “failure to keep all of a borough's excess population in the same house district provides some evidence of discriminatory intent.”⁶⁷ And the Court correctly noted that such a division creates a rebuttable inference of discriminatory intent.⁶⁸ As previously stated, the Court found compliance with the eVRA to be a “valid and non-discriminatory reasons” to split FNSB's excess population.⁶⁹ However, as noted above, those reasons are only “valid and non-discriminatory” if the the VRA required such a configuration. As noted, the Trial

66 It would be mere speculation to suggest that some FNSB population may be needed to be added to a rural district under some other unknown configuration that may meet the “necessity” test.

67 Jt. Exc. 108 citing *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d, 146-147

68 Id. “In the context of discrimination against a political group, the intent requirement is probably minimal” and it must be assumed that the “likely political consequences” of a reapportionment scheme are intended. *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d, at 49 n 18

69 Jt. Exc. 110

Court expressly held that the configuration used by the Board, particularly HD 38, was not necessary.⁷⁰ Thus, dividing the FNSB excess population into two house districts was not necessary and was therefore not justified by a 'valid and non-discriminatory reason'.

More importantly the Trial Court ignored the "likely political consequences" which serves as circumstantial evidence of intentional discrimination.⁷¹ It is undisputed --- and the Trial Court found--- that the Board intended to submerge non-Native white Democrats in the FNSB into a rural district that it intended to be effectively controlled by rural Natives.⁷² To the extent that the Board intended that rural Native voters would have effective control over HD 38, it also intended the "likely political consequence" that FNSB voters would not have effective control of the district. In the words of Board-member Holm, who was the architect of the Fairbanks districts, the plan was to "shed 5,500 folks" from the FNSB into the rural district effectively controlled by rural Native voters.⁷³ Clearly, the Board intended to "shed" FNSB excess population into a rural Native district which would have dilute their

⁷⁰ Supra.

⁷¹ *Hickel v Southeast Conference*, 846 P.2d, at 49 n 18

⁷² Jt. Exc. 130 See also Test. Of Jim Holm Tr. 10;36:33 & 10:51:19

⁷³ Test. Of Jim Holm Tr. 09:08:15 And of course, Mr. Holm testified that the folks was looking to shed were Democrats. Tr. 10;36:33 & 10:51:19

voting strength.

Third, the Trial Court never reached the interplay between proportionality, and rebutting an inference of intentional discrimination. While “strict proportionality is not a constitutional requirement the interest of individual members of a geographic group or community in having their votes protected from disproportionate dilution by the votes of another geographic group or community” is a significant constitutional interest.”⁷⁴ “(U)pon a showing that the Board acted intentionally to discriminate against the voters of a geographic area, the Board must demonstrate that its plan will lead to greater proportionality of representation”⁷⁵ In this case, the Board could have harmonized and optimized the proportional representation rights of various areas rather than simply destroying FNSB's voters proportional representation.

The FNSB had about 8,700 “excess population” and the Board believed that it needed to move 5,500 people from a non-rural population into a Native effective rural

⁷⁴ *In re 2001 Redistricting Cases*, 44 P. 3d, 149-150 citing *Kenai Peninsula Borough*, 743 P. 2d, at 1371

⁷⁵ *Hickel*, 846 P.2d at 49; See also *Kenai Peninsula Borough*, 743 P.2d at 1372

district.⁷⁶ It could not move all FNSB “excess population” into the rural area because it would destroy Native effective control over the district.⁷⁷ Thus, the Board split the FNSB population into two house districts.⁷⁸ Plaintiffs argued that the Board could have looked to other areas, which the Court mischaracterized as a “not-in-my-backyard” argument.⁷⁹ This mischaracterization misses the point that splitting the FNSB excess population into two house districts is unnecessary from the perspective of achieving overall proportionality.

If the Board needed 5,500 people from a non-rural area it could have taken the population from any other road connected Borough without destroying proportionality for those Boroughs.

⁷⁶Jt. Exc. 109 the actual number is 8,806

⁷⁷ Id.

⁷⁸ Id.

⁷⁹Jt. Exc. 131.

Borough ⁸⁰	Total Pop.	Ideal Districts ⁸¹	Excess Pop	# of Splits	Controlled Districts ⁸²	Split Pop.	Pop. Less 5,500	Ideal Dist. Less 5,500
Anchorage	291,826	16.43	7,746	1	16	6,825	286,326	16.13
Fairbanks	97,581	5.5	8,806	2 ⁸³	5	7,210	92,081	5.19
Kenai	55,400	3.12	2,135	2 ⁸⁴	3	1,339	49,700	2.81
Mat-Su	88,995	5.01	220	2 ⁸⁵	5	17,772	83,495	4.7

As the above chart shows, the plan splits borough excess population in Fairbanks, Kenai and Mat-Su between two house districts. However, the Kenai and Mat-Su Boroughs retain effective control of the number of districts roughly proportionate to their population. Fairbanks does not: i.e. the FNSB loses ½ of a house district.

Fairbanks has the largest “excess population” and is the only borough in which the splits reduce the proportionate number of districts that borough voters have

80 All data from the Split Report for the Proclamation plan. Plt. Exc. 2-4 (ARB 6584-6586)

81 All numbers rounded to the nearest hundredth.

82 Number of Districts with 50% or more of population from indicated borough.

83 Between HD 38 and 6

84 Between HD 35 and 36

85 Between HD 6 and 11

effective control. However, if 5,500 were taken from any of the other boroughs, those boroughs would continue to have population sufficient to retain effective control of the number of districts roughly proportionate to their population. Fairbanks is the only Borough that would necessarily lose proportional representation by the loss of 5,500 people.⁸⁶ While taking 5,500 people from any of the other road boroughs would necessarily require splitting population between two house districts, such a split may be justified because it would "lead to greater proportionality of representation," which is the preferred method of dealing with multiple splits of excess borough population.⁸⁷

Finally, the Court ignored that the Board's purpose was, in fact, illegitimate as a matter of federal law. "To the extent that race is used as a proxy for political characteristics, a racial stereotype requiring strict scrutiny is in operation."⁸⁸ Strict scrutiny applies where race was "the predominate factor" motivating the drawing of district lines, and traditional, race neutral redistricting principles were subordinated to race.⁸⁹ Splitting of borough excess population violates Alaska's traditional

⁸⁶ This is a mathematical certainty. The most underpopulated district in the plan is HD39 with 16,892 people. If the board had only put 5,500 FNSB residents in HD 38, the remaining population of Fairbanks and remaining borough population would be 92,081. If that number were divided by HD 39's population, only five districts would have a majority of FNSB residents.

⁸⁷ *Hickel*, 846 P.2d, at 49. See also *Kenai Peninsula Borough*, 743 P.2d, at 1372

⁸⁸ *Bush v Vera*, 517 U.S. 952 (1996)

⁸⁹ *Id.*

redistricting principles, which are race neutral. Three of the resulting Fairbanks Districts (i.e. HD 1, 2, and 38) as well as HD 37, violated Alaska's other traditional redistricting principles of compactness, contiguity and socioeconomic integration. As discussed above, the Board did not make an effort to draw a plan based upon compliance with the Alaska Constitution, but focused near single-mindedness in developing Native effective districts. This single-mindedness included purposefully putting Democratic leaning voters into HD 38, which is clearly using race and partisanship as proxies for each other. If the Board is to be taken at their word, race was the predominate reason for splitting the Fairbanks Borough population into two house districts, which gives rise to strict scrutiny under the Federal Constitution, and was an illegitimate purpose.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Court should reverse and remand the plan to the Board to make corrections that 1) attempt to comply with the Alaska Constitution, 2) avoid splitting the FNSB excess population into two house districts, and 3) avoid splitting the City of Fairbanks into two Senate Districts.

Date: February 13, 2011

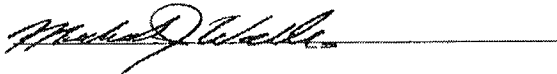


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Certificate of Service

I certify that a true and correct copy of the foregoing was served by e-mail on this February 13, 2011 to:

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IN THE SUPREME COURT FOR THE STATE OF ALASKA

In Re 2011 REDISTRICTING CASES

} Supreme Court No. S-14441

} Superior Court No.: 4FA-11-2209 CI

PETITIONS FOR REVIEW FROM THE SUPERIOR COURT
FOURTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT
THE HONORABLE MICHAEL P. MCCONAHY, PRESIDING

EXCERPT OF RECORD
VOL I OF I

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Filed in the Superior Court of
the State of Alaska this _____
day of _____, 2012.

By: _____
Deputy Clerk

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Proclamation District Population Analysis	1
Political Subdivisions Split Between Districts Report	2
Post Trial Brief of Amicus Curiae Bristol Bay Native Corporation	5

Proclamation District Population Analysis					
House District	Senate District	Total Population	Percent Deviation From Ideal (17,755)	Percent Alaska Native* Total Population	Percent Alaska Native* Voting Age Population
1		18,004	1.40%	7.89%	6.53%
2		18,023	1.51%	7.56%	6.95%
	A	36,027		7.72%	6.77%
3		18,116	2.03%	8.83%	7.06%
4		18,103	1.96%	18.72%	16.18%
	B	36,219		13.77%	12.15%
5		18,125	2.08%	12.99%	10.40%
6		18,396	3.61%	9.62%	8.18%
	C	36,521		11.29%	9.71%
7		17,766	0.06%	9.90%	7.89%
8		17,836	0.46%	10.06%	8.06%
	D	35,602		9.98%	8.35%
9		17,820	0.37%	9.84%	7.51%
10		17,800	0.25%	11.29%	9.16%
	E	35,620		10.56%	8.70%
11		17,826	0.40%	8.54%	6.91%
12		18,079	1.82%	6.62%	4.93%
	F	35,905		7.57%	6.25%
13		17,931	0.99%	11.96%	10.43%
14		17,806	0.29%	15.26%	11.96%
	G	35,737		13.60%	12.05%
15		17,797	0.24%	15.83%	13.10%
16		17,925	0.96%	16.36%	14.06%
	H	35,722		16.10%	14.35%
17		17,667	-0.50%	21.26%	17.96%
18		17,743	-0.07%	16.64%	14.63%
	I	35,410		18.95%	17.21%
19		17,642	-0.64%	11.99%	9.38%
20		17,755	0.00%	11.39%	8.84%
	J	35,397		11.69%	9.70%
21		17,702	-0.30%	9.93%	7.61%
22		17,809	0.30%	15.05%	12.27%
	K	35,511		12.49%	10.63%
23		17,693	-0.35%	10.27%	8.30%
24		17,924	0.95%	13.43%	10.49%
	L	35,617		11.86%	9.95%
25		17,678	-0.43%	11.94%	8.86%
26		18,072	1.79%	5.99%	5.28%
	M	35,750		8.93%	7.59%
27		17,778	0.13%	5.21%	4.16%
28		18,159	2.28%	12.58%	11.23%
	N	35,937		8.93%	8.10%
29		17,914	0.90%	11.45%	9.29%
30		17,988	1.31%	7.80%	6.64%
	O	35,902		9.62%	8.18%
31		18,251	2.79%	18.27%	13.30%
32		17,801	0.26%	17.93%	14.89%
	P	36,052		18.10%	15.58%
33		17,075	-3.83%	20.86%	17.24%
34		17,875	0.68%	36.96%	32.85%
	Q	34,950		29.09%	26.06%
35		17,486	-1.52%	19.66%	17.19%
36		17,095	-3.72%	78.26%	71.45%
	R	34,581		48.63%	43.75%
37		16,899	-4.82%	56.18%	46.63%
38		17,027	-4.10%	53.38%	46.36%
	S	33,926		54.78%	46.85%
39		16,892	-4.86%	72.50%	67.09%
40		16,953	-4.52%	71.15%	62.22%
	T	33,845		71.82%	65.05%

*Alaska Native race defined as people who identified themselves in the census as a single-race Alaska Native, or Alaska Native and White, or Alaska Native and any other race in the other multiple-race category, according to the guidelines of the U.S. Department of Justice

Prepared by the Alaska Redistricting Board

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Political Subdivisions Split between Districts Report

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Section 1 Political Subdivisions (PSU)

In		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For			The population of			is split between	districts
Aleutians East Borough							
For	Aleutians East(County) in Aleutians East Borough		STFID: 02013	3,141		2	
Part	1 is in District	36	Population:	2,114	Voting Age Population:	1,760	
Part	2 is in District	37	Population:	1,027	Voting Age Population:	1,010	
Anchorage Municipality							
For	Anchorage(County) in Anchorage Municipality		STFID: 02020	291,826		17	
Part	1 is in District	11	Population:	6,825	Voting Age Population:	5,025	
Part	2 is in District	12	Population:	18,079	Voting Age Population:	12,668	
Part	3 is in District	13	Population:	17,931	Voting Age Population:	12,069	
Part	4 is in District	14	Population:	17,806	Voting Age Population:	13,192	
Part	5 is in District	15	Population:	17,797	Voting Age Population:	13,912	
Part	6 is in District	16	Population:	17,925	Voting Age Population:	14,324	
Part	7 is in District	17	Population:	17,667	Voting Age Population:	11,801	
Part	8 is in District	18	Population:	17,743	Voting Age Population:	14,649	
Part	9 is in District	19	Population:	17,642	Voting Age Population:	13,560	
Part	10 is in District	20	Population:	17,755	Voting Age Population:	12,969	
Part	11 is in District	21	Population:	17,702	Voting Age Population:	12,984	
Part	12 is in District	22	Population:	17,809	Voting Age Population:	13,533	
Part	13 is in District	23	Population:	17,693	Voting Age Population:	12,994	
Part	14 is in District	24	Population:	17,924	Voting Age Population:	12,867	
Part	15 is in District	25	Population:	17,678	Voting Age Population:	13,122	
Part	16 is in District	26	Population:	18,072	Voting Age Population:	12,940	
Part	17 is in District	27	Population:	17,778	Voting Age Population:	13,431	
Bethel Census Area							
For	Bethel(County) in Bethel Census Area		STFID: 02050	17,013		2	
Part	1 is in District	36	Population:	6,702	Voting Age Population:	4,176	
Part	2 is in District	37	Population:	10,311	Voting Age Population:	6,619	
Fairbanks North Star Borough							
For	Fairbanks North Star(County) in Fairbanks North Star Borough		STFID: 02090	97,581		7	
Part	1 is in District	1	Population:	17,992	Voting Age Population:	12,671	
Part	2 is in District	2	Population:	18,023	Voting Age Population:	12,599	
Part	3 is in District	3	Population:	18,128	Voting Age Population:	13,524	
Part	4 is in District	4	Population:	18,103	Voting Age Population:	14,014	
Part	5 is in District	5	Population:	18,125	Voting Age Population:	14,178	
Part	6 is in District	6	Population:	1,537	Voting Age Population:	1,126	
Part	7 is in District	38	Population:	5,673	Voting Age Population:	4,468	

In Haines Borough		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Haines(County) in Haines Borough		The population of		2,508		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02100</i>					
Part	1	is in District	32	Population:	16	Voting Age Population:	13
Part	2	is in District	34	Population:	2,492	Voting Age Population:	1,996
In Hoonah-Angoon Census Area		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Hoonah-Angoon(County) in Hoonah-Angoon Census Area		The population of		2,150		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02105</i>					
Part	1	is in District	32	Population:	591	Voting Age Population:	490
Part	2	is in District	34	Population:	1,559	Voting Age Population:	1,236
In Juneau City and Borough		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Juneau(County) in Juneau City and Borough		The population of		31,275		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02110</i>					
Part	1	is in District	31	Population:	18,251	Voting Age Population:	13,459
Part	2	is in District	32	Population:	13,024	Voting Age Population:	10,480
In Kenai Peninsula Borough		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Kenai Peninsula(County) in Kenai Peninsula Borough		The population of		55,400		is split between 5 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02122</i>					
Part	1	is in District	28	Population:	18,159	Voting Age Population:	14,225
Part	2	is in District	29	Population:	17,914	Voting Age Population:	13,075
Part	3	is in District	30	Population:	17,988	Voting Age Population:	13,954
Part	4	is in District	35	Population:	535	Voting Age Population:	444
Part	5	is in District	36	Population:	804	Voting Age Population:	591
In Matanuska-Susitna Borough		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Matanuska-Susitna(County) in Matanuska-Susitna Borough		The population of		88,995		is split between 6 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02170</i>					
Part	1	is in District	6	Population:	6,771	Voting Age Population:	4,993
Part	2	is in District	7	Population:	17,767	Voting Age Population:	12,782
Part	3	is in District	8	Population:	17,836	Voting Age Population:	12,526
Part	4	is in District	9	Population:	17,820	Voting Age Population:	12,588
Part	5	is in District	10	Population:	17,800	Voting Age Population:	12,559
Part	6	is in District	11	Population:	11,001	Voting Age Population:	7,828
In Petersburg Census Area		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Petersburg(County) in Petersburg Census Area		The population of		3,815		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02195</i>					
Part	1	is in District	32	Population:	3,202	Voting Age Population:	2,456
Part	2	is in District	34	Population:	613	Voting Age Population:	468
In Prince of Wales-Hyder Census Area		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Prince of Wales-Hyder(County) in Prince of Wales-Hyder Census Area		The population of		5,559		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02198</i>					
Part	1	is in District	33	Population:	1,229	Voting Age Population:	1,002
Part	2	is in District	34	Population:	4,330	Voting Age Population:	3,133
In Southeast Fairbanks Census Area		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	
For Southeast Fairbanks(County) in Southeast Fairbanks Census Area		The population of		7,029		is split between 2 districts	
		<i>STFID: 02240</i>					
Part	1	is in District	6	Population:	4,797	Voting Age Population:	3,518
Part	2	is in District	39	Population:	2,232	Voting Age Population:	1,662
In Valdez-Cordova Census Area		There are		1 Splits(s)		in political subdivisions	

For **Valdez-Cordova(County) in Valdez-Cordova** The population of 9,636 is split between 3 districts
Census Area *STFID: 02261*

Part 1	is in District	6	Population:	5,290	Voting Age Population:	4,013
Part 2	is in District	35	Population:	2,697	Voting Age Population:	2,077
Part 3	is in District	39	Population:	1,649	Voting Age Population:	1,198

In Yukon-Koyukuk Census Area There are 1 Splits(s) in political subdivisions
For **Yukon-Koyukuk(County) in Yukon-Koyukuk** The population of 5,588 is split between 2 districts
Census Area *STFID: 02290*

Part 1	is in District	38	Population:	2,069	Voting Age Population:	1,505
Part 2	is in District	39	Population:	3,519	Voting Age Population:	2,531

Statewide Report Summary

There are	14	Splits in	14	Counties		
					More than one split:	Splits with no Population
Counties with Splits:	14				5	0
MCD/Townships with Splits:	0				0	0
Voting Districts with Splits:	0				0	0

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.
11
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
23
24
25

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
11 **II. ARGUMENT**

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

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.

22 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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21 3 Bickford cross examination
22 4 Sandberg cross-examination
23 5 Handley direct examination
24 6 Handley Depo. 37:16-23.
25 7 Bickford direct examination
26 8 Ex. J-45.
27 9 Torgerson direct.
28 10 ARB 0006017.
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

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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
24 cross-examination.
25 14 Handley Report at p. 2; Handley direct examination
26 15 Order Denying Petersburg's Motion for Summary Judgment and Granting the Board's Cross Motion
27 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 redistricting context and had no idea what percentage of Native VAP was required
6 to create an equal opportunity district. BBNC shared this concern directly with the
7 DOJ on a teleconference conducted in September 2011. Landreth Decl. ¶5. Thus
8 to the degree that any plan submitted after May 17 had two districts that were not at
9 the "effective" percentage of 42 percent, this is very likely due to the confusion
10 regarding equal opportunity districts. Much later, Dr. Handley admitted that she had
11 been wrong about her inclusion of equal opportunity districts.¹⁶

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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 than
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.
9
10

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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Respectfully submitted this 23rd day of January 2012 at Anchorage, Alaska.

By: s/nlandreth

Natalie A. Landreth (#0405020)
Heather Kendall-Miller (#9211084)
NATIVE AMERICAN RIGHTS FUND
801 B Street, Suite 401
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
Phone: (907) 276-0680
Fax: (907) 276-2466

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 COPROATION and AFFIDAVIT OF NATALIE LANDRETH** was sent by electronic mail to:

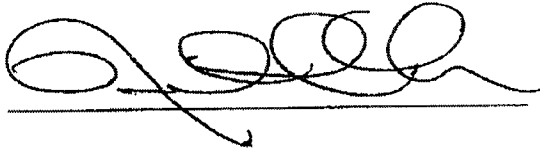
Office of the Clerk, Fairbanks	4faclerk@courts.state.ak.us
Karen Erickson	kerickson@courts.state.ak.us
Kelly Krug	kkrug@courts.state.ak.us
Michael White	MWhite@PattonBoggs.com
Michael Walleri	walleri@gci.net
Thomas Klinkner	tklinkner@bhb.com

By: s/jbriggs

Jonathan Briggs
Legal Administrative Assistant

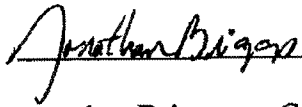
1 5. Along with April Ferguson, I participated in a teleconference with Arati Jain
2 from the Department of Justice in September 2011. During this call, BBNC
3 shared its concerns as outlined in Exhibit C as well as other concerns
4 involving equal opportunity districts.
5

6 FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NAUGHT.

7 
8

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

Exhibit A

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

Exhibit B

000023

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.

Exhibit B

000024

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, BBNC 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

000025

BBNC's interest is in a fair, balanced plan that meets the requirements of the VRA and the Alaska Constitution and does not reduce Native voting strength. In other words, we are not interested only in the rural plan. The composition and balance of the entire legislature is of profound importance to the Native community. Accordingly, we are extremely concerned about several aspects of the Board's Anchorage plan. First, Anchorage has sufficient population for 16.4 House seats and 8 Senate seats, yet there are currently only 6 Senate seats. In addition, the boundaries have been unnecessarily altered so as to combine incumbents in at least two House districts (the current 21 and 30). We supported the AFFR plan for Anchorage because it did not contain these defects and we do not understand why it has not been adopted.

There are very strange districts made up of very distant and different communities all over the State and Bristol Bay is no exception. The new Bristol Bay/ Eastern Aleutians district jumps across Shelikoff Straits, Kodiak, and Cook Inlet to claim the small Chugach communities of Nanwalek and Port Graham on the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula. This is very strange and surely cannot be considered compact or contiguous under the Alaska Constitution. This is only one example but there are numerous issues like this. Of greater concern to BBNC is the fact that incumbent Bryce Edgmon has been placed in a district that now overlaps with incumbent Alan Dick. It is not clear why this is necessary.

When this Board reconsiders these issues, which is possible given that litigation is almost a certainty, we encourage you to make the following changes. First, the expert must be secured early and his or her report must be completed early so that the public will understand the benchmark and percentages required by law. Second, all information provided by the expert must be made public. Third, the public must be allowed an opportunity to comment on the expert's methods and conclusions, and this means allowing them sufficient time to hire their own expert to perform an analysis. Fourth, all Board discussions not involving actual litigation should be conducted in public and not in Executive Session. Finally, and most importantly, the Board should sufficiently explain its processes and proposals so as to enable the Native community understand; given the "moving target" quality of this year's process, it is safe to say that the vast majority do not understand what is happening here or how it will affect them. As a result, they are unable to provide meaningful input.

In sum, BBNC has numerous procedural and substantive concerns with the Board's plan and accordingly we do not support it. At the appropriate time, we will share our concerns with the Department of Justice and expect that other corporations may also take advantage of this opportunity. If, in the interim, the Board would like to discuss any of the concerns discussed in this letter, please contact our General Counsel, April Ferguson.

Sincerely,

Exhibit C

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